SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS SPEAK

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Introduction

by Dr Yusuf M. Dadoo
National Chairman of the South African Communist Party

This volume of documents has been produced to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the South African Communist Party on July 30, 1921. Our Party, the oldest Communist Party on the African continent, has a long and proud history of struggle to its credit- struggle against the inhumanity and injustice of race and class oppression flowing from the pursuit of private profit, struggle for the achievement of a saner and juster non-racial and non-exploitative society in which all South Africans will enjoy equal rights and opportunities based on the common ownership of the means of production and distribution.

Officially the Communist Party of South Africa (as it was called during its legal period) was formed on July 30, 1921, with the merging at a conference in Cape Town of a number of like-minded organisations based in the main centres of the country and proclaiming the philosophy of Marxism. The most important ofthese founding bodies, the International Socialist League,was formed in Johannesburg in September 1915, and it was this date that was often referred to by the early leaders of the Party as its birthday. In fact, the separate existence of what we may regard as a Communist nucleus came about even earlier, in September 1914, when the true socialists within the Labour Party formed the War on War League inside the Party to giye expression to their opposition to capitalism and war and their determination to uphold the international solidarity of labour in the fight for socialism.

'Socialism' and 'internationalism'-these have been the watchwords of the South African Communists from that day to the present. Above all, the socialism for which the Communists strove was not utopian but based on the scientific principles of Marxism. It was because of their adherence to Marxism that the South African Communists, who started their crusade as a minority of whites among the white minority, were able to weld together in their ranks representatives of all the various sections of the population opposed to racism, white domination and capitalist exploitation. It was because of their Marxism that the South African Communists have remained one of the staunchest components of the international Communist movement aiming at the elimination of imperialism and the achievement of a world socialist order.

It has often been argued by our opponents that Communism was brought to our country by whites and foreigners, that it is an alien importation unacceptable to the indigenous majority. Our reply to this is that the concept ofthe brotherhood of man, ofthe sharing of the fruits of the earth, is common to all humanity, black and white, east and west, and has been

formulated in one form or another throughout history. As Marx and Engels put it in The Communist Manifesto:

'The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an

existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes'.

The composition of the South African proletariat was something dictated by history, by white conquest and settlement, the importation of capital following the discovery of gold and diamonds, the immigration of skilled white labour from abroad, the press-ganging of unskilled labour from the ranks of the dispossessed blacks. The Communist Manifesto also pointed out:

'The Communists are distinguished from other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the

struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole. The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement'.

The immediate aim of the Communists, said The Manifesto, is the formation ofthe proletariat into a class, the overthrow of bourgeois supremacy, and the conquest of political power by the proletariat who constitute the immense majority of the population. Under the circumstances prevailing in South Africa at the time, it was inevitable that it was whites who would take the lead in the formation of a Communist Party. But it is a matter of record that the whites who pioneered our movement, men like W.H. Andrews, D. Iron Jones, S.P. Bunting and their colleagues, realised from the outset that, if it was true, as they proclaimed, that 'socialism, to be effective, must be international', it was equally true that 'an internationalism which does not concede the fullest rights which the Native working class is capable of claiming will be a sham'.

From the outset the Communists sought to bring the black workers into their movement, held aloft the banner of equal rights for all. They helped form some of the first black trade unions, sought cooperation with the various black organisations like the African National Congress and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), the African People's Organisation (APO) and the Indian Congress, involved themselves in the day-to-day struggle of the people against oppression. As blacks consolidated their position in the ranks of the proletriat, so the composition of the Communist Party was altered. Whereas in 1915 the International Socialist League had been composed only of whites, 15 years later the overwhelming majority of Communist Party members were

Africans, and men like J.B. Marks, Albert Nzula, Moses Kotane, Edwin Mofutsanyana, John Gomas, James La Guma, Johannes Nkosi and others were to be counted among the leaders, responsible for framing policies and implementing decisions. Today our party faithfully reflects at all levels the composition of the working class and liberation movement of our country.

Our Communist Party was always a party ofmilitants and activists and we never had room for passengers. Our Party members have been in the thick of every people's struggle since the First World War- in the ceaseless campaigns against the pass laws, the fight for higher wages and better working conditions, the fight against fascism and war, the mineworkers' strikes of 1920, 1922 and 1946, the Defiance Campaign of 1952, the campaign for the Congress of the People and the adoption of The Freedom Charter, the bus boycotts, the resistance to apartheid, segregation and dispossession. The mass movement against white domination headed by the African National Congress which has assumed such vast proportions today, striking ever more effective blows against the racist enemy,

extends far beyond our ranks, but we are an essential part of it, and the unique value of our contribution is recognised by friends and enemies alike. Our Party members have been tried and tested in battle. Thousands of them have been arrested and jailed, many have died at the hands of the police. We have proved ourselves in action as the party of the working class.

Decade after decade we have campaigned and fought, organised and mobilised, taught and propagandised, carrying our message into every corner of the land, holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism at the head of the people's army. The course we have followed has not always been smooth. We have had our setbacks and reverses; we have endured the disasters of repression and dissolution, the self-inflicted torments of sectarianism, but we have succeeded in reforming our ranks and revitalising ourselves. Rooted in the working class of South Africa whose mission will not be completed until capitalism is overthrown and replaced by people's democracy leading to a socialist society, the Party has proved itself to be a vanguard organisation in the best tradition, constantly seeking the way forward to the new South Africa outlined in its programme, steadfastly testing in action the theories formulated at our conferences. Our members have shown themselves resourceful, courageous and adaptable, winning for the Party the confidence of its allies in the liberation struggle. And we have had our victories, steadily advancing the cause of the workers and the forward positions of our freedom fighters.

The principle which has guided all our efforts has been the need to build up the broadest united front ofpatriotic and anti-racist forces in the struggle against white domination. It was in pursuit of this aim that our Party explored the relationship between the national and class struggles in South Africa, and formulated in its 1962 programme the concept of'colonialism of a special type' which provided the theoretical basis for yoking together the forces of national liberation and working class revolution. At this, the stage of the national democratic revolution the main component of which in the South African context is the national liberation of the

African people, the main thrust of the revolutionary forces is to forge the broadest possible unity of the masses and of all strata of the people for the overthrow of the hated racist regime. In pursuance of this objective the Freedom Charter adopted at the Congress of the People in 1955 has become the immediate programme of the national liberation alliance and the short-term programme of our Party. At its augmented Central Committee meeting in 1979 the Party declared:

'Our Party is a vital component of the revolutionary alliance for national liberation headed by the African National Congress. As such it has no interests separate from any contingent of that alliance which we have always worked to strengthen. This approach does not stand in conflict with our beliefthat our Party has an independent role to play as a constituent part of the alliance, but also as the political vanguard of the proletariat whose special historical role as the grave-digger of capitalism and the builder of socialism
we have always safeguarded'.

In the formulation of our policies, and in their implementation, we have benefited immeasurably from the guidance and assistance of the international communist movement, and are confident that in turn, through our own work and experience, we have contributed our share to the storehouse of international revolutionary theory and strengthened the cause of proletarian internationalism. At a time when the desperation of the imperialists and the adventurism of the Chinese hegemonists threaten the world with war and nuclear destruction, it is our unshakeable belief that it is the duty of every communist party to strengthen its ties with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and to consolidate the ranks of the international communist movement. In the words of our 1979 Central Committee resolution:

'There is no room for "neutrals" in the struggle to eliminate from the world the last vestiges of colonialism and racism, to win for all peoples the right to real freedom and

independence, the right to live in peace and security from the cradle to the grave'.

This book is not a history of the Communist Party in South Africa. Our publishing house, Inkululeko Publications, has already issued a number of works interpreting our past and present roles, and new contributions appear regularly in our journal The African Communist. What we present here is the raw material of our history- the statements, articles and speeches of leaders and members of our Party, the relevant sections of our past constitutions and programmes, the reports and resolutions of our conferences and central committee meetings, so that the present-day reader can see events, not with the sometimes biased or patronising wisdom of hindsight, but in the context in which our prececessors (and some of us at the time) viewed them. We do this, not with a view to passing judgment or making excuses, but to enable the reader to understand the reasoning and motives of our Party leaders and members in reaching the conclusions they did, what led them to formulate this policy or pass that resolution. Historians often err in assessing the past according to the standards and perspectives of today, without asking themselves whether the options which are open today were available at the time. We hope this collection of evidence will help to explain our history. To be

able to listen to our Party spokesmen stating their case at the various crisis points of the past will, we hope, deepen appreciation of their efforts and achievements, their persistence and determination.

We Communists, being human, are fallible and often make mistakes, but one thing which can never be held against us is that we have failed to act in the spirit of the words of Marx inscribed on his grave:

'The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways. The point, however, is to change it.'

We have never ceased striving to change South Africa from the hell that it is today for the majority of our people groaning under the vicious burdens of apartheid, into a free society in which class and colour discrimination and exploitation will be abolished once and for all, At all times when our people have been faced with a challenge from the enemy backed by his brutal, trigger-happy

armed forces, our Party responded to the challenge with the appropriate course of action decided upon after careful analysis of the objective conditions at the time. This is what led our Party in 1961 to allocate some of our members to join with their counterparts in the African National Congress in the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, now grown into an effective liberation force striking ever more effective blows against the enemy's laager.

Looking back on our history, perhaps this can be reckoned the hallmark of our achievement -that, guided by the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, we have never ceased to organise the South African working class and lead them in the struggle for liberation. Confident in the justice of our cause, that we speak and act in the interests ofthe overwhelming majority of our people, we have always looked to the future with optimism. We are convinced that the record of our work contained in this book will justify the confidence placed in us by the South African working class and inspire greater efforts from all freedom fighters in the struggle for liberation.

The documents reproduced in this book have been selected and edited by comrade Brian Bunting. The result is a fighting record of more than 60 years of struggle of which the South African Communist Party can be justly proud.

Editorial Note

In the form both of internal reports and published material, no political organisation in South Africa has been more productive than the Communist Party. During its legal period, it was responsible for the production of a weekly newspaper as well as periodical publications, and circulated propaganda in all the main languages of the country - English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Sesuto, Tswana. Since going underground the problems of production and distribution under illegal conditions have diminished but by no means halted the flow.

Our problem in compiling this book has inevitably been one of selection. Because of restrictions on space, some important documents have been passed over in favour of others, but we have tried to maintain a balance which will reveal both the continuity and development of Party policy and the variety of sources which have contributed to it, racial, national, social, local and international.

The documents are set out as far as possible in chronological order. Misprints and obvious errors in the original texts which might confuse the reader have been corrected, but otherwise the documents have been reproduced exactly as they first appeared. No attempt has been made editorially to write a history of the Communist Party. For the most part we have tried to let this emerge from the documents themselves, and editorial comment has been limited to explanations, where necessary, of the context in which the documents appeared. We are assuming that the reader will have some knowledge of the outlines of South African and world history during this century. Those who wish to find out more about our past will find the following books of assistance:

Fifty Fighting Years, by A. Lerumo (Michael Harmel), Inkululeko Publications, London.

Moses Kotane, South African Revolutionary, by Brian Bunting, Inkululeko Publications, London.

Class and Colour in South Africa, 1850-1950, by H.J. and R.E. Simons, Penguin African Library.
Comrade Bill, by R.K. Cope, Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town. Time Longer Than Rope, by Edward Roux, University of Wisconsin Press. Chapters in the History of the March to Freedom and Black and White in South African History, both by Lionel Forman, New Age pamphlets.

SECTION I
Internationalis
INTRODUCTION
The Communist Party of South Africa was formed on July 30, 1921, but socialist organisations and socialist thinking had existed in various forms in South Africa since the turn of the century. The South African Labour Party came into existence in 1910 with a socialist objective in its constitution. For historical reasons it grew out of the white labour movement and its membership was almost exclusively white. The backing it received from the white electorate may be gauged from the fact that by 1915 it had 8 members ofParliament and 23 members of the Transvaal Provincial Council -a reflection of the tense battles waged by the workers and their trade unions during the years since Union, and especially in 1913 and 1914. Socialist-minded men had risen into the positions of top leadership in the Labour Party, with W.H. Andrews as chairman and D. Iron Jones as secretary. The 1913 conference of the Labour Party decided to admit Coloureds to membership and also to affiliate to the Second International, the aim of which was to secure the implementation of the Communist Manifesto slogan: 'Workers of all countries, unite!'
It was the outbreak of the First World War which sorted out the true socialists within the Labour Party and tempered the steel from which the Communist Party was eventually forged. For as Lenin pointed out, war is the inevitable product of imperialism, and no true socialist could allow himselfto support ati imperialist war. At the Stuttgart conference of the Second International in 1907, a resolution opposing 'wars between capitalist states', in the drafting of which Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg had a hand, stated in part:
'If a war threatens to break out, it is the duty of the working class and of its parliamentary representatives in the countries involved to exert every effort to prevent the outbreak of war, using all appropriate means, which naturally vary and rise according to the degree of
sharpness of the class struggle and of the general political agitation.
'Should the war none the less break out, it is their duty to intervene to bring it promptly
to an end, and to strive with all their energies to utilise the economic and political crisis brought about by the war in order to stir up politically the masses of the people and hasten
the downfall of capitalist class rule'.

These two sentences were incorporated in the manifesto issued by the Basle congress of the Second International in 1912 which emphasised the responsibility of the international working class to prevent the threatening outbreak of war in Europe. A version of this resolution was endorsed by the 1913 Labour Party conference in South Africa, and influenced the Administrative Council of the Party to pass a resolution on August 2, 1914 (two days before the British Government declared war on Germany) expressing 'its protest against the capitalist governments ofEurope in fomenting a war' and appealing to the workers of the world to 'organise and refrain from participating in this unjust war'.
Although the anti-war section was in the leadership of the Labour Party and dominated the Administrative Council and the Party machine, the membership was not united on the issue. The right-wing wanted to support the Botha government's war effort and the right-wing Labour leader Frederic Creswell immediately joined the forces and went on active service. More important, the Labour Party journal The Worker was edited by Wilfred Wybergh, a close friend of Creswell, who used the party organ to conduct a blatant pro-war policy in defiance of party policy and the decisions of the party conference and the Administrative Council. Fearing to provoke a split in the Party, the anti-war section, headed by Colin Wade, D. lyon Jones, S.P. Bunting and P.R. Roux, refrained from using its positions of power to promote its policies, and instead formed the War on War League in September 1914. The League published a weekly journal The War on War Gazette to counter the chauvinist polemics of The Worker, but after 13 issues the Gazette was closed down by the censor at the end of November.
In its first issue the War on War Gazette (September 19, 1914) declared that its constitution was simple. Its members 'pledge themselves to oppose this or any other war at all times and at all costs'. That was all.
To many the League's pronouncements may have appeared sometimes to border on pacifism, and in fact the Labour Party chairman W.H. Andrews refused to join it for this reason, as well as for fear of splitting the party. But the basic plank of the War on War League members was international working class solidarity against capitalism and war. The War on War Gazette declared in its issue of October 24, 1914, that the anti-war struggle was inextricably linked with the world-wide social revolution:
'The War on War of the future, the beginnings of whose strategy we believe we in our small way are helping to prepare, must be something more world-shaking than even the present Armageddon; something involving unprecedented discipline and daring, sacrifice and heroism, desperate conflict with all Military Governments and ruling classes -a revolution, bloodless we hope, calling for profound patience and genius in its preparation and execution, but inspired by an inflexible determination to destroy utterly the Iron Heel which crushes the world with its ever-increasing weight of militarism and
death'.
When the annual conference of the Labour Party met in East London in January 1915, it was found that the majority of delegates were sticking loyally to the Stuttgart-Basle declarations and supported the anti-war position of the

Administrative Council. But unwilling to impose an anti-war resolution which would have split the party, the leadership produced a compromise which allowed each party member 'freedom of conscience' to support or oppose the war. This 'neutrality resolution', as it came to be called, was passed unanimously. W.H. Andrews was re-elected chairman and D. Iron Jones secretary and the Administrative Council remained in the hands of the anti-war section. Nevertheless, the controversy continued.

DOCUMENT 1:

Extracts from 'Keeping the Red Flag Flying- An Address to the S.A. Labour Party', pamphlet published by the War on War League (SA) in March 1915.

THE BANNER BRIGHT

Labour Parties and Congresses all over the world, and in particular the International Socialist Bureau to which the South African Labour Party is affiliated, have for many years past (and not in times of peace alone, as the declarations of Balkan Socialists in 1912-3 showed) consistently emphasized the profound opposition between Socialism and Militarism, the fundamentally Capitalist origin of war, and the essentially international character of working class solidarity. 'Workers of the World, Unite,' said the authors of the Communist Manifesto fifty years ago, a phrase ever since repeated from ten thousand platforms; and at the outbreak of the present war, the Administrative Council of the South African Labour Party, as well as the South African Industrial Federation, true to tradition, reiterated their adherence to the same principles.

THOUGH COWARDS FLINCH

It came as a shock to many, therefore, when a week or so later The Worker, the official organ of the Labour Party, began to jettison these principles as though they had never been seriously meant, and to sound exactly the same war note as the Capitalist press; while about the same time attempts were made to have the resolutions of the Administrative Council and Federation rescinded. This pressfed wave of military patriotism, indeed, grew in volume, as it did in other countries on both belligerent sides. The Labour members of Parliament at Capetown, as in London and Berlin, were swept into approval of the campaign. The Internationalists, even the 'good Europeans', were denounced as 'scabs'. We know all war is wrong and suicidal, said many erstwhile Socialists in Germany and England as in South Africa, but 'we' must 'see it through', defend 'our country,' bring 'the enemy' to his knees and - suppress and punish any expression of opinion opposed to our own. To salve uneasy consciences, the patriots of each side fastened on the misdeeds or atrocities of the other, and prayed, screamed - sometimes even enlisted- for victory, vengeance, and nationalist, or rather Imperialist, vanity.

VIVE L'INTERNATIONALE

Quantum mutatus ab illo! In English, What a come down! In every country those who refused to desert their colours, the Red Flag of the International, felt bound to

protest, by every means in their power, against such a wholesale apostasy of their comrades; to remind them, in the most forcible way, ofthe 'scraps ofpaper' which they were now so incontinently tearing up; and to hold up to them afresh the inviolable truths to which they had just before vowed unswerving allegiance, only now to 'deny them thrice' in the face of what newspapers call 'public opinion', meaning their masters'.

A REACTION AGAINST REACTION

But among the British and other European elements, too, it would have been strange, it would have been humiliating, if some such movement as the 'War on War League' had not sprung into existence. The League was an inevitable reaction against the attitude of the militarist members of the Labour Party; a spontaneous protest and corrective against their lapses and excesses. Had the Party stuck to its guns, there would have been no War on War League.

WITHIN ITS SHADE

Having published its pledge 'to oppose this and any other war at all times and at all costs', the League at once attracted to its ranks some who, while enthusiastic for Socialism, had held alooffrom, and even roughly criticised or attacked, the official Labour Party in the past. Many of these have since joined the Party; and today the League more than ever consists, in an overwhelming proportion, of members of the Party, and includes, it may be fairly said, some of the Party's ablest and most enlightened members. It stands, not on its defence - it would scorn that position but as a representative of militant Working Class Internationalism, whose mission it is, not just to buy seats at elections, pandering to every wave of popular feeling if only votes are caught thereby; but to rally all sections of the workers, in town and country, on the farms no less than in the mines, the factories and the workshops, and in every land alike, to a practical realisation of the transcendent importance, compared with the conflicts between rival Emperors, Generals, financiers, or commercial groups, of the one great struggle in which all Labour Parties throughout the world had hitherto unquestioningly assumed themselves to be engaged-the class struggle to emancipate the workers of the world from exploiting Capitalism.

THE HOPE OF PEACE AT LAST

Had Labour persisted, unfaltering and united, in its normal course instead of being diverted into patriotisms, it could have prevented war last year. If it would rally even now throughout the world, it could stop war today and hereafter.

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Editorial Note:

Creswell, now risen to the rank of Colonel, returned from the campaign in South West Africa in June, 1915, and as parliamentary leader of the Labour Party issued what came to be known as the 'See It Through' manifesto calling for intensified support for the war effort. War fever, whipped up by the capitalist press as well as by the Labour Party's own organ The Worker, infected more and more of the Labour Party rank and file. A general election for the Union Parliament was due in October and a special conference of the Labour Party was called for August 22 to decide the Party's election platform. The anti-war section of the Party once

again felt the need to reply to the ever more virulent attacks being made upon them.

DOCUMENT 2:

Pamphlet 'The Labour Party's Duty in the War, a Reply to the "See It Through" Policy, Signed by Twenty Members of the South African Labour Party'.

At its Administrative Council on August 2nd, 1914, the South African Labour Party passed the following resolution, which is its latest pronouncement on the question of the war itself:

'The SALP at a General meeting of delegates expresses its protest against the Capitalist Governments of Europe in fomenting a war which can only benefit the International Armaments Manufacturer's Ring and other enemies of the working class, and appeals to the workers of the world to organise and refrain from participating in this unjust war.' Against this it may be urged that most of the expressed resolutions of the Party in past years lean if anything towards a condonation of military necessities. In any case, the dead hand of the past cannot be tolerated as an authority in the solution of present problems within the Labour movement.

The one thing we have to guide us in seeking a reply to this important question is the Socialist objective of the Party, and all the ideals and aspirations which that objective implies.

Our Socialism is not a building laid upon a finished foundation, nor a compendium of electoral mandates given on bygone issues, but a living growth unfolding itself into ever newer and finer conceptions. The soul of it is freedom. We, the people of today, must be its interpreters; and we alone must decide in the light of fresh experience how it shall be applied.

As a Labour Party therefore infused with the Socialist ideal, we have duties towards the community in which we find ourselves. These are performed through the uplifting of the status of the working class by the application of principles based on the economic researches of the foremost thinkers of the industrial era. The iron law of competition is supreme in Society. One class imposes its will upon and exploits another class, which has to accept the moral but no less real slavery

ofwages in lieu of starvation as the condition of existence. This inexorable struggle cuts a dividing line across nations, with the result that Labour follows Capital in becoming more and more international.

Because therefore the Labour movement has concentrated its activities on the interests of the workers, it has been the tactic of the defenders of Capitalism to describe it as a sectional movement, and an attempt to substitute one tyranny for another.

But the aim of the Labour movement is so to uplift the working class as to abolish all class distinctions, with a view to including all men in the realm of useful art and joyous labour. This is not to the taste of Capitalists as such; but it is for the truest welfare of all countries, commonwealths and Empires that the Labour movement adhere at all times to this, the only reason for its existence.

Let us then endeavour to apply this reason for our existence to the present situation.
There is no denying the fact that serious differences of opinion exist among members of the South African Labour Party on the subject of the war.
What then is our duty in the present crisis? One answer to this question has been given for a section of the Party in Mr Creswell's manifesto.
Mr Creswell speaks of 'duty to the country of which I am a citizen.'
Let us admit for the sake of argument that our first duty is to our own country. But what is that duty; to destroy or to save? And which is our country: South Africa or the Empire?
The Labour or democratic principle and the Imperialist principle cannot subsist in the one policy.
There are so-called Socialists who bow to the shibboleths of Imperialism, and Imperialists who glibly claim to be Socialists. But the answers to these questions are inevitably those of Imperialism versus Socialism.
Mr Creswell's policy spells an autocracy from without; whereas Socialism must imply real self-government for South Africa.
His policy of seeing the Empire through, so far from embracing all sections of the commnity, is perniciously anti-national in its influence. In this policy 'our country' means the Empire. It seeks to drag South Africa into Imperial conflicts not of our making. It disregards the sentiments of a whole people in this country who cannot be expected to feel any of the ties of Empire (still less the 'ties of blood') other than the irksome and undemocratic ones;-a disreiard which has quite recently plunged them into endless dissension and misery to the exclusion of all real progress. How then, by insisting upon Imperial ties as paramount, can the policy of seeing the Empire through contribute to make ours that truly national Party for which Mr Creswell professes to yearn.
In January, 1914, Mr Creswell issued an appeal to our Dutch fellow workers. Can he appeal to them today with the same confidence that the object is as worthy? That is the test, and a sufficient one, of the extent to which the 'ties of blood' theory has enticed him from the true interests of the working class.
The Socialist attitude, on the other hand, declares that Imperialism is a delusion

and a snare. A Commonwealth of Nations drawn together by kindred thought and speech in the arts of peace is an ideal for which we can wholeheartedly work. But an Imperial authority committing without their consent, nominally self-governing communities to policies the consequences of which they are compelled to endure is a travesty of that ideal and of the essence of democracy. And we maintain that our first duty towards the consummation of such an ideal lies in the emancipation of South Africa from the anti-social evils which beset all countries alike under the present capitalist system.
To paraphrase Mr Creswell, we may also claim that we are no worshippers of phrases. It leaves us quite cold to be told that this or that course is made imperative by the necessities of Empire.

Our country is at all times in danger from within. It is in danger from without chiefly because it is tied to the wheel of Empire. Imperialism perpetuates racial dissensions within; and Imperialism, by rousing international jealousies, is largely responsible for any menace that may exist from without. Are we then unmindful of the fate of our brothers in Europe? On the contrary, we have natural relationships beyond South Africa, not only with the British, but with the whole International working class movement; not only with the countries of the Empire, but with humanity at large. For while Imperial ties and commitments constitute the chief obstacle to the harmonious welding together of the peoples of South Africa, our relations with the International Socialist movement enlarge our conceptions of local needs, and enlighten us as to the methods of meeting them. Moreover, our duty to our brothers in Europe can only be performed by keeping alive our International working class relations. For it is only thus that we can be conscious that Labour in all countries, as in South Africa, is performing this paramount duty of making Governments pause for considerations of humanity. And without the influence of working class organisations operating internationally by propaganda or by economic pressure the limits to which the pride of rulers may prolong the senseless slaughter is hardly definable. We stand by International Socialism. We know that it is faithful in all countries. In spite of many failures and defections, in spite of the tremendous trial to which it has been put, in spite of the pressure of Governments, of censorships and suppressions, of the lure of public office and applause, we exult in the fact that it is still a magnificent reality and will triumphantly emerge from the present dark hour, hereafter to become the one and only power that can emancipate the world from the savagery of its military and capitalist institutions.

What then is our duty to South Africa and the Empire?

Mr Creswell wishes us to confine our efforts to gaining economic concessions from capitalism, and to making the Government realize that in a national emergency the people's interest come first.

We have many present day examples of how this works out in practice with those whose policy it is to 'see it through' without embarrassing the Government; as, for instance, in the South Wales Miners' strike, where the blindness of the Executive to everything but 'seeing it through' results in their siding with the Government

and the employers against the men, in the latter's demand for decent life.

If Governments cannot be forced to discuss peace, how can any substantial economic concessions be wrung from them?

Mr Creswell asks Labour to put salt on the tail of Capitalism, but to leave it to pursue its militarist depredations.

War is the great Niagara over which thunders the accumulated brutalities and deceits of the competitive system.

When war breaks out Labour cannot confine its attention to economic evils, but must attack war itself as the concrete expression of them. Otherwise Labour is degraded to being made the ambulance corps of militarism, content only to follow and pick up its victims wherever it cares to ravage and despoil. Such an auxiliary

position, no matter what temporary political success it may bring, must mean the extinction of the Labour movement as a force by lowering its status from being a movement of emancipation to that of a charitable organisation. Mr Creswell says that when men are called 'to sacrifice their lives in thousands... our duty is to see that inanimate property and the privilege rising from its possession bears its fullest share.' In effect, tolerate the juggernaut which sacrifices 'lives in thousands.' See only to the salvage of its victims.

We most emphatically protest against such a reducing of the status of the labour movement, of which we form a component part. We shall attack war itself, confident that by so doing we are attacking the key to all the evils for whose abolition we exist.

The Imperialist solution of 'seeing it through' is therefore unworthy of the Labour Party.

It is the Labour Party's duty to the country, not at all hazards to win the next elections, but to stand firm through every evil report to the principle of peace and international goodwill and to the identity of interest of the international working class in war and in peace.

If it is always the mission of Labour to give fuller life, still more so is it its duty to refrain from aiding or acquiescing in the destruction of life.

How alluring is the Capitalist applause bestowed upon those Labour men who forsake what they held as dear in time of peace! For it is to the interest of the Capitalist parties to endeavour to get Labour to relinquish its militant attitude. They want us to adopt their standards. They frantically strive to get us to sink our own identity in all countries by forsaking our special work ofrecalling humanity to reason. This they seek to do in order that Labour may be made accessory with them in the fell work of slaughter, against the evil day when a disillusioned and bleeding working class shall raise a terrible accusing finger at those who, for private or party ends, have so misled them into these orgies of fratricide and hate.

We repeat therefore that only by considering the claims of humanity as a whole can the Labour Party serve the people of this country in the present conflict. This is the rock upon which we stand in the firm faith that what is in the interest of humanity cannot but be the highest good of our own country also.

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DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

We, the undersigned members of the South African Labour Party are concerned with the maintenance of its Socialist ideals as contained in its objective. We find ourselves in fundamental disagreement with the policy on the War for the Labour Party proposed in Mr Creswell's recent manifesto. We are therefore resolved to take such steps as will give the best practicable expression to such Socialist ideals in their relation to the War at the forthcoming Conference of the Labour Party to be held on the 22nd August, 1915.

WE HOLD:

That the well-being of the country at the present juncture is to be found, not in the policy of'seeing it through' expressed in such manifesto, but in the endeavour to

substitute reason for the appeal to brute force as a solution of the present world conflict.
That inasmuch as the War has been caused mainly by the scramble of the financial and commercial interests of the various countries for markets and spheres of influence, by secret diplomacy, and Imperial ambitions resulting in huge competition in armaments, the Labour Party as representing the working class can accept no responsibility for the war or for its prosecution. And since war, however successfully waged, can only bring disaster to the working class, it is our supreme duty to agitate for the cessation of the fratricidal struggle to which the peoples of Europe have been blindly committed.
This is made still more imperatively our duty in view of the agitation for peace increasingly carried on by working class agencies in all the belligerent countries. To this end we make the following proposals for a Labour Party policy on the War, believing that it is the duty of the South African Labour Party to endeavour to awaken public opinion to the futility as well as the iniquity of resorting to war as a solution of international differences:(a) In view of the vast suffering and distress caused by this war, and the certainty that any good results to be obtained can never compensate for the evils now obtaining, we consider that steps should be taken by our Government in conjunction with the Imperial and other Governments to end the war and thus relieve humanity from its present crushing burden.
(b) As a step towards this end we consider that the Imperial Government should immediately state the limits within which it is prepared to discuss terms of peace. This will enable the people of all countries, neutral and belligerent, to express their views and ultimately to put pressure on their various governments to come to a just arrangement.
(c) Since the mass of the people in each of the countries now at war believe themselves to be fighting, not as aggressors, but in self-defence and for their national existence, there can be no irreconcilable differences between them; and their common ideals afford a basis on which a magnanimous and honourable peace might be established. We therefore declare opposition to the despatch of any South African contingent to Europe.

(d) Further do we declare that in the event of such a contingent being raised we will oppose the use of compulsion in any form, economic or otherwise, in the recruiting therefor.
(e) As a general principle we declare that no territory ought to change hands at the conclusion of the present war except in accordance with the ascertained wish of the people in the territory concerned. We maintain that the territory known as German South-West Africa should be dealt with under this principle, provided the interests of the natives and coloured populations are adequately safeguarded.
() In view of the responsibilities placed upon the Dominions in war as a result of Imperial diplomatic acts, we demand that a place be found for the representatives ofthe Dominions in the sphere of Imperial diplomacy, so that their powers in peace shall adequately control their commitments in war. We desire to point out

that the only alternative to this course is the acquirement of increased national autonomy for the Union and an absolute release from Imperial commitments, by e.g., the election of the Governor-General by the people or Parliament of this country.
(g) We bind ourselves to co-operate with the International Labour Movement in its efforts to restore peace in Europe.
(h) While not committing ourselves to every detail, we broadly subscribe to the following cardinal points in the policy of the British Union of Democratic Control as a policy of reconstruction after the war:
1. No province shall be transferred from one Government to another without the consent, by plebiscite or otherwise, of the population of such province.
2. No treaty, arrangement or undertaking shall be entered upon in the name of Great
Britain without the consent of Parliament. Adequate machinery for ensuring democratic control of foreign policy shall be created.
3. The Foreign Policy of Great Britain shall not be aimed at creating Alliances for the
purpose of maintaining the Balance of Power, but shall be directed to concerted action between the Powers, and the setting up of an International Council, whose deliberations and decisions shall be public, with such machinery for securing international agreement as shall be the guarantee of an abiding peace.
4. Great Britain shall propose as part of the peace settlement, a plan for the drastic
reduction, by consent, of the armaments of all the belligerent Powers, and to facilitate that Policy shall attempt to secure the general nationalisation of the manufacture of armaments, and the control of the export of armaments from one country to another.
SIGNED:

W H Andrews, MLA	J A Clark, MPC	Geo W Mason
J Forrester Brown, MPC	C Clingman	T N Nortje
Sidney P Bunting, MPC'	Richard J Hall	J E Riley, MPC
Robert Barnet	Hal W Haynes	Fred. Robertson
Gideon S Botha	M I Isaacson	Frank Shaw
Christina Barnet	David Iron Jones	Colin Wade, MPC
A F Crisp, MPC	W Light, MPC	Andrew Watson

JOHANNESBURG, 20th July, 1915

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Editorial Note:
At the special conference in Johannesburg on August 22, Creswell put forward a resolution pledging wholehearted support for the war effort, while Colin Wade moved an amendment setting out the 'War on War' policy, opposing the dispatch of South African troops, calling for an end to the imperial commitment and pledging cooperation with the international socialist movement for peace and disarmament. Creswell's motion was carried by 82 votes to 30, whereupon the anti-war section walked out of the conference. They were not giving up the fight,

however. Almost immediately they decided to form The International League of the South African Labour Party, hoping to be able to carry on their anti-war agitation from within the Labour Party. On September 10, 1915, they published the first issue of their weekly organ The International, which remained the organ of the League and later, under the names of The South African Worker and Umsebenzi of the Communist Party of South Africa until 1938.

DOCUMENT 3:

'The New International, By the Editor', published in The International, September 10, 1915.

Here we plant the flag of the New International in South Africa. Like all pioneer banners, it cannot be an elaborate one. Let us briefly trace the journey hither.

The East London Conference of the Labour Party, with a view to preserving working class unity, adopted a resolution on the war leaving the question to the dictates of each member's individual reason and conscience. At that Conference the Internationalists were in an overwhelming majority. Not, let us admit, that that majority represented the exact feeling of the rank and file on the war; but the passions of war and the electioneering virus had not as yet clouded the sense of the branches to the value of the Internationalists to the Party.

On this compact the Party worked for seven months. Then, with the approach of the General Election, the growing agitation to define the Party's policy on the war resulted in the Special Conference held at Johannesburg on August 22 last.

At this Conference the Party adopted by a majority of 82 to 30 the Bezuidenhout War Policy which pledges it wholeheartedly to support the Imperial Government in the prosecution of the war.

We need not refer to the domestic provisions for the succour of the disabled and the destitute contained in the subsidiary clauses of that resolution. They comprise the ordinary duties of a Labour Party at all times; and the only effect of their inclusion in this war policy is to throw a lurid light on the so-called 'destiny and liberties' of our country so flamboyantly heralded in the principal clause.

The 'see it through' policy has imposed upon a movement of revolt against Capitalism a pledge to support Capitalist Governments in the prosecution of their supreme crime War.

Militarism is the instrument by which the Masters impose their will upon the Workers. The pro-war majority have enthroned militarism as the first essential of a working class representative.

Part of a movement based on the recognition of no boundary other than the boundary between exploiter and exploited, the Party now demands Labour representatives to range themselves on the side of one set of exploiters in this inhuman sacrifice of working class blood.

Up to the Special Conference all that the Party pledge implied was a guarantee ofdevotion to working class interests. To paraphrase the words of the Hebrew sage slightly, the Party in effect said:

'This is the pledge that I have chosen: To loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the

heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke'
The Bezuidenhout Policy commits us, and its rough-shod supporters insist upon it, to what we hold to be a policy of aggravating the heavy burdens, to let the oppressor go free, and that we place the yoke heavier and heavier on the neck of the workers. That the workers, educated by their masters, demand it, makes not the slightest difference to our responsibilities in the matter.
The adoption of this policy left the Internationalists torn between their allegiance to the necessity for working class unity and to the fundamental working class interests which it violates.
To compose the two necessities is the object of the formation of the International League within the Party, to propagate the principles held by us to be the very essentials of working class emancipation. These are the principles of International Socialism and anti-militarism.
'The International' will be the organ of the League. In its columns the point of view of the Internationalist will be presented in its manifold phases. Like all young conceptions it is never fully told. Karl Marx, in his Eighteenth Brumaire, strikingly remarks that the literary expression of middle class revolutions were always grander than their actual content; but that the working class ideal struggles through to as yet inadequate expression. The substance of it is infinitely finer than the articulation.
In the conception of the Working Class International, however, there emerges to unawakened earth the trumpet of a prophesy. Even in the hour of its numerical supremacy we see the national sentiment fading before our eyes, and slowly reforming into the vaster constellation of International working class unity. This is now the only way of advance for Labour. The other way presents a vista of interminable despair with bayonets and cross bones stacked on either side. By this way of the New International alone can mankind hope for a release from the toils of the brute, and rise to that higher plane when men shall scorn all conflict other than the conflict of mind with mind in the realm of intellect.

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DOCUMENT 4:
'The Tearing of the Pledges', article by W.H. Andrews, published in The International, September 10, 1915.
Five years ago, if Mr Creswell, the present dictator of the Labour Party, had been told that he would sit 'all silent,' not to say 'all damned,' whilst pledges were torn up and old members of the Party excommunicated because they declined to subscribe to a patriotic resolution passed by a war mad majority, he would probably have indignantly denied the possibility. At his entry to the Party he signed the pledge with a very wry face. For months he fenced with the question endeavouring to find a loophole through which he could squeeze; but as the only way to a seat in Parliament in opposition to his erstwhile friends, the mine magnates, was through the Labour Party, the dose had to be swallowed. How useful that instrument is in getting rid of inconvenient associates he is now probably completely convinced. Whether it has served the purpose intended by the founders ofthe Party is open to question. As Mr Creswell has often remarked,

an honest man needs no pledge, an adventurer will sign anything to gain his ends. How many of the Labour candidates deserve this name experience will teach us. One thing is certain, that, although all are not so frank as Mr Dan Symon, who has openly repudiated the objective of the Party in the Administrative Council, some of them are no more believers in that objective, viz., Socialism, than Unionists or members of the other Capitalist parties.

The justice of imposing the extreme penalty of repudiation and possibly expulsion from the party on men who have wholeheartedly advanced and worked for the principles of socialism for years, and accepting with open arms men who are known to be anti-socialist but have consciences elastic enough to sign the pledge is somewhat difficult to understand.

There can be no shadow of doubt that the 'see it through' policy is anti-socialist. All writers are agreed that Socialism can only succeed if it is international in scope. National socialism is only different in degree from the attempts to found Socialist communities as oasis in the desert of Capitalist society. As they have failed so will National socialism.

Workers of the World unite was Marx's clarion call. He helped to form the International to achieve that end. It went down in blood. The newer and larger International built up since 1870 is being submerged by a more immense upheaval of National hate, prejudice, fear, jealousy and slaughter. It "rill rise again purged we hope of some of its errors. One of the most fatal of these is that socialism can be established in water-tight compartments. It will be seen then that the true spirit of the socialist and Labour movement has been kept alive not by the office seekers who watch the currents of public opinion in order to float to ease and security on them, nor by the honest but misguided dupes of the ruling class which controls all the means of education, but by those who are now called wreckers of the party cranks, faddists and enemies of the movement because they dare to point out to comrades the true path to human emancipation, namely -the International Unity of the Working Class.

DOCUMENT 5:

Objects of the International League of the South African Labour Party, published in The International, September 10, 1915.

1. To propagate the principles of International Socialism and anti-militarism, and to promote International Socialist unity and activity.
2. To conserve the Socialist principles contained in the Constitution of the South African Labour Party.

METHODS:

1. To organise and educate by means of press and platform.
2. To federate branches of the Party endorsing the objects of the League. 3. To maintain and strengthen International Working class organisation.

Chairman-W.H. ANDREWS
Vice-Chairmen-J.A. CLARK, MPC., A.F. CRISP, MPC.
Treasurer-G. WEINSTOCK
Secretary-D. IVON JONES

Editorial Note:
The Second International collapsed on the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, when the majority of the European socialist parties reneged on their anti-war pledges outlined in the Suttgart and Basle conference resolutions and calledon their members to support their governments in the international slaughter demanded by the rivalries of world capitalism. But in all countries the true socialists remained loyal to their antiwar sentiments and started to work for the formation of a new international. In September 1915, a conjerence of socialist opponents of the war was held at Zimmerwald, Switzerland, attended by official delegates of parties from Italy, Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Rumania and Bulgaria, with minority groups from several other countries. The Zimmerwald conference adopted a general manifesto proclaiming international working class solidarity against imperialikm and establishing a permanent International Socialist Commission which prepared the way for the establishment of the Third International. News did not travel so rapidly in those days as it does today, and the South African socialists knew nothing of the Zimmerwald conference. But, as we have seen, in the first issue of The International Andrews had expressed the hope that a new international based on the iniernational unity of the working class would arise, and in the following issue of the paper the announcement was made of the independent initiative taken by the ISL to achieve this objective.
DOCUMENT 6:
'The League's Message to Europe: A World Party' from the International League of the S.A. Labour Party published in The International, September 17, 1915.

Socialists and Internationalists 15
The Secretary,
British Section,
International Socialist Bureau.
Dear Comrade,
The above League, which has just been formed, consists of branches and individual members of the S.A. Labour Party who refuse to accept the pro-war resolutions adopted by a large majority at a recent conference of that Party under the title of the 'See it through policy.' I enclose copy of a reply to that Policy published a few weeks ago by some of our members, also a leaflet entitled 'Noblesse Oblige,' reproducing with comments the manifesto of Karl Liebknecht and his 700 followers, and of the first issue of a weekly paper now being issued by our League throughout South Africa.
The result of the majority's vote has been to cause a serious, perhaps a final, split in the SALP, although none of us have so far seceded from the Party except two, who to vindicate our principles, are standing for Parliament in the approaching general election against the Party's official pro-war candidates, and who have thought that their continued membership of the Party in these circumstances would place them in a false position.
From the Socialist papers, such as the 'Labour Leader' and 'Forward,' which reach us, it seems clear that a more or less similar state of affairs has arisen in most of

the other Labour Parties of the world, and not least in the German Social Democratic Party.

What we have looked for so far in vain, however, is news of any attempt to link up these antimilitarist minorities of the world into one New International Organisation to replace the old one which must be admitted to have failed.

Speaking in all humility from this remote corner of the globe, we venture to think that not only does the future of the whole working class movement in every land turn more than ever on the formation of a well-knit, united, executive International Socialist Organisation, but that the brightest hopes of an early peace with honour for all countries concerned in the present war depend upon action being taken at once to that end by such an organisation. We further feel convinced that the minorities above mentioned, together with parties like the Italian Socialist Party and the Russian Social Democratic Party, which we read have throughout remained true to their principles, form the obvious and for the time being the only suitable foundation for such a structure.

No doubt the difficulties of communication between the various countries are enormous, but we notice that news does from time to time leak through, and we feel, therefore, that with skill and pluck these difficulties should not, even now, be entirely insuperable.

We therefore desire to appeal to you who are more closely in touch with different centres of the movemcnt than we to give your most earnest consideration to the proposal above made, and if satisfied, as we are, of its enormous and immediate practical importance, to take steps forthwith to carry it into effect. In particular, we would ask you to do your utmost to place it before the corresponding sections in

Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy, and the USA. We would even suggest that you invite Dr Karl Liebknecht if possible to take the lead in the whole matter.

Many of us here feel considerable compunction at the idea of seceding from the official Labour Party of South Africa unless and until we can step from it into the larger International body whose formation we have above put forward. The same consideration, we should imagine, must weigh with similar groups in other countries, whose adhesion to such an organisation, when formed, will almost certainly be immediate and enthusiastic; and will, we feel sure, be followed by that of many others at present blinded by the call of patriotism, but nevertheless filled with that misgiving which no true Socialist can ever entirely suppress on the subject of war.

The ultimate effect, we believe, will be, not greater disunion in the ranks of Labour; but, on the contrary, a far more powerful and united, because world wide, movement than has ever been attained.

Yours fraternally,

For the International League of the SA Labour Party D. IVON JONES (Secretary)

Editorial Note:

In an article in the following issue of The International, S.P. Bunting wrote:

'Many of us are only just rediscovering that Socialism, to be effective, must be International. We knew it, and had forgotten it, before. The limpid philosophy of the Communist Manifesto had been muddled away by state education and a commonplace press, both emphasising the history of the ruling class only, both idolising the Nation, (a new-old anachronism revived for ulterior purposes by that class, with delicious inconsequence in the case of groups like the British Empire, scarcely recognisable any more as national) and both simultaneously adulating the Army and Navy, supposed to defend the nation, but really more than ever a bulwark of that class. Capitalist influence had wormed itself into the core, so that when the fruit should have been ripe it turned out rotten...

'The press abuses us as International Socialists, which is just what we are... We must

go on until we achieve, not mere election victories, not even a patched up peace (though diplomats will never achieve anything better now) but a peace with honour, a permanent and universal victory for Labour, quod semper, quod ubique, quod omnibus. We have a

world, no ess, to win'. (The Internationai, September 24, 1915.)

The Creswellites, obsessed by war-hysteria and chauvinism, took steps to secure the expulsion of the anti-war section from the Labour Party. But on September 15, the ISL decided to ballot its members on the proposal to secede from the Labour Party. The two decisions came into effect almost simultaneously: the International League of the SA Labour Party became the International Socialist League (SA).

DOCUMENT 7:

Report on the general meeting of the International Socialist League (SA) published in The International, September 24, 1915.

There was a very full attendance of members ofthe League at the General Meeting held in the Trades Hall last Wednesday, the 22nd inst., Comrade Crisp in the chair. At the meeting held the previous week it had been decided to submit the question of withdrawing from the South African Labour Party to a plebiscite of the members. There was a full poll of members during the week. The plebiscite resulted in an overwhelming majority in favour of severing all connection with the SALP, and the announcement was received by the meeting with enthusiasm. W.H. Andrews then amid further acclamation resumed the chair, which he had vacated on his recent resignation from the party, and the work oforganising under the new conditions was immediately proceeded with. Commissioner Street and Vrededorp Branches were affiliated to the League. S.P. Bunting, MPC, W. Light, MPC, A.B. Dunbar, and Robert Barnet were appointed four additional members to form, with the officers, the Management Committee of the League.

The officers are: W.H. Andrews, Chairman; A.F. Crisp, MPC, and J.A. Clark, MPC, Vice-Chairmen; G. Weinstock, Treasurer; D. Ivon Jones, Secretary. The Press Committee's report was adopted. The Provisional Constitution was discussed and adopted, the name of the organisation to be 'The International Socialist League.' Its Provisional Constitution will prevail until a conference of the League can be called.

The League then formally nominated its Parliamentary Candidates. W.H. Andrews for Georgetown, J.A. Clark, MPC, Langlaagte, and R.J. Hall, MA, for Dundee. The question of contesting further constituencies was placed in the hands of the Management Committee, with recommendations. The meeting then proceeded to work on the question of Election Finance, and most of the old hands who worked such wonders at the central organisation of the Provincial Council Elections were roped into harness. In singing the 'Red Flag' at the close, the members felt the responsibility of the great step that they had taken, and there was a resolve to spare no energy to make the new organisation worthy of the great principle for the sake of which we had so reluctantly and after so much anxious deliberation parted company with the older party. This parting of the ways was taken by most not without a pang at the severing of old associations. But it was generally felt that the ruthless manner in which the pro-war majority had scrapped old workers for the cause was only one symptom of the complete collapse of the party from its long cherished ideals, and of its now almost abject subserviency to the dictates of a capitalist press riding on the wave of a public stampede of its own creating.

The League can already count in its fold some of the most alert branches of the one-time Labour Party. Commissioner Street, Jeppe, Vrededorp, Georgetown, Valley Central, Belgravia, Mayfair, and Benoni. The last namedbranch is a tower of strength, as befits that classic spot. Durban and Capetown we trust will soon be organised into the League, in some form or other, And in the period after the elections the League looks foward to grappling with those great South African no less than International problems which in its fatty degeneration the SALP was getting aftraid to face,

Editorial Note:

The slogan 'Workers of the World Unite'created problems in South Africa, where the working class embraced men and women of all races. Membership of the Labour Party had been predominantly white, and the black working class was largely unorganised, underprivileged and underpaid, as well as often underemployed. Nevertheless, the socialist element in the Labour Party had pressed for the inclusion of black workers, but the furthest they had been able to advance was the adoption at the 1914 conference of a resolution declaring membership of the Labour Party open to 'all persons of either sex of the age of 18 and upwards who endorse the objects of the Party and are accepted by the branch of the Party which they wish to join, 'but adding: 'It is undesirable to admit Coloured persons to membership who have not given practical guarantees that they agree to the Party's policy of upholding and advancing White standards . The socialists objected to this insulting definition, and Andrews declared during the debate:

'The working class of this country are the Native people, and if this is really a Labour Party and not a middle-class party, as it appears to be rapidly becoming, we must admit
the Native.'

The split in the Labour Party reflected divisions not only over the issue of proletarian internationalism, but also over the meaning of proletarian internationalism in the South African context. Not all the International Socialists saw eye to eye on this question, but the more far-sighted of the ISL leadership took a principled stand from the outset and immediately steered the party in the direction of non-racialism and equality. This was brought out sharply in the fourth issue of the ISL 's weekly journal, and was the subject of a key policy resolution moved by S.P. Bunting at the first conference of the ISL held in Johannesburg in January 1916.

DOCUMENT 8:

'The Parting of the Ways', editorial in The International, October 1, 1915.

OUR JUSTIFICATION

As was announced in last week's issue of The International, the anti-militarists have definitely seceded from the South African Labour Party, and have formed a separate organisation called the International Socialist League (SA). The first step was the formation of the International League within the Party. This was done in the lingering hope that the Party might relent considerably in the application of its 'see it through' policy, and afford some prospect of winning it back to what the Internationals consider its native principles. But it was not to be. Drunk with its newly-found ascendancy, the majority rode rough-shod over all finer sentiments of old associations, comradeship, freedom of thought, or working class qualifications; And, with one eye on the pledge and the other on the Capitalist

Press, insisted upon the imposition of its Imperialism on that pledge, and on its signature anew by every candidate for public office.

TWO POLES MUTUALLY REPULSIVE With the anxiety of the one section to protest its loyalty to the Empire by constant public dissociation from the Internationals, and the impatience of the Internationals at the growing flagwagging propensities of the majority, the antagonism within the Party soon created an impossible situation, and the link finally broke.

In addition to the inevitable estrangement, the secession was helped by other considerations. The Party has become definitely tainted with militarism and Imperialism. The alternatives were to remain silent within the Party, (an unthinkable attitude), or loudly to proclaim true working class principles; which latter inevitably made for expulsion in any case.

THE TWO UNITIES

It was a case of duty to the International as against the obligation to working class unity. It soon became evident however that unity for us meant unity with the antiwar minorities of Socialism all over the world. It was even felt latterly that the best answer to those who wished to 'bore from within' was that no reclamation of the party to Socialism after the war will have any virtue unless a section of it have unmistakeably rebelled against its capitulation to capitalism. We claim that in the present conflict our best service to South Africa will be rendered by considering the claims of humanity at large. We have applied the same principle here. The best way to secure local unity is to make International unity our guide. Whether or

not the present Labour Party will ever desire or deserve any working affiliation with the League on its return to sanity, the imperative duty of the hour is to give adequate voice to the International spirit in South Africa. If that has made secession inevitable -well and good. The fact that the final break was preceded by some lingering hesitation, not to say vacillation, is a guarantee of earnest consideration.

GREAT RESPONSIBILITIES

And now the principles of International Socialism in South Africa are in our keeping. We have undertaken great responsibilities. Every member of the League must feel the need for concentrating all available energies on making the organisation well worthy of the principles which it is to enshrine. We have the whole of South Africa to organise; and ifwe do not make the International Socialist League the most effective and best organised Party of the workers in South Africa, we hope to at least deserve that success.

NEW METHODS

We trust the League will draw new lessons from the spirit of the time. It will endeavour to ascertain from the experiences of the past year the pitfalls in organisation which should be avoided. The Provisional Constitution of the League appears in another column. It is purposely simple and embracing, insisting firmly on the one principle which accounts for our existence. We have learnt something ofthe dangers of too elaborate constitutions and pledges. Greater freedom of action will undoubtedly mark the Labour movement of the future. The War on War League has done magnificent work on a constitution oftwo lines only, proving that hard personal service in the Branches, and not constitutions, will do the work.

LARGER BRANCHES

There was a case not long ago of an electric plant working of itself all night thiough, after the attendant had been electrocuted. The Labour Party is very much in that position. Most of its Branches are now mere skeletons kept in being by persons interested in getting nominated for public office. The League will not follow the old method of forming Branches often in every constituency. Running candidates for public bodies will only be one of our methods, and not perhaps the most important one. Strong central Branches therefore rather than many small and scattered ones, is the securest organisation.

APPEAL TO SOCIALISTS

In this connection we would appeal to the Socialist Societies of Durban, Capetown, Pretoria, as well as other kindred organisations, to link up into one International Socialist Organisation for South Africa. Most encouraging response is being given by isolated Socialists in all parts of South Africa, to whom the Labour Party has not been able to make any appeal. The Socialists of the Transvaal have given sufficient guarantee of fidelity to the cause which they now espouse to give them the right to urge upon the organised Socialists of the other Provinces to link up at all costs. The Conference of the League which it is hoped to call in a few months time should be representative of the whole of South

Africa. We look with confidence to them to rise to the greatness of the occasion, and form in South Africa an organisation worthy of the International.

THE OUTLOOK

We have glorious tasks to perform for South Africa and Socialism during the coming years. The nature of these tasks will happily prevent our being spoilt by overmuch public applause. A dilettante and exclusive Internationalism will however have to be guarded against. The International Socialist League will have

the more significance the more it tends to pull the working class of South Africa with it. This involves a corresponding interest in industrial organisation with a view to giving it an International outlook.

THE REAL PROLETARIAT

Moreover, an Internationalism which does not concede the fullest rights which the native working class is capable of claiming will be a sham. One of the justifications for our withdrawal from the Labour Party is that gives untrammelled freedom to deal, regardless of political fortunes, with the great and fascinating problem of the native. If the League deal resolutely in consonance with Socialist principles with the native question, it will succeed in shaking South African Capitalism to its foundations. Then and not till then, shall we be able to talk about the South African Proletariat in our International relations. Not till we free the native can we hope to free the white. Is militarism to be destroyed, capitalism to be chained, and the lust of conquest 'dragged captive through the deep' by the immeasurably finer order of the Great International that is to be? then

SOCIALISTS OF SOUTH AFRICA UNITE!

DOCUMENT 9:

Provisional Constitution of the International Socialist League, published in The International, October 1, 1915.

For the Benefit of supporters and comrades in other provinces of the Union, it will be well worth the space to publish here the provisional Constitution of the International Socialist League, as decided upon at the general meeting of the Rand members in Johannesburg on September 22nd. The Constitution will prevail until a Conference of the League can be called. In the meantime kindred organisations in other parts of the Union, with this Constitution before them, will no doubt discuss the question of amalgamating all the International Socialists of South Africa into one body.

NAME

The International Socialist League (SA)

OBJECTS

To propagate the principles of International Socialism and anti-Militarism, and to maintain and strengthen International working class organisation.

METHODS SHALL INCLUDE

(1) Organisation and education by means of press and platform.
(2) Participation In elections for public bodies.

MEMBERSHIP
(a) Any person may be a member of the League who either joins and is accepted by a Branch of the League, or joins the League at Headquarters as an unattached member, and
(b) signs a pledge to abide by the Constitution of the League; and
(c) pays any subscription levied by his Branch, or in the case of unattached members pays at least 2/6 per month to the Treasurer of the League; and
(d) Subscribes at the rate of 5/- per annum to the official organ of the League.
ADMINISTRATION
(1) Each Branch shall be entitled to appoint two delegates for every 25 members or part thereof to a Delegates Meeting, and representation of unattached members at such meeting shall be arranged in the same proportion by the Management Committee; and such meeting with the Management Committee shall be the governing body of the League, and shall be summoned from time to time at the discretion of the Management
Committee.
(2) The Management Committee of the League shall consist of Chairman, two Vice-chairmen, a Treasurer and Secretary, and four other members, all to be appointed for one year by a Delegates' Meeting.
(3) The Management Committee may frame bye-laws for the further management of the League's affairs.
DOCUMENT 10:
'The First Conference of the League- Enthusiasm, Harmony, Diversity', report in The International, January 14, 1916.
How can we adequately describe our first Conference to absent members: the harmony of spirit that prevailed; the pleasantry and the high seriousness, the devotion to the cause of International Socialism and the whole empire of ideas which that implies; and withal the most interesting diversity of outlook and opinion, contributed to the day's proceedings by the delegates and members.
AGENDA
The agenda before the Conference was of quite a comprehensive character, and showed an intense degree ofactivity on the part of our young organisation for the short while that it has existed.

The Management Committee's report, too lengthy to reproduce in our issue, comprised a review of our journey from the fateful Conference of August last. The present anatomy of the League was described in the following paragraph:
'The old Labour Party delimitations were in many cases abandoned, and we have today live branches meeting at Benoni, Durban, Johannesburg Central and Eastern Districts, and Germiston. At Krugersdorp, which has a good crop of Internationalists, a branch is
in process of formation.
'These by no means exhaust the sphere of our influence, Numbers of Socialists in all

parts of the country are kept in touch with the movement through the 'International.' We have supporters comprising the most efficient officers of Labour Party branches in all the chief towns of the Union, who though having severed their allegiance to the SALP, have not yet got beyond reading and distributing the 'International.' The clarifying of ideals by propaganda and the firing of new enthusiasms by the process of evems will
undoubtedly bring all these and more into our ranks sooner or later.
'We are also in friendly communication with the previously existing Socialist Societies
in Durban, Capetown and Pretoria. With these Comrades our paper furnishes a common
meeting ground.'
In referring to the Branch Secretaries who have thus far carried on the arduous work of the League, the report continued:
These Comrades have pulled the League through the most trying period of its existence.
Today, thanks to their devotion, it would be no exaggeration to claim that in actual
organisation the League already excels that of the Labour Party.'
Read, not in a spirit of small rivalry with the old organisation, but ofgratulation that the South African movement has been carried forward a tremendous stage of development, this part of the report is very significant reading. "
The Financial Statements of the League and the Press afforded an index of the monetary sacrifices made by members, and the spirit behind the movement. The Treasurer, Comrade Weinstock, accounted for the disbursement of nearly £300, showing a small balance to the good on the League account. A movement which can rally such endeavour at the present time is assured of a harvest of Socialists sooner or later.
The Press Committee's Report was brief. One paragraph is of sufficient general interest to quote here:
'Complaints are often heard of lack of humorous articles and stories in our paper. We take a serious view of its mission, and although vivacity is our constant aim, we have no desire to issue a 'Tit-bits' or comic journal. Moreover, the necessity for giving our paper a local taste while preaching universal principles confines us largely to local writers, and debars us from the easier if more entertaining journalism of the scissors and paste. Occasional attacks on the paper in the Capitalist papers, notably The Star seem to indicate that The
International is on the right lines.'
The agenda paper was not overburdened with notices of motion. In the seventeen items down for discussion, there were few indeed that did not attempt to declare our foundation principles. There was a general tacit desire to avoid planks

and platform jerrybuilding. The most important motions will be found in the report of the Conference proceedings. No greater testimony to the high level peaks of principle on which the Conference dwelt during the day, could be given

than in the desire of the Johannesburg delegate to withraw a motion deprecating electioneering. The proceedings of the day had made the motion unnecessary.

THE DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

The Conference was declared open at 10.30 am. There was an attendance of 32 delegates and members of the Management Committee: with a goodly muster of members from Benoni, Germiston and Johannesburg, who had the right to speak. The first incident of the proceedings provided a happy touch -the admission of Comrades W. Blake and H.H. Tame as fraternal delegates from the Pretoria Socialist Society.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

Comrade W.H. Andrews, who had travelled up from Durban in company with Comrades Pettersen and Dunning, representing Durban, then delivered his Presidential address.

In all his previous occupancy of chairmanships, the Chairman said he had managed to avoid Presidential addresses, but he felt that this occasion demanded one.

After touching on the importance of linking up with the other Comrades in South Africa, 'I have been working at my trade for a few months, and while the lathe is going round a turner can think, manual work has a tendency to clarify our ideas on political and other matters' said the Chairman. It therefore seemed to him that at this stage in our history to elaborate a long constitution with a programme would be a mistake. They had found in past experience that the frequent result of programmes was to allow a large number of people to enter an organisation on one, two or three planks of a platform, who totally disagreed with other planks and perhaps with the objective.

They should also take into consideration the linking up of Socialists in South Africa. 'There are a considerable number of men and women who have been advocating Socialism for many years past, without being permanently attached to any organisation. We should avail ourselves ofthe services ofthese valuable people.' There were also existing Socialist organisations who, having definitely propagated Socialism in definite ways for years, might excusably hesitate from joining up with an organisation founded on a protest. They should have to consider these organisations equally anxious with ourselves to see Socialism established. He wished to see all genuine Socialists members in a movement, whatever its name with the idea of Internationalism and anti-militarism permanently incorporated in its platform, to bring about a state ofSociety in which every man or woman shall receive the full fruits of their labour, and develop the finest faculties of their nature.

The war was not a passing phase; militarism was the answer of capitalism to all their organisation and propaganda.

The responsibility lay on them of preparing for the inevitable reaction against the war, and to save it from being exploited by the class who ride on the crest of every wave. The future of the workers was in their hands. They could retard by

mistakes, or accelerate the social revolution, concluded the Chairman amid enthusiastic approval.

MANAGEMENT'S REPORT

The discussion of the Executive Report, being a review of the changes in the Political Labour movement of the last few months as touching the League, was quickly proceeded with and adopted with a few verbal amendments. Much valuable work not of sufficient public interest to dwell on in these pages was got over during the morning.

The Secretariat of the League was placed on a definite basis and allied to the editorship of the paper. It was pointed out by the Treasurer that, in order to allow extraneous items of income for contingencies and for propaganda, the head office and full time Secretary placed a burden of L3 a month on each of the Branches. The policy and conduct of the International also came in both for good humoured criticism and praise.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

The following officers were appointed for the coming year: Chairman: W.H. Andrews. Vice-Chairman: Colin Wade, MPC, and S.P. Bunting, MPC. Treasurer: G. Weinstock. Secretary: D. Iron Jones. Members of Management: A.F. Crisp, J.A. Clark, W. Light, and A.B. Dunbar.

POLICY OF THE LEAGUE

Early in the afternoon the Conference completed its administrative work, and proceeded to discuss the various motions on the agenda. The first one immediately plunged the delegates into rock-bottom principles. It read as follows:

'That the League do not recognise fraternal relations with any organisation whatsoever
that supports the institution of militarism and war.'

The relation of Trade Unions being instanced, doubters were assured that the resolution manifestly defined only the official relations of the League, and did not interfere with the action of individual members in the ordinary way. It was felt that the motion was of fundamental importance in its effect on the Labour movement of the future, and it was declared carried amid acclamation.

It was then resolved that the League endorse the Zimmerwald Manifesto, and

the League's affiliation with the Internationalist Socialist Commission at Berne was carried unanimously, the Management being directed to expedite the rendering of financial assistance to the new International.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

The next application of the paramountcy of the class struggle which is the foundation of our position, was the Conference's declaration, modified somewhat from the original motion,

'That we encourage the organisation of the workers on industrial or class lines, irrespective of race, colour or creed, as the most effective means of providing the necessary force for the emancipation of the workers.'

On this motion a most interesting discussion took place and the 'SLP men' were in their favourite element. A subsequent motion from Benoni 'That the League adopt

the constitution of the Socialist Labour Party of America' was ruled out of order, but the Management Committee was requested to make enquiries into the matter.

THE NATIVE QUESTION

Comrade Bunting opened the Evening Session with his Petition of Rights for the native:

'That this League affirm that the emancipation of the working class requires the abolition of all forms of native indenture, compound and passport systems; and the lifting of the
native worker to the political and industrial status of the white.'

The discussion on this motion was extremely keen, and Comrade Clingman moved that 'A Committee be appointed to report on the proper Socialist policy on native affairs.' Comrade Wade adduced biological evidence on the intellectual development of the native as compared with the white. While Comrade Dunbar retorted in a few pungent sentences with the facts of the class struggle. The motion dealt with the native as a fellow worker and a wage slave. He averred that there was no native problem, only a worker's problem. The amendment was lost, Colin Wade then got the last sentence changed to read:

'And the lifting of the native wage worker to the political and industrial status of the white; meanwhile endeavouring to prevent the increase of the native wage workers, and
to assist the existing native wage workers to free themselves from the wage system.'

With this amendment the resolution was agreed to by an overwhelming majority.

HOW TO GUIDE THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT

The next motion brought us also face to face with the problems of the near future.

'That we recommend to the new International at Berne the formation of a Commission sitting continuously to report on all phases of the war in its relation to the working class.' This motion was agreed to, with the addition of the motion following on the agenda, reading

'And to prepare for a probable uprising ofthe proletariat at the conclusion of the war; and to investigate as to the best means of guiding such uprising, on lines least provocative of
bloodshed, to the capture of increased political and economic power by the workers.'

The scientific as against the catastrophic character of our Socialist belief was exemplified in the rejection of an amendment to make the last sentence read:

'With a view to the abolition of the Capitalist system and the emancipation of labour.'

TRADE UNION AFFILIATION

The remaining motions, being of secondary importance, did not arouse much discussion. A motion to change the name of the organisation from 'League' to 'Party' was not agreed to. Rejected also was a motion to make the repudiation of War Loans a fighting plank in our platform.

A motion, however, by Comrade Pettersen, of Durban, 'That Trades Unions wishing to become affiliated to the League be accepted as branches' created a lively discussion before the close of the Conference, and was carried after a keen tussle.

Thus the Conference, after 12 hours bank to bank, concluded its deliberations a trifle jaded, but with undiminished good humour, and with greatly fortified faith in the cause for which it had met. The Chairman closed the Conference with a few parting words of congratulation, and the lusty singing of the 'Red Flag' terminated a memorable day.

Editorial Note:

One of the most remarkable features of the leadership of the International Socialist League was the way in which, despite the difficulties of communication, it kept in step with the international socialist movement and correctly interpreted developments in Europe and elsewhere. This was proof of its understanding of the basic principles of Marxism and the manner in which they should be applied in practice. Nowhere was the 1917 Russian revolution greeted with more enthusiasm than by the ISL in South Africa. The nature of the revolution of March (February old style) was interpreted with unerring accuracy, and as the intense struggle for power between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat raged in the ensuing months, The International correctly identified the contending parties and had no hesitation in siding with Lenin and the Bolsheviks. At the same time the ISL saw the link between the Russian revolution and the fight against racial domination at home. The International of June 8, 1917, posed the question:

'What does sympathy with the Russian Revolution imply, comrades? It implies the solidarity of labour irrespective of race or colour. That phrase may be hackneyed so let us be precise. The Russian Revolution in South Africa means the welcome hand to the

native working man into the fullest social and economic equality he is capable ofattaining
with the white workingman'.

These two themes-they were in effect two sides of the same coin-were to characterise the work of the ISL in the ensuing years, and later of its successor, the Communist Party of South Africa.

DOCUMENT 11:

'170 Million Recruits', editorial in The International, March 23, 1917.

The Socialist International has become a far more tremendous thing by the Russian Revolution. It means that a people of 170 million has swung into line with the great proletariat of all countries, on its march to the Revolution by the side of which this and all previous ones are but 'shopkeeper's riots' in immensity. J.M.G. ably explains in another column the economic factors which have made this revolution possible. But while it is necessary to warn the workers of the partial value only to them of the conquest of political rights, the importance of this step forward in the world's history can hardly be exaggerated. The rising capitalist class cannot achieve its political revolution without the aid of the

workers, nor without sharing the fruits with them. The capitalist looks only to the immediate necessities of industry, no matter if his successors have to reap the whirlwind. The proletariat must look to the end; for in its fight the means and the end, the method and the objective, are at one. The Capitalist seeks a political railroad for his system. He cannot win it without providing a railroad to the working class revolution.

We see two streams in this, as in all previous revolution. The Industrial Capitalist cry is now 'ORDER'. The proletarian driving power cries 'LIBERTY'. But the workers having won their 'Programme of the Day', and the Capitalist the control of the State, the two streams immediately disunite and the class war begins on the last lap to the Socialist Revolution. Now is the dangerous hour. Now the dominant capitalist cry will be 'order', and it will be enforced at the cannon's mouth if necessary, 'tearing the side of the proletariat', as Marx once said, if the workers are not organised independently and strong to bear the shock of the recoil.

But it seems to us that the Russian workmen are so organised in the industrial centres. The independent existence of a 'Council of Workmen' dictating terms all night to the Duma; scotching the Regency scheme; sanctioning capitalist control meanwhile, knowing that it has not the material means at hand (namely highly organised industry and a highly organised industrial working class), to push forward yet to the Socialist Revolution; sending back troop trains bound to suppress the revolution- all this augurs a working class conscious of its mission, and recognising this as a half-way house to it.

Only Russians can feel the thrill of the wonderful deliverance involved in a free press, free speech, and political liberty. Note, however that the right to combine is won as a result of the workers combining.

This is a bourgeois revolution, but arriving when the night of capitalism is far spent. It cannot be a mere repetition of previous revolutions. It partakes infinitely more of a victory for the proletariat, as well as for the industrial capitalist. Now the two classes pursue their several ways; one 'to prosecute the war abroad' and 'law and order' at home; the other to pursue the class war at home and 'the Socialist Republic in all countries.' Let us look forward with great hope to the entry of the Russian elemental mass into the International class struggle for human emancipation. The day of its coming seems immeasurably nearer by this awakening.

DOCUMENT 12:

Editorial 'The Great Events in Russia', published in The International, November 16, 1917.

The cable news regarding the revolution in Russia is so confusing and every day so contradictory that it is hopeless attempting to build on them. The Maximalist wing of the Social Democratic Party has been gaining strength since the political revolution. Vast propaganda work has been done. One Socialist paper is mentioned as circulating 250,000 copies daily in Petrograd. All Capitalist journalists were resigned to what they considered the inevitable triumph of the Maximalists, and the growing power of the Council of Workmen. (Note the

avidity with which Capitalist journalists grab at words like 'The Soviet' and 'Maximalists,' which hide the working class character of these organisations).
The immediate issue on which Kerensky has broken with the Maximalists seems to be the authority of the Council of Workmen (The Soviet). Lenin and the Social Democrats recognise in the Council the great instrument of Social Revolution, the embryo of the new order that is going to supplant the Capitalist State. To the Capitalists and their 'Socialist' hirelings the Council is naturally a menace.
Kerensky has also failed to fulfil his promises to confiscate the land and restore it to the peasants. And the shortage ofbread has also precipitated things. Kerensky's association with Korniloff places him in the light of a betrayer of his great promise. Indeed he is charged with having been a secret accomplice of Korniloff in his late rebellion. Be that as it may, he had evidently become the tool of the Capitalist reaction.
The Capitalist lie factory has been busy with regard to Russia. Riga fell by arrangement with the Germans. That was deliberately planned by Korniloff. He is the German agent.
The Russian offensive in July did not fail because of regimental committees, as the Military commanders cabled. That was a lie endorsed by the Provisional Government to discredit the revolutionary committees. The reverse was the case. Out of a battalion of 6,000, 2,000 Russian soldiers were left dead on the field. This was the crime of Kerensky, who hurled them at the Germans to please American finance.

No wonder that the Social Democrats gained power. Now the abuse and filth of Capitalist journalism is being poured without restraint on Lenin and his party. But we trow that his party by this is the Russian proletariat itself. The latest cable states that the Foreign Embassies are leaving Petrograd. Russia under Social Democratic leadership will be outlawed by the Governments of Europe. 'For Peace, Bread, and the Power of the People,' was the watchword of the bloodless revolution accomplished by the Maximalists. All the blood that has been spilt is due to the counter-revolution. Now all the atrocities of the calendar are being attributed to the workmen of Petrograd. But we doubt not that, as in the Paris Commune, when the workmen gave a lofty example of humanity, but were massacred by the Capitalist troops, in Petrograd also the proletariat will vindicate the generous, humane order of the Red Flag, and any atrocities that occur will be due to those who seek to crush the workers. The Capitalist papers admit that they took possession without disorder. But should the Social Democrats fail, we can expect the most bloody massacre of the workingmen of Petrograd that history has ever recorded. Long live the Social Revolution, the light from the East.
DOCUMENT 13:
Statement 'International Socialism and the Native - No Labour Movement without the Black Proletariat', published in The International, December 7, 1917.
The Management Committee of the ISL has issued the following statement to the Branches as a basis of discussion at the Annual Conference. The MC recommends this statement of our attitude towards the native worker to be embodied in the

League platform for 1918 propaganda. Comrades are invited to read it with a view to discussion, and amendment if they so desire, at the Conference of the League, which will be held in January 6th next.

The abolition of the Native Indenture, Passport and Compound Systems and the lifting of the Native Workers to the Political and Industrial Status of the White is an essential step towards the Emancipation of the Working-class in South Africa.

Society is divided into two classes: the working class, doing all the labour; and the idle class, living on the fruits of labour. Strictly speaking therefore there is no 'Native Problem'. There is only a working class problem. But within the working class arises the problem of the native worker. In all countries the influx of cheap labour is used as a whip wherewith to beat the whole of the working class. In South Africa the cheap labourer, being black, is doubly resented by the higher paid worker. And the employers foment this colour prejudice through their newspapers, and are thus able to wield the whip of cheap labour with double effect.

The suicidal prejudice of the white workers against the coloured workers is the only native problem. This prejudice manufactures the scabs that beat both black

and white in the day when the solidarity of all the workers is essential to victory.

We speak therefore to the workers, and above all to those workers who look forward to the emancipation of labour from wage slavery. There can be no appeal to any section of society, outside the working-class, as their interests are opposed to labour, and their opinions therefore of no account to us. One section of the workers cannot benefit itself at the expense of the rest without betraying the hope of the children. Those who receive favours from the master class may lift themselves out of the propertiless proletariat: but their children will inherit the fear of the abyss which their fathers helped to create. The power of labour lies in its ability to stop, or to control industry. All the workers are needed for this. Labour, not Colour, is the watchword of solidarity.

If all those who labour cannot share in the emancipation of Labour, none can be emancipated.

'Labour cannot emancipate itselfin the White while in the Black it is branded,' (Marx)

So long as we refuse to admit the native worker into the ranks of Labour solidarity, so long will cheap labour pull down the white worker to the native standard of existence.

But so soon as we welcome the native worker into equality on the industrial field, then is he forthwith lifted up towards the white standard of living.

White standards are not in danger from the ambition of the native to improve.

White standards are endangered by the attempts to keep him down.

White standards will not be saved in South Africa by the White Labour Policy.

White standards will only be saved by the Black workers organising industrially.

The highest social culture is safest in the keeping of the lowest paid labourers.

What makes native labour so cheap and exploitable in South Africa? Laws and regulations which, on the pretense of protecting society from barbarism, degrade

the native workers to the level of serfs and herded cattle for the express uses of capital. These are:The Passport system.
The Compound System.
The Native Indenture system.
The special penal laws which make it a crime for a native to absent himself from work,
The denial of civil liberty and political rights.
All those things which place the native workers on a lower social plane than the white workers are weapons in the hands of the employing class to be used against all the workers, white and black.
These tyrant laws must be swept away. For these degrading conditions of native labour are the abyss into which masses of the white workers are continually being hurled by Capitalist competition.
Sweep them away! What pious horror is aroused by this demand! Unspeakable calamities will follow, we are told. But are they not the very cause of the social

calamities they are supposed to guard against? Indeed, they are themselves the greatest of social calamities.
The cause of Labour demands the abolition of the Pass, the Compound, and the Indenture: and as the native workers gain in industrial solidarity, demands for them complete political equality with their white fellow workers. Only thus can the whole of the working class, white and black, march unitedly forward to their common emancipation from wage slavery.
DOCUMENT 14:
Extract from report 'Our Annual Gathering -Notes of the Conference', The International, January 11, 1918.
Jubilant and happy are the only words to describe the Third Annual Conference of the I.S.L. held last Sunday in the Palmerston Hall. In spite of the fact that we were not in the Trades Hall, and had to beat a retreat to the 'West End' of the town, the comrades rolled up in greater numbers than to any previous Conference. The spirit prevailing was one of complete harmony on the floor of the class struggle. Faith in that principle finally made buoyant and victorious in the proletarian revolution in Russia.
Besides the Rand Branches of the I.S.L. delegates were also present from Durban: Comrides S M Pettersen, S G Rich and B L E Sigamoney of the Indian Workers' Union. Comrade Andrew Watson presided, and on opening referred to 'the skeletons' along the road in the fight for working class emancipation. The first business was the discussion of the Management Committee's Report for the year. The report was long, indicating a strenuous year. The items were quickly passed over up to 'International Affiliations,' when Comrade Colin Wade moved:
'That this Third Annual Conference of the ISL rejoices beyond measure at the triumph of the Russian Revolutionary proletariat under the banner of the Bolshevik wing of the Social Democratic Party, and pledges on behalf of the advanced proletariat of South Africa its growing support to stand by the Russian workmen against the Capitalist

Governments of the whole world, that of South Africa included.'
It was further resolved to get into touch with and send greetings to the representative of the Russian Revolution in London. It was also resolved to ask Comrade Andrews to get into touch with Comrade Litvinoff. On the question of the Stockholm Conference it was resolved to ask the Delegate, Comrade Andrews, to remain in England a little while longer, pending developments. Arising from the Report, it was resolved to instruct the incoming M.C. to concentrate their efforts on the organisation of the workers during the coming year, and to keep the principles of the Russian Revolution before the workers, by leaflet distribution and public meetings.

Socialists and Internationalists 33
A very instructive discussion arose out of the Socialist Sunday School reports, and methods of teaching Socialism was a topic on which nearly all delegates had something to say, and Francisco Ferrer, Montesorri and other names were freely bandied about. The outcome was the formation of a Socialist Sunday School Council...
Discussion on administrative amendments occupied some time and Conference then proceeded to the Draft Statement or Workshop Leaflt on the native workers for white workers. This and other items on working class propaganda among the natives and whites, irrespective of colour, gave rise to several interesting discussions during the day. The final note of the Conference, which had sat with intervals from 10 am to past 10 pm, was a motion by Comrade Sigamoney, when he spoke as an Indian worker protesting against the outrageous violation of the principle of civil equality contained in the new Railway Regulations as applied to natives, Indians, coloured people.
The chairman congratulated the comrades on the best Conference the League had yet held: endorsed by Comrades Wade and Pettersen, and the comrades dispersed with the lusty singing of the Red Flag right through, and cheers for the Russian Revolution, the attendance having scarcely diminished to the end.
Editorial Note:
During a boycott of concession stores on the Witwatersrand organised by African mineworkers because, in the words of The International, "prices of commodities have gone up double while the wages of the native labourer remain the same', the International Socialist League circulated a leaflet in Sesuto and Zulu throughout the compounds - the first time a direct approach had been made to the African workers in their own languages.
DOCUMENT 15:
Text of leaflet published in The International, February 15, 1918.
WORKERS OF THE BANTU RACE! Why do you live in slavery? Why are you not free as other men are free? Why are you kicked and spat upon by your masters? Why must you carry a pass before you can move anywhere? And if you are found without one, why are you thrown into prison? Why do you toil hard for little money? And again thrown into prison if you refuse to work. Why do they herd you like cattle into compounds,
WHY?

Because you are the toilers of the earth. Because the masters want you to labour for their profit. Because they pay the Government and the Police to keep you as slaves to toil for them.
If it were not for the money that they make from your labour, you would not be oppressed.

But mark! You are the mainstay of the country. You do all the work, you are the means of their living.
That is why you are robbed of the fruits of your labour and robbed of your liberty as well.
There is only one way ofdeliverance for you, Bantu workers. Unite as workers, unite! Forget the things that divide you. Let there be no longer any talk of Basuto, Zulu, or Shangaan. You are all labourers. Let Labour be your common bond.
Wake up! And open your ears. The sun has arisen, the day is breaking. For a long time you were asleep when the great mill of the rich man was grinding and breaking the sweat from your work for nothing. You are strongly urged to come to the meeting of the workers and fight for your rights. Come and listen to the good news and deliver yourselves from the chains of the Capitalist. Unity is strength. The fight is great against the many pass laws that persecute you, and the low wages and the misery of existence. Workers of all lands unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win.
Editorial Note:
When at the beginning of 1918 the imperialist countries, including both sides in the war, opened their assault on Russia in an attempt, with the aid of the localforces of counter-revolution, to strangle the Bolshevik revolution at birth, progressives everywhere launched a 'Hands Off Russia' campaign.
DOCUMENT 16:
'The Call of the Bolsheviks - League Manifesto', published in The International, March 1, 1918.
WORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA!
Itis time you knew what game is afoot. It is time for you to realise that your fellow workers in Russia need your voice and help. The Capitalist Press hides the real state of affairs behind foul slanders. It hides the fact that the Bolshevik Government is only the Government of the workers by the workers for the workers. It hides the fact that Lenin and Trotsky are only the delegates of the Russian Federation of Labour, otherwise the Council of Workmen, or the Soviet. It is your fellow workmen they are slandering. It is your fellow workmen who are calling upon you to hurl these slanders back into the teeth of your and their capitalist enemies.
What are they up to now, these International Capitalists? Labour having conquered power in Russia is occupied in quelling the rebellion of the 'bourgeoisie class,' that is, the capitalist class. The bourgeoisie are opposing the workers by force wherever there is a hope of saving their precious private interests from being captured by Labour for the common weal. In some cases they

have massacred the working men by the hundreds. What will they not do when, with the help of

German arms, they get all the workers of Russia under their heels again? They will massacre them by the HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS. The tiger of capitalism will show no mercy when his hide is threatened by Labour. You know that. You found that out in Commissioner Street in 1913, when even your parsons took up arms against you. Consider then the position of your Russian fellow workmen.

You say: the Russian workmen should not have dissolved their army. We say: that the victory of Labour means the dissolution of all armies. You cannot have Labour triumphant and militarism on top at the same time. Make no mistake: this is not the crime of German militarism alone, this attack on the Russian revolution. Lenin has declared that the Allied Governments are silently backing the German Government against the Bolsheviks. No matter what family quarrels International Capital may have, they are all united against the Bolsheviks, that is, the working men of Russia. And they will unite against you too when you dare to assert your rights as the producers of all wealth. Balfour the other day would not deny that the British Government had negotiated directly with Austria. What did they negotiate about if not to protect their common capitalist interests in Russia? A gathering of International Financiers was held at Switzerland last year from all belligerent countries, Germany and Britain, America and Austria, and all the family cats of capitalism were there to arrange how to stem the rising tide of working class revolution in all countries. Remember that once, only once before, have the workingmen held power as workers, - in the Paris Commune of 1871. Remember how Bismarck, at the 'very time he was imposing harsh terms upon the French Government, co-operated with that Government to crush the workers of Paris by releasing drafts of French prisoners of war for the purpose. And the greatest massacre in all history was the result. Remember that it was a massacre of the workers. If they can they will do the same with the Russian workers, but on a still vaster and more horrible scale. While the Capitalist Governments are quarrelling over the booty they have stolen from Labour, they are keeping alive a family understanding against anysign ofworking class unity. They are all united when Labour shows signs ofcoming into its own. What can we do? It is our part as workers to denounce these capitalist slanderers of the Russian proletariat. It is our part to help in the great class struggle of the toilers of all lands that is now beginning. The humbug of national wars is-being exposed. Behind it all the exploitation of the workers of all lands stands out as their chief aim, their dearest treasure. The great war of Germany versus the allies may go on. It is the only hope of Capital that it should go on. In any case it is only the working masses that are slaughtered. Capital thrives on it. But the class war of international Capital against the rising working class is also waging today. Workers of South Africa! Arouse from your submissiveness and lethargy, and show that you see through this foul conspiracy of International Capital against the Russian workmen. The

cause of the Russian workmen is your cause. Workers of the world UNITE. You have a world to win.

Editorial Note:

The early statements of the objects of the International Socialist League had revolved round the formula: 'To propagate the.principles of International Socialism, Industrial Unionism and anti-militarism, and to maintain and strengthen International Working-class Organisation'. At the annual conference of the ISL held in Johannesburg on January 5 and 6, 1919, this formula was replaced by: 'To establish the Socialist Commonwealth, the significance of which was amplified in a 'Declaration of Principles' which represents the first attempt to draw up a formal Marxist analysis of the political situation at home and abroad. The declaration, which was circulated before the conference was held, was stated to have been suggested by the Benoni branch of the ISL but is believed to have been drafted mainly by D. Iron Jones. The Declaration was adopted by the conference and endorsed by the annual delegate meeting in 1920 which adopted the ISL constitution in its finalform.

DOCUMENT 17:

'Suggested Explanation of the ISL Platform, (by Benoni branch)', published in The International, January 4, 1919.

The International Socialist League founds itself upon the principle of the class struggle.

The class struggle pre-supposes that modern society is based on the capitalist system of production, that is, the exploitation of wage labour by an employing class.

This system, first evolving in England at the close of the middle ages and spreading later to all the other countries of the world, tends inevitably to the destruction of the individual ownership of small industries and one-man shops, and to the concentration of all machinery and natural resources into large industry on a colossal scale owned and controlled by a small privileged class.

This concentration of capital in the hands of a few involves at the other pole,'the concentration and forced mobilisation of labour into large armies of workers, and the conversion of the mass of the people into wage-earning proletarians - propertyless and utterly divorced from the control of the means of production as well as from the products of their labour. The small tool develops into the big machine. The one-man shop into the great factory employing thousands of workmen. The product of this development of industry and invention falls into the hands, not of society, but of the capitalist class, who by their ownership of the machinery of production control the Government and all other domains of social life, as well as the lives of the working class. Capitalism pollutes everything that it touches. For the workers the result of this development ofindustry is unemployment and destitution for a large number, the loss of individual liberty, with massacre by the

million in the stupendous conflicts which are the natural outcome of the competition of various national capitalist combines. The advent ofmachinery and the large industry creates a saving of labour by the hundred and the thousand-fold; not as yet in the reduction of the number of labourers required by the employers. But the marshalling of the workers into large masses under single managements also generates among them the spirit of co-operation and solidarity as a class. With the result that, the people having learnt to labour in common, nothing now remains but for them to appropriate the fruits of their labour in common. This will be done by transferring the capitalist means of production -the earth and its fruits, mines and quarries, raw materials, tools and machinery, means of exchange, etc - from private to social ownership; and thus effect such a revolution that capitalist industry, which has hitherto been a source of misery and oppression to the classes whom it has despoiled, may become the source of the most comprehensive social harmony.

By becoming masters of the product of their toil, the workers will emancipate themselves from the slavery of wage labour.

To effect this revolution is the work of the proletariat in all lands, and by them alone can it be achieved, as all other classes have a common interest in the continuation of the capitalist system.

The working class and the capitalist class have therefore nothing in common. The interests of the workers are identical in all lands; and all wage-labourers have a common aim irrespective of any difference of colour and race. It therefore follows that labour cannot emancipate itself in South Africa until it has conquered all race prejudice and antipathy of colour. The emancipation of labour is a task in which the workers of all lands have a share.

The economic domination of the capitalist class is maintained by capitalist control of the public power. The first step in the proletarian revolution will therefore be the capture of that public power by and on behalf of the whole working class: thus asserting the political dictatorship of the proletariat.

Whether the political dictatorship of the proletariat will be best effected in South Africa through the present representative institutions or by a Council of Workmen, will be decided by the degree of parliamentary representation enjoyed by the revolutionary proletariat when the hour of revolution strikes. The disfranchisement of the great bulk of the South African proletariat will in any case render necessary a Council ofWorkmen with local Soviets to control the situation. Meanwhile elections to public bodies shall be considered as part of the platform propaganda of Socialism, whenever expedient.

Under the shield of political dictatorship the proletariat will destroy the oppressive institutions of the capitalist state, the courts of law, the police, the prisQns, the armed power and the bludgeon of Government.

It will organise the industry of the community, and nurture the proletarian control and management thereof in the whole and in its parts.

All repressive institutions having vanished with the repression of the proletariat,

nothing will remain except the need to maintain and increase the productive power of industry by an ever-expanding development of machinery and natural resources and co-operation of labour forces.
Each individual plant will be controlled by its own Committee of Workmen. Each individual industry by its Association of such Committees. Industry as a whole by combination of these associations into one Industrial Republic, national and international, which will co-ordinate the industrial activities and supply the needs of all the people.
Thus, with the obligation of all to work, all classes will vanish, and the last act of the political dictatorship of the proletariat will be to abolish itself. The Class'State will die out. Nothing will remain but the administration of things, leaving all men free to develop themselves according to their boundless possibilities.
To accomplish this revolution in South Africa is the aim of the International Socialist League. Already the path has been cleared by the glorious Socialist Revolution in Russia on November 7th, 1917. And although the development of capitalist industry already described herein has not reached general maturity in South Africa, the advent of the proletarian revolution in Europe makes imminent the destruction of capitalist domination in all countries.
It is the work of the ISL to educate, agitate and organise the workers for the great task that is ahead of effecting the revolution in our own land. It is especially its work to attend to the aspect of the struggle peculiar to South Africa, occasioned by the presence in South Africa of a large mass of unlettered native population, newly emerging from primitive manhood, and partially assimilated by the system of wage labour. To awaken and inspire our native fellow workers to grapple with their responsibility as part and parcel of the world proletariat must be our urgent duty. As part of this task the white workers must be encouraged to educate, organise and co-operate with their native workers at the place of work in mine, factory and workshop: in order that the Socialist Republic of South Africa may be inaugurated by the unanimous solidarity of all the workers.
Editorial Note:
In a Maritzburg court in April 1919, Communists D. Iron Jones and L.H. Greene were charged with incitement to public violence for publishing the following pamphlet and fined,675 (or four months) by the magistrate but were acquitted on appeal to the Supreme Court.
DOCUMENT 18:
'The Bolsheviks are Coming', leaflet written by D. Ivon Jones and L.H. Greene and circulated at the end of 1918 and early in 1919 in English, Zulu and Sesuto.
TO THE WORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA - BLACK AS WELL AS WHITE A spectre is haunting Europe -the spectre of Bolshevism!

What is this Bolshevism that the ruling class is so much afraid of?. Why do they send British Armies to Russia to fight the Bolsheviks? Have they not had enough killing? Or is it a thirst for righteousness that makes them pack Tommy Atkins off to freeze in the snows of Archangel, just when he was looking forward to Home and Blighty? The Czar massacred half a million nomads in Southern Russia in

one swoop. They did not send an army against him. Why then are they so scared of Bolshevism? Why do they turn pale at its shadow as at the ghosts of murdered men? Why? We will tell you why!
The Great War of Nations is over, and the Class War against Labour has openly begun.
Bolshevism means the rule of the working class! And where the workers rule, the Capitalists cannot carry on their Robber System any more.
A CAMPAIGN OF LIES
Workers! Do not be misled when the Capitalist Press reviles the Bolsheviks. They slander the Bolsheviks because they have lost the fat money bags they lent to the Czar to crush the Russian people.
They slander the Bolsheviks because they have lost the rich mines and factories which the Russian workmen are now working for themselves; and the land, which forty million peasants are farming in common under the Soviet Republic. They slander the Bolsheviks because they fear you will follow suit. They are afraid the workers in South Africa will also become free and independent. They are losing their hair over Bolshevism because they see a prospect of losing their Profits.
BOLSHEVISM MEANS LABOUR ON TOP
The workers of Russia and Germany are forming themselves into Soviets - that is: Councils of Workmen.
They are taking over the control of the country into their own hands - the hands of the great wage-earning proletariat. That means the end of the Profiteering System, the end of the Capitalist exploitation of wage-labour for profit.
Why have the workers of Russia and Germany to shed their blood?
Because the Capitalist Class of all countries will sooner tear the people to pieces with their cannon rather than let the people rule. The workers are the people.
Remember the massacre of the workers in Johannesburg in 1913 and in Bloemfontein last February!
Down with British Militarism! It is a weapon to crush the workers.
Down with Allied intervention in Russia!!
Down with the Capitalist Class in all countries!!!
The hope of the workers is coming from Bolshevism. The free commonwealth of labour is an actual fact in Russia today.

Bolshevism means the victory ofthe wage-earners. It will soon spread to Britain, France, America and throughout the world.
Get Ready for the World-wide Republic of Labour.
The way to get ready is to combine in the workshops. Combine as workers, no matter what colour.
Remember that an injury to one is an injury to all, be he black or white.
While the black worker is oppressed, the white worker cannot be free.
Before Labour can emancipate itself Black workers as well as white must combine in one organisation of Labour, irrespective of craft, colour or creed.
This is Bolshevism: The Solidarity of Labour.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE! You have nothing to lose but your Chains. You have a world to Win!!
If you want to know the truth about Bolshevism Read 'THE INTERNATIONAL"
Organ of The International Socialist League (S.A.)
P.O. Box 4179,
Johannesburg, 5s. per annum, post free.
Editorial Note:
As we have seen, the International Socialist League, shortly after its formation, had taken the initiative in approaching European parties with a view to forming a new international to replace the reformist Second International which had broken up under the shock of the war. The European and other revolutionary parties had themselves been active in this sphere, and the first congress of the Third International was held in Moscow from March 4 to 7, 1919. Its foundation was greeted with enthusiasm by the ISL, which published the manifesto of the Comintern in instalments spread over a number of issues of The International during 1919. At its fifth annual conference held on January 4, 1920, the ISL adopted a resolution to join the Comintern, and a message of application was sent to the Comintern together with a copy of the resolutions and other documents presented to the 1919 ISL conference. A telegram from Andrews in his capacity as secretary/organiser of the ISL applying for affiliation and stating 'We enclose our constitution and rules, which will, Ithink, convince you that our policy is on allfours with that of Communist Parties of Europe and elsewhere'was readout to general applause at the second congress of the Comintern in Moscow on July 24, 1920. It was at this congress that the famous 21 Points setting out the conditions for affiliation to the Comintern were adopted. The ISL in due course accepted the 21 points, but found in the meantime that applications for affiliation had been received by the Comintern from other socialist organisations in South Africa. The conditions for affiliation to the Comintern made it clear, however, that there could be only one Communist Party in any one country, and this was a factor, as well as the intrinsic desire for unity, which moved the ISL and the other like-minded organisations throughout South Africa to come together in July 1921 to constitute the Communist Party of South Africa.

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DOCUMENT 19:
'Communism in South Africa' by David Ivon Jones, presented to the Executive of the Third International on behalf of the International Socialist League of South Africa.
COMMUNISM IN SOUTH AFRICA
The Third International has of necessity not given much attention to Africa so far, further than a passing recognition in the heat of the European struggle that the teeming millions of the Dark Continent are also to come under its wing. Africa may not cover such a vital part of the anatomy of Imperialism as India does, But a country's immediate contribution to the collapse of world capitalism is not its sole claim on our attention; we have to consider what positive dangers it may harbour for the movement as a whole. European capital, however, draws no mean

contribution from South African cheap labour. 'Kaffirs' (as gold shares are appropriately nicknamed) are the mainstay of a large section of the bourgeoisie of Paris and London. Besides which the depressing state of the vast mass of Kaffir labour from the point of view of proletarian development-illiteracy, generally low social and civil status and backward standards of life -is not a matter to which the Communist International can remain indifferent. Africa's hundred and fifty million natives are most easily accessible through the eight millions or so which comprise the native populations of South Africa and Rhodesia. Johannesburg is the industrial university of the African native, although recruiting for the mines has been confined in latter years to parallel 22 in Portuguese territory.

South Africa, moreover, is an epitome of the class struggle throughout the world. Here Imperial Capital exploits a white skilled proletariat side by side with a large native proletariat. Nowhere else in the proportions obtaining on the world scale do white skilled and dark unskilled meet together in one social milieu as they do in South Africa. And nowhere are the problems so acute of two streams of the working class with vastly unequal standards of life jostling side by side, and the resultant race prejudices and animosities interfering and mixing with the class struggle.

SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATIONS

The Union of South Africa, occupying the country South of the Limpopo River, comprises the old Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the old British Colonies of Natal and Cape of Good Hope. These now form one Government with their own local Provincial Councils. The more sparsely settled areas of Rhodesia and German West Africa are not yet in the Union. The white population of the Union is divided almost equally into Dutch and English extraction, with a large Jewish population in Johannesburg. The whites number about a million and a half. The feuds existing between the two main sections of the white

population are matters of history, and animosities resulting therefrom are serious political factors at the present day.

The native population of the Union numbers about six millions. The native race is mainly composed of one type, called the Bantu, meaning 'folk,' divided into several tribes which have their remnants of tribal territory in Zululand, Basutoland, Swaziland, etc., nominally under the protection of the Imperial Government; in practice, however, the native peoples are governed by the Union's Native Affairs Department.

Between the black and white peoples there are shades. There is what is known as the coloured people. In South Africa 'coloured' means 'half-caste.' The coloured population, inevitable accompaniment of a black and white society, numbers hundreds of thousands, mainly in the Cape Province, with large numbers in Kimberley, Johannesburg and Durban, and other industrial centres. They are a social link with the natives, though not socially intermingled. They are a section apart, aspiring to the social standards of the whites and invading the skilled trades.

In the Cape Province coloured people enjoy the civil and political rights of the whites with a far larger measure of social equality than in the Transvaal.
In Natal is centred a considerable Indian population, originally indentured to the Sugar Estates. A large proportion of these people are South African born. They socially intermix with the coloured people. Further immigration of Indians is prohibited in the Union.

INDUSTRIES

In a country of a million square miles, agriculture is of necessity a staple industry, though the old Boer farmers' methods are obsolete, and there are vast tracts of land held up idle by the landed syndicates in combination with the mining houses. The Gold Industry of the Transvaal, with its Witwatersrand gold reef sixty miles long, is a world-renowned phenomenon. The Reef, with the town of Johannesburg as its centre, provides the economic stimulus for the whole country. The diamond mining industry of Kimberley and Pretoria, the coalfields of the Transvaal and Natal, the Sugar Estates of Natal, sum up such industries as affect the world market. The Railways are owned by the State.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CURRENTS

In such a milieu one may guess that the social relations are rather complex. After the overthrow of the old Boer Republics, the Boer political leaders, Botha and Smuts, proceeded to make friends with the mammon of unrighteousness, and fitted themselves to govern by acquiring interests in land and gold mining. By 1907 they were deemed sufficiently safe to be entrusted with self-government. There was a distinct subsidence of the animosities aroused by the war. After the Union of the Provinces in 1910 the Dutch Party was again entrusted with the Government. Hertzog, the present leader of the Republican Party, was at that time

the left wing representative of the Dutch in the Cabinet as Minister ofjustice, and, it may be observed in passing, the first to conceive the brilliant idea of arming the mounted police with pick handles to beat down the tramway strikers of Johannesburg. After his expulsion from the Cabinet in 1912, the Dutch Party split up into the present South African Party led by Smuts and the Nationalist Party led by Hertzog, who since the great war gives half-hearted homage to the republican idea, and Tielman Roos, the more thoroughgoing republican leader. Since 1912 those 'heralds of illwill,' Dutch Nationalism and British Chauvinism, further fostered and embittered by the world war, have sounded the slogans of Capitalist Imperialism versus petty bourgeois federalism. During the war the Dutch Nationalists broke out into open rebellion. It was, however, speedily suppressed. Latterly the Party has gained popularity at the polls with its republican and populist programme, appealing as it does to the increasing mass of disinherited Dutch Afrikanders. This has caused the consolidation of the British Unionist Party with the Dutch South African Party. The February elections showed that the Nationalist farmer recoiled before the consequences of the Republican propaganda, and the Government Party obtained a safe parliamentary majority for the Imperial connection.

DUTCH NATIONALISM AND THE NATIVE The great festival of the Dutch Afrikander people and of the Nationalists in particular is Dingaan's Day. This day is made the occasion of political appeals on present issues, as well as a commemoration of December 16th, 1838, when the Dutch Voortrekkers crushed the power of the Zulus in a bloody battle fought on the Blood River, Weenen. On this festival the dual oppression bearing on the small Dutch farmer are inveighed against: justifiable hate of British imperialism and of the British Chauvinist on the one hand, and hatred of the progeny of Dingaan on the other, his own hewers of wood and drawers of water. 'Presbyter is only Priest writ large.' More glaringly than in most Nationalist movements the freedom demanded from British rule is almost avowedly freedom to more fully exploit the native. As a concession to Nationalist sentiment, Dingaan's Day has now been officially declared a legal holiday throughout the Union. On these days, as on others, the rifle and the sjambok are invoked as the appropriate remedy for native grievances. In his personal relations the Dutch farmer adopts a quite friendly and patriarchal attitude towards his native labourers, provided of course they keep their proper stations. To the old Boer the native is a simple beast of burden. His religion is that of the Old Testament. It involves no contradictions, for his economic environment is primitive, though rapidly changing now with the advance in agricultural methods. General De Wet's excuse for going into rebellion in 1914 was that he had been fined five shillings for flogging a native servant - an unpardonable restriction on personal liberty! The Nationalist movement has a literary reflex. What there is of Afrikander literature is of course inspired by Nationalism. But the mania fbr isolation reaches absurd lengths. For example,

Holland Dutch is one of the official languages of the Union. But the spoken language is a crude patois called Afrikaans. Previously the Dutch Afrikanders were content to let Afrikaans remain the spoken language, and used Holland Dutch as a vehicle of religion and literature. But now the Nationalist movement resents Holland's intellectual patronage as much as Britain's Imperial dominance, Though there are no fixed standards of grammar or style or spelling in Afrikaans, it is now being tortured into requisition as a literary medium, and the upholders of 'Hollandse' are stigmatised as the creatures of Smuts. The treasures, historical and literary, of the mother Dutch are thus thrown overboard; but the young Afrikander intellectuals cannot possibly endure such a self-imposed sentence of solitary confinement for very long.

Our remarks on this movement as the movement of a class must not be construed to apply to our Dutch friends as a race. They partake of the virtues of all good people. In the feud with the British it is they who have always held out the hand of conciliation, often spurned with insult by the British Jingoes.

BRITISH CHAUVINISM

Among the British section of the population there is a corresponding animosity towards the Dutch Afrikanders. The recent elections show that the Republican scare took away many votes which had previously been given to the Labour Party,

although that Party blows the Imperial trumpet loudly enough. But this brand is too notorious to need any description here.

FRANCHISE ANOMALIES

Only whites are qualified to vote in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. In Natal the coloured people are qualified to vote, and even natives, but on terms so strict that only three or four individuals are able to avail themselves of it. In the Cape Province, besides manhood suffrage for whites and coloured, natives are also qualified to vote on certain slight education tests, and the coloured and native vote is a serious electoral factor to be reckoned with. These disparities of franchise rights obtaining for the various provinces are inherited from the pre-existing provincial governments, and are the cause of the most amusing antics of electioneering parties operating simultaneously in the different provinces. The liberalism of the Cape is the legacy of the old Free Trade Governors of the Victorian period. In those days Manchester looked upon native populations more as buyers than as cheap labourers - people whose standards of culture and, above all, wants should be improved.

In the Transvaal, thanks to the slave-holding traditions of the old Boer voortrekkers, Imperialist Capital, with capital to invest rather than goods to sell, found cheap labour in a civil milieu to its liking for the exploitation of the gold reefs. These political cross currents produced some curious effects during the war. The British workers cried down our anti-militarist declarations, while the Dutch

approved. But coming to our native workers policy, it was then the turn of the Dutch to decry, while the British with their trade union traditions were prepared at least to listen. We were being repeatedly consigned to prison by the Johannesburg magistracy: and the judges, drawn largely from the older population, as repeatedly quashed the sentences.

The Indian traders, who are fast gaining control of trade in Natal and other parts of the Union, are the cause of much heart-burning among the white traders and anti-Asiatic movements, into which the workers are often dragged, are frequent. Among the Trades Unions of the Transvaal, the wage-cutting effect of the coloured labour that swarms to the industrial centres is a burning question, aggravated as it is by the short-sighted policy of the Unions in excluding the coloured worker from membership. This time it is the turn ofthe employing class to sneer at Labour's inconsistency.

WHITE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The white Trade Union movement in South Africa dates from the end of the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902, although such trades as the Typos., Engineers, and Building Workers were organised in South Africa previous to that. W.H. Andrews, prominent among those who did the spade work of the Transvaal Labour Movement, is still to-day active blazing the trail of the Communist Movement. The growth of the movement was marked by the usual steps of the formation of unions in the different trades, the Trades Council of Johannesburg, from which sprang later the Federation of Trades and the Labour Party. After the Boer War, the gold magnates profited by their victory to introduce Chinese labour

into the gold mines of the Rand, This created a White Labour Policy League, of which Creswell, then a victimised mine manager, was the head. This movement also mixed itself with the labour movement, and brought Creswell into the Labour Party, of which the capitalist press soon appointed him popular leader in opposition to the class leadership of Andrews. In 1910, when the four provinces formed a Union Government, the South African Labour Party was inaugurated out of the various Provincial parties. This party had a Socialist objective in its platform, as also a dema*nd for the abolition of the indentured system of native labour and the prohibition of the importation of native labour from territories. outside the Union, The Party started in 1910 with four members in Parliament; it gained another four in by-elections up to 1915. The Party very soon became the accepted political expression ofthe white workers, its class-conscious elements rather than the White Labour Leaguers of Creswell being dominant. At that time 'class-conscious' meant white class conscious, and the native as a fellow-worker and a comrade in industry never entered into any Labour calculations; neither did the idea of Labour enter the native mind, so well defined were and still are the respective industrial functions of black and white. Indeed, the wholly utopian proposal of segregation of black from white in strictly delimited areas, in accordance with the scheme of the White Labour League, and the withdrawal of the native from white industry, was the only Labour proposal for the natives up to the time of the war.

In 1913 a general strike of white workers broke out on the Rand, causing a complete stoppage of the gold mines for the first time in their history. This strike was a bloody affair. Troops were called out, and shootings by the regular troops resulted in 22 persons being killed and several hundred wounded. At that time the Chamber of Mines, which employs about 20,000 whites, had not learned the value of class collaboration-a wrinkle which Syndicalist Crawford* taught them later. In 1914 another general strike broke out, this time forced upon the white workers by the Government, which spread to all parts of the Union. The massacres of 1913 had brought the workers an unexpected victory; but in 1914 the Government had prepared in a military manner. Martial Law was proclaimed, and 60,000 burghers from the veld were armed and put in possession of Johannesburg, having first been told that the English were making war again. The workers were driven back to work and leaders imprisoned by the dozen. Nine trade union leaders, and others who were by no means leaders, were deported by force to England.

The indignation against deportation found a vent in the ensuing Provincial Council elections, when the Labour Party obtained a majority of seats in the Transvaal. This resulted in a large influx of middle class elements into the Party. The outbreak ofwar found the Party divided on the question of militarism, but the Executive was anti-war, though few in a truly revolutionary sense. At a special conference of the Party held in 1915 the Executive were defeated by an overwhelming majority on the war issue, and were thereby forced to resign. The Creswell faction carried things with a high hand, and forced every candidate to give a written undertaking to 'see the war through.' The anti-war section broke

away, and with the co-operation of what were called the S.L.P. men (Comrades like John Campbell and Rabb who propagated the principles of Marxism as formulated by De Leon) formed the International Socialist League, which is today the South African section of the Communist International. The League started its career backed by the majority of the Labour Party Executive, including the Chairman (Andrews) and the Secretary (Iron Jones), who took similar positions in the new organisations. It, however, soon shed its Reform Pacifists on the adoption of a revolutionary programme and the extension of the class struggle to include the native workers.

THE ERA OF COLLABORATION

The Labour Party, thus rid of its anti-war executive, fought the elections of 1915 on the cry of'See it through,' and for its pains got its Parliamentary representation reduced from eight to four. Up to the time of the split the Labour Party was composed of open political branches, and the Trades Unions affiliated or deaffiliated to the General Council, according to the fluctuating votes of their respective memberships. Up to the war the Party was largely composed of elements from the trades unions, the Engineers, Carpenters, Miners, Boilermakers, and Printers

'Secretury Smith Allrican Indtistrial Federation.

being affiliated. On the war issue the trades unions followed Creswell's lead, but they seem to have very soon got ashamed of their handiwork, for today there are no trades unions affiliated to the Party, which has deteriorated as a machine into a collection of electioneering committees trading on the name of Labour. This is partly due to the increasing number of Communist supporters among the active elements of Trades Unionism; and partly to the influx of Dutch workers into the towns for which the unions must 'cater.' To these workers the Labour Party is anathema, for it has by its beating of the Jingo drum violated their legitimate national sentiments.

Nevertheless, in the general elections of the early part of 1920 the Labour Party, by a judicious handling of the two issues of the Cost of Living and the Imperial connection, pulled off twenty-one seats. But at the general elections of the early part of 1921, when Smuts forced the issue of the Imperial connection against the Republican propaganda, the Labour Party, led by Creswell, though it jettisoned the 'Red Flag,' all'its economic demands, as well as the Jonah of Socialism, and frantically protested on every platform that it was faithful to the Empire, only obtained nine seats, Creswell himself being beaten. This looks like its final decline. The factors are too complex in South Africa for a powerful Social Democratic Party.

During the war the White Trades Unions gained enormously in membership, and lost equally in fighting spirit. Crawford, at one time anarcho-syndicalist, is now the apostle of class collaboration, and as Secretary of the S.A. Industrial Federation, is the willing agent of the Chamber of Mines.

LABOUR ARISTOCRACY

The failure of the anti-war Executive of the Labour Party to keep the workers to the class struggle was due to the fact that in the white worker consciousness of class is, so far, fitful and easily lost. He is used to lord it over the unskilled native as his social inferior. The white miner's duty is almost wholly that of supervision. With the fitters and carpenters the native labourer does no more than the fitter's or carpenter's labourer in European countries, But he is black, a being of another order, and moreover only has halfa shirt on his back, more for ornament than for use, and sleeps in a tin shack. As workers whose functions are wholly different in the industrial world, there is hardly any competition involved; indeed,. the white miner is as much interested as the Chamber of Mines in a plentiful supply of native labour, without which he cannot start work. They are therefore annoyed at any strikes of natives, and are prone to assist the masters in their repressive methods, although in the case of white strikes they are not behindhand in appealing to the natives not to go down the shafts; and the natives as a rule are unwilling to go without the white miners. For between white and native workers there is as a rule the best of good humour at the place of work. The native addresses the white worker as 'boss,' it is true, but this term has now become almost a convention like 'sir,' and there is no doubt that the native is animated by a large measure of respect

for the white worker as his industrial educator, a respect which will find more generous play on both sides in a better economic order. One of the nightmares of the white miner is that he may lose his monopoly to the legal right of holding a blasting certificate. Under such conditions what wonder if consciousness of class among the mass of white workers is somewhat narrow and professional.
During the war, the capitalists, urged by the necessity of keeping up gold production, discovered that it paid them to regard the white workers as an unofficial garrison over the far larger mass of black labour, and that it was not bad business to keep the two sections politically apart by paying liberally the white out of the miserably under-paid labour of the black. The white workers were far more intractable to Communist ideas at the end of the war than in the second or third year when the colonial campaigns were in progress. The premium on the mint price of gold enabled the Chamber of Mines to keep up this policy of economic bribery till the end of last year. Now it seems as if it had come to an end. The bribe fund has petered out. The premium on the mint price of gold is being reduced, and under the threat of closing down the non-paying mines the white miners are compelled to accept lower pay, During the last few months there have been unofficial strikes against the will of the Union Executives and of Crawford, the Federation Secretary. The mines have retaliated by withdrawing the 'stop-order' system. This system, introduced in 1916, was an ingenious bait to trade union officialdom. Every miner had his trade union contribution deducted at the mine office from his wages, and the mine offices handed it over to the union inl a monthly cheque, thus making the Union an adjunct of the Chamber of Mines. Now this 'privilege' has been withdrawn as a measure to weaken the non-too-pliant membership. The garrison is too costly. The mining industry can only save

its profits by following the historic process, namely, to raise the black standard and depress the white, making towards a homogeneous working class.

RURAL MOVEMENTS

There is no white labour movement of any kind in the country districts of South Africa, excepting, of course, the attempts at organisation in the townships wherever cheap white, coloured and native labour are engaged in local industries. The natives do nearly all the farm labouring. The sons of the Boer farmers, no matter how impecunious they may be, are generally too race-proud to labour on the land. In any case the cheap native labour tends to drive all but white proprietors to the towns. The laws of inheritance are measures of disinheritance. The farms are divided up amongst the children, calling for most intensive culture, to which the Dutch farmers have not been trained, the old system of pasturage enabled the farmer to sit on his stoep and smoke his pipe. Thus the farms fall to those who bring progressive methods of agriculture to bear on the land. There is a considerable class of landless Dutch Afrikanders. They eke out a living on the 'bywoning' system, by which they are allowed to occupy a hut and pasture and cultivate a small corner of a farm in return for services to the farmer when called upon: a kind

of servitude. But this system is falling into disfavour with the rich farmers. They prefer the 'squatting' system, a species of sub-letting to natives on half shares. There is therefore a constant stream of landless Dutch to the towns. Large numbers are employed in gangs, called 'poor white' gangs, on pay so miserable that they are in a constant state of semi-starvation. These cast-offs from the rural districts, spurned socially and economically by the very class of nationalist farmer whom they follow politically, help to make up the slums of Johannesburg. Vrededorp, the Johannesburg slum district, is a social cesspool where the Dutch, English, Indian, Coloured man, Kaffir and Hottentot all at last find equality in wretchedness, 'equally of no account to the capitalist class.' It would be hard to. find a parallel for Vrededorp in any town in Europe. The rigorous anti-liquor laws, which make it a penal offence to give alcohol to natives'in the Transvaal, find their victims in this class. Three-fourths of the white inmates of South African prisons are convicted of selling drink to natives; that last tempting resort of the destitute and the miserable.

As a result of the migration to the towns, the urban workers are becoming increasingly Dutch. Before the war the Executive of the Mine Workers' Union was wholly of British descent. Now more than half are Dutch Afrikanders. The tramway systems and semi-skilled services are now largely run by Dutch workers, who soon develop into good trades unionists and loyal agitators for their class, always of course within the limits of their colour.

At a local strike on the Simmer Deep mine last year, when both British and Dutch miners stopped work as a protest against the dismissal of a German member of the Union, both sections tacitly dropped their respective nationalisms for the time being; and it was good to see the young Dutch workers, who a week before and perhaps the week after, sported their nationalist green and yellow, on this

occasion proudly wearing their bits of Red as the only suitable emblem for such an occasion as a strike. The industrial system is also weaning gradually the Dutch workers from the most violent forms of colour prejudice. The traffic of Dutch workers to and fro is linking up town and country as never before; and the expropriated Dutch of the country districts will soon share in the inevitable change of outlook.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE

Speaking generally, the South African natives are a race of labourers. The bulk of the race is now found interspersed in white areas. Certain territories are still reserved for their tribal homes, such as Zululand, Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland. In these areas a sort of primitive communism exists as far as the land is concerned. What little government of local matters is required in a society where there is very little property is exercised by the chiefs, petty chiefs, and Headmen, always of course under the supervision of the police patrol. The perpetual sunshine renders maize the only prime necessity. Zululand, for example, is a land of free and rolling 'savannah' with no property boundaries;

dotted with the round straw huts of the Zulus, which are without windows or outlet for smoke, and with only a low hole in the structure to creep in and out. Round the huts are the small patches ofmaize chiefly dug by hand, or ofidombis, a kind of Zulu potato. The natives in their tribal state live very closely to the soil, they and their habitations seem part of it, elemental in their simplicity of life. In Basutoland they are more affluent, owning horses and cattle; and of late an increase in cattle is to be observed in Zululand also, enabling their owners to plough at home instead of going to labour for the whites. In the Transkei, Cape Colony, a system of native small proprietorship was tried known as the Glen-Grey settlements. But this is an exception to the general scheme of things. A recent clamour from white settlers that Zululand should be opened up for settlement for white farmers was answered by Minister Malan that this was out of the question, as it would increase the cost of native labour for the whole country. This, then, is the function of the native territories, to serve as cheap breeding grounds for black labour - the respositories of the reserve army of native labour - sucking it in or letting it out according to the demands of industry. By means of these territories Capital is relieved of the obligation of paying wages to cover the cost to the labourer of reproducing his kind.

Between the territories and the industrial centres there is a constant traffic to and fro of natives. What draws the native away from his home? The marriage customs are a cause. Wives are worth so many cows, and money must be got to buy them. But the chief impulse is the hut tax specially levied for the purpose; besides which large numbers are allured to the towns by social instinct and the excitement of town life among so many of their own folk there, so that the first excursion from home in many cases becomes a permanent absence. For the native there is the prospect of learning to read and write; he has a keen desire for education. There is the native church in the towns, either as an adjunct of the white religious bodies or his own Ethiopian church, an institution frowned upon by the white Christians for

its lack of respectable guidance in the interpretation of the gospels! There is the allurement of machinery. The native is captivated by a piece of machinery, and will seek out its inmost pulsations and tend it as a god. In the towns also there is freedom from the social interference of the chiefs, even if obtained at the cost of subservience to white society. For native women there is emancipation from the tribal marriage customs; tens of thousands of native women are detribalised by contracting free liaisons in the towns not sanctioned by tribal custom. The chiefs are benignant enough old institutions. But they bewail their disappearing authority, although they are useful to the capitalist for the recruiting of labour. In a prosecution in which we were involved for a Bolshevik leaflet addressed to natives as well as whites, the Crown Prosecutor continually referred to those town natives who no longer own allegiance to the chief as 'the hooligan class of native,' that is, they are no longer under official control. They have taken the step from tribesman to proletarian.

Outcast and outlawed the native may be, but no 'hooligan.' In the Transvaal and the Free State Province the native has no vote, no civil and political rights. A

breach of labour contract is a penal offence. The natives on the mines work on a system of indenture, generally of one year's duration. They do not live in private dwellings, but are herded into 'compounds' adjacent to the mines. Indeed, native housing in the towns is not fit for cattle. Most of the hundreds of thousands of natives who work in the towns are housed in backyards, tin shacks, stable lofts, the best way they can. Their level of existence is inconceivably low. Every native male must carry a passport: one to leave his tribe, another to seek work, a monthly pass while working, another pass when he wants to be out after nine o'clock curfew. A policeman may at all times stop a native and demand his pass. Hence most natives have been to jail at one time or another. That is a mere trifle to him with all the regulations that hem round his daily life. He is paid two or three shillings a day, with or without his ration of mealie meal, as the case may be. A rise of a shilling a day would create a panic on the gold market. Yet in spite of it all, the Bantu is a happy proletarian. He has lovable qualities. 'His joy of life and fortitude under suffering,' to quote Lafargue's words on the negro: his communal spirit, his physical vitality, his keen desire to know, despite his intellectual backwardness, make him an object of lurking affection to the whites who come in contact with him.

Moreover, he is no fool. He has a certain naive wisdom which goes to the root of things. It was the questionings of the Zulus that led the celebrated Bishop Colenso to change his religious views. Arrested development of the native mind has been a theory very much resorted to by the negrophobes. To the exploiters, the less a man has the more must be taken from him. Some bourgeois negrophiles, like Loram the Natal Educationalist, have even gone to the pains of disproving this meaningless theory. To us it suffices that the native workers are the producers, and are robbed of the products of their labour. The truth is that a radical difference in psychology exists. The native bends to capital, but capital also bends to his primeval instincts. See a gang of natives working on the roads or railways! On

every possible pretext they will work in unison, raising and lowering the pick, with rhythmic flourishes thrown in, to the tune of their Zulu chants. Ever and anon the tune or the time changes, in an endless variety from the ancestral repertoire, in perfect harmony and rhythm -impromptu choruses of the wild, charming even the dullest. No gaffer can speed up such a gang. And when the same gang tries to sing a simple Christian hymn it makes a most discordant mess of it. Such is arrested development!

THE NATIVE LABOUR MOVEMENT

A formal statement of the various categories of native labour and the true Communist policy towards the native workers has been prepared by Comrade S.P. Bunting and accepted by the International Socialist League.

Before the war no trade union movement existed among the native workers, and such a thing as a strike was unknown. The first move in the direction of organised revolt was a strike of native workers on the dumping machinery of the Van Ryn

Gold Mine in December, 1915. It was regarded as a novel affair by the white workers of the mine; but it appears that certain white men who engaged to keep the plant going were sneered at as blacklegs by their white fellow-workers. Prior to that, in the 1913 revolt of the white workers, appeals had been made to the native workers ofthe Kleinfontein mine to stop working, and it seems to have dawned then on the white workers' intelligence, or some of their most militant leaders like George Mason, that the native was really a kind of a workmate. In 1917, Comrade Bunting and other members of the ISL made an attempt to form a native workers' union. A number of the more industrialised natives of Johannesburg were enrolled into the Union, which was named 'The Industrial Workers ofAfrica' (an echo of the 'Industrial Workers ofthe World'). It held meetings regularly, and the message ofworking class emancipation was eagerly imbibed for the first time by an ardent little band of native workers who carried the message far and wide to their more backward brethren. A manifesto to the workers of Africa was issued in collaboration with the ISL written in the Zulu and Basuto languages, calling upon the natives to unite against their capitalist oppressors. This leaflet reached a still wider mass of native workers, and was introduced and read to the illiterate labourers in the mine compounds. For the native of Africa, and the white too for that matter, the question is not yet 'irrevocably put of bloody struggle or death.' It is the era of awakening to the consciousness of class. The emphasis of the League on the new power of industrial solidarity, which their very oppressors had put in their hands, had as its aim to draw away the native's hopes from the old tribal exploits with the spear and the assegai as a means of deliverance. The power of the machine dawned upon him. In 1918 the propaganda of the IWA, and the pressure of the rising cost of living, produced a formidable strike movement among the native municipal workers, and a general movement for the tearing up of passports, Hundreds of natives who had burned their passes were jailed every day, and the prisons became full to bursting. Gatherings of native men and women were clubbed down by the mounted police. The International Socialist League was charged with

inciting to native revolt. Comrades Bunting, Tinker and Hanscombe were arrested at the instance of the Botha Government; but the chief native witness for the Crown broke down. He admitted that the evidence of incitement to riot had been invented for him by the Native Affairs Department, and the case collapsed. The moving spirits of the IWA were driven out of Johannesburg by the police, some to find their way to Capetown, where a more permanent movement ofnative organisation has since been formed. It has-also spread to Bloemfontein, where Msimang, a young native lawyer, is active in native organisation. In the Cape Province the natives are more advanced politically, and more permanently settled in the European areas. But the greater civil equality does not bring greater freedom to combine. Masabalala, the leader of the Port Elizabeth native workers, was imprisoned last August for his trade union activity. Trade unionism among the native workers makes the hair of the South African bourgeois stand on end. But the result of Masabalala's imprisonment was that his comrades rose en masse and tried to storm the prison. A massacre by the armed police ensued; and the 'white agitators of the Rand' blamed as usual.

But the most portentous event so far in the awakening of the native workers was the great strike of native mine workers on the Rand in March, 1920. These mine natives are mostly raw recruits from the tribal territories from Zululand, Basutoland, far-away Blantyre and Portuguese Africa, all are here. For the time being all the old tribal feuds were forgotten, and Zulu and Shangaan came out on strike together irrespective of tribal distinction to the number of 80,000. Without leaders, without organisation, hemmed in their compounds by the armed police, the flame of revolt died down, not without one or two bloody incidents in which the armed thugs of the law distinguished themselves for their savagery. The ISL at the time was engaged in the general elections, printing literature on the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat for its five candidates. The white workers were undecided as to their attitude towards the native strikers. The ISL came out with an appeal in 'The International' and in thousands of leaflets entitled 'Don't Scab,' calling upon the white workers to play the game towards the native strikers. These were distributed in the mine shafts by Communist sympathisers among the miners. One or two were made the 'object of a prosecution by the police, but released later owing to the difficulty felt, no doubt, of getting at the ISL for propaganda in the heat of an election. The Capitalist Press, thinking to damage our election prospects, gave still further publicity to our appeal by reproducing it in full as a proof of our criminality! The Mineworkers' Union Executive called upon its members to side with the masters and endeavour to run the mines, and publicly condemned our propaganda. But such is the division of labour in South Africa that whereas either black labour or white labour can stop industry, neither can properly start the wheels going again without the other.

NATIVE POLITICAL LEADERS

There exists a body known as The Native Congress, with sections functioning in the various Provinces and for the whole Union. This is a loosely organised body composed ofthe chiefs, native lawyers, native clergymen, and others who eke out

a living as agents among their compatriots. This body is patronised and lectured by the Government. It has weekly newspapers in the various provinces, 'Abantu Batho' in Johannesburg, 'Ilanga Lase Natal' in Natal, etc. These are subsidised by Government advertisements, which are often withdrawn when the Congress drops the role of respectable bourgeois which it normally tries to assume. It is satisfied with agitation for civil equality and political rights to which its members as a small coterie of educated natives feel they have a special claim. But to obtain these the mass cannot be moved without their moving in a revolutionary manner. Hence the Government is dubious about the Congress, and the Congress draws back timidly from the mass movements of its own people. The native workers of the IWA quickly grasped the difference between their trade union and the Congress, and waged a merciless war of invective at the joint meetings of their Union with the Congress against the black-coated respectables of the Congress. But the growing class organisations of the natives will soon dominate or displace

the 'Congress.' The national and class interests of the natives cannot be distinguished the one from the other. Here is a revolutionary nationalist movement in the fullest meaning of Lenin's term.

NATIVE EDUCATION, ETC.

Apart from work done by Christian missions, the natives are thrown largely on their own resources for their education. Reading and writing are not necessary to their industrial function, so they have to acquire these at their own night schools, those who have the ambition. Here is a grand field for Communist activity given the necessary personnel and the money. In the Cape and Natal there are voices heard in favour of education for the natives. Far-seeing bourgeoisie like Sir William Beaumonet in Natal are advocates of votes for the native, with education, in order, as he says, that the native may be taught to vote as a good citizen, that is, as a good bourgeois, The mining industry has been wobbling in its attitude towards the educational and civil advancement of the natives, being hindered by political organisations, and the franckensteins of race prejudices which it has itself conjured up, from reducing working costs by opening the higher industrial employments to natives and coloured men. In the last few years 'The Star,' the Chamber of Mines daily, has incessantly declared in favour of the civil advancement of the natives, vigorously attacking the white unions for their denial of equality of opportunity to the native worker. These appeals, made in the interest of lower working costs, are nevertheless unanswerable in logic from the Labour point of view. The native does not care what the motive may be. He sees in his economic exploiters the champions of his civil rights. Now that the capitalist parties are safely seated in the Government saddle we may look forward to steps being taken to realise the programme. After the native strikes of 1920 the Chamber of Mines issued a newspaper for distribution gratis printed in the native languages. Its leading articles were chiefly devoted to discrediting the Socialists and white agitators generally. The ISL had under consideration the issuing of a Communist sheet in counterblast, but found itself unable to do this in addition to 'The International.' This attempt to debauch the mind of the native workers while

it is in the process of awakening is one which the Communist movement is too weak to frustrate; and we can only call the attention of the Third International to the fact.

THE ISL AND ITS TASK

The International Socialist League, soon after it parted company with the Labour Party, declared for the solidarity of Labour irrespective of race, colour or creed. Imbued with the ideas of De Leon as popularised in the splendid series of Marxian pamphlets issued by the SLP of America and Great Britain, the League proclaimed the principle of Industrial Unionism, placing in the Parliamentary fight the fight to end parliaments, and to replace them by the class state of the

workers functioning through their industrial unions. Therefore craft unions were declared odious as dividing the workers instead of uniting them on the larger basis of industry. And as part of this craft disunity the exclusion of the native workers from part or lot in the Labour Movement was denounced as a crime. To us, the rather mechanical formula of De Leon's Industrial Unionism (which was deemed capable of performing a bloodless revolution by 'a lock-out of the capitalist class') was made a living thing by its application to the native workers. Later on the word became flesh in the Soviets, and we no longer worry overmuch about the craft or professional form which the older unions have taken. The League having thus been captured by the De Leonites, the reform pacifists gave us the cold shoulder, and several slunk back into the Labour Party. The League also formed branches which have had fluctuating success in the Reef towns of Krugersdorp, Benoni, Springs and Germiston, also at Durban and Kimberley. Durban has also had for years a small group calling itself the Social Democratic Party, followers of Hyndman in war and peace. This body refused to link up with the ISL on the excuse that we were only the Labour Party under another name. It was allowed to hold its meetings during the war by an arrangement with the police that it would leave the war out of its propaganda. At this time the ISL was being mobbed by the organised hooligans of the police and prosecuted for its class war propaganda. This SDP outfit still follows Hyndman in sneering at the Third International and the Russian Revolution, and may justly be put down as of no account. The Social Democratic Federation of Capetown was also unwilling to link up for other reasons. It was composed of pro-warites and anti-warites, and the Jingoes and Pacifists remained in peace together. The ISL was reformist because it fought elections, and the 'men from the north,' as they called us, were accused of trying to sow disunity in the Federation by its neophyte enthusiasm for Karl Marx as the only authority! Comrade Harrison, one of the members of the SDF, carried on a valiant open-air propaganda on anti-militarism and what he calls 'philosophical anarchy,' for which he was repeatedly prosecuted. Latterly a body of young class war enthusiasts broke away from tht SDF and formed the Industrial Socialist League. Anti-political, they thought to emphasise the fact by the word 'Industrial'. It has now proclaimed itself the Communist Party of Africa. The ISL itself also suffered a breakaway of anti-political anarchists for its persistency in fighting elections. This group also formed itself into a 'Communist Party', in unison with

the Capetown group. The ISL has made attempts since the proclamation of the Moscow theses to unite th~se groups into the Third International. The reply of the Johannesburg group objected to the twenty-one conditions and 'to the dictatorship of Moscow' (meaning the dictatorship of the Marxian principles). Comrade E.J. Brown, a member of the ISL recently expelled from the Belgian Congo for trade union agitation there, has been more successful in Capetown in the matter of unifying the sound revolutionary elements, and forming a group anxious to fight under the banner of the Third International. The ISL waits on these elements to fall into line

before definitely transferring itself into the South African Communist Party of the Third International.

The number of Leagues and Parties all claiming to be revolutionary must not be taken as indicating a large revolutionary following. The ISL's election results have been very meagre indeed. The best poll was that of Comrade Andrews in Benoni in 1917 with 335 votes as against 1,200 odd for the successful candidate.. Since then the election results in Benoni have dwindled considerably. The mass of voteless native workers makes it impossible for us to win elections in South Africa. The necessity for propaganda, the need to keep the two streams of the proletariat theoretically one, the need to appeal on the political plane on class issues affecting the native, and above all the advisability of opening as far as possible the arena of civil right for the native struggle makes it imperative nevertheless that we fight elections. The League is by far the largest of the groups that I have mentioned, undoubtedly larger than all the rest combined, and the only one of any political significance. Any worker who puts up a fight for class solidarity in the Transvaal Unions is thereby deemed a supporter of the ISL. It has a large circle of passive sympathisers, as evidenced by the number that follow its banner in the May Day procession, in which the trade unions co-operate. Nevertheless the League's membership has never exceeded four hundred at any time. And latterly the number of militants who have emigrated to Europe has weakened our organisation. It is denied the support and inspiration of the great mass of the propertiless proletariat on which the Europeans parties are able to draw. The revolutionary movement depends almost entirely on a few advanced spirits drawn from the thin upper crust of Labour aristocracy. Owing to the heavy social disabilities and political backwardness the natives are not able to supply any active militants to the Communist movement. The immediate needs of white trades unionism, in which a number of our members are actively engaged, tends to throw the more difficult task of native emancipation into the background. The white movement dominates our attention, because the native workers' movement moves only spasmodically, and is neglected. It requires a special department, with native linguists and newspapers. All of which require large funds, which are not available. The Jewish community, with its anti-war and pro-Russian sympathies, has given generous support to our funds. But as the revolution clarifies, this support is now confined to the Jewish revolutionaries proper.

It will thus be seen that the ISL has a particularly heavy task falling upon the shoulders of a few militants who have stuck doggedly to it for over'five years. The present writer, having also left Africa for the time being, feels it his duty to appeal for some reinforcement to the South African movement, and to urge that it should come more directly under the purview of the Third International. A few missionaries, revolutionists who need a spell of sunshine, would be very welcome. Primitive though they be, the African natives are ripe for the message of the Communist International. Speed the day when they too will march with 'the iron battali6ns of the proletariat.'

Nice, 29th March, 1921. D. IVON JONES

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Editorial Note:

After months of negotiation by a unity corn mittee representing the various parties, the foundation conference of the Communist Party of SouthAfrica was held at No. 20, Plein Street, Cape Town, onjuly 30 and3l andAugust 1, 1921. The formation of the Party had been announced on the evening of July 29 at a public meeting in the Cape Town City Hall attended by over 2,000 people, but it was not until the following day that the conference delegates adopted the report of the unity committee and formally passed a resolution constituting the Party as the South African section of the Third International. The minutes of the conference record that all the delegates then stood and sang 'The Red Flag'.

DOCUMENT 20:

Constitution and Rules of the Communist Party of South Africa as adopted at the congress held in Cape Town on July 30-31 and August 1, 1921.

Rule 1. The Party accepts the '21 Points' of the Communist International.

2. Any person may be a member of the Party who

(a) signs a pledge to abide by these rules;

(b) is proposed, seconded and duly elected by a branch of the Party or, where no Branch exists, by the Central Executive;

(c) pays the subscription levied by his branch or in the case of members not attached to a Branch by the Central Executive;

The minimum subscription to be one shilling per month.

(d) subscribes to the official organ of the Party; provided that when two or more members belong to one family one annual subscription to the official organ shall be deemed sufficient.

(e) Any member may by a vote of his branch be suspended from membership pending the next Party Congress which shall either expel or reinstate him.

3. (a) New Branches shall be formed subject to the approval of the Central Executive.

(b) Branches shall consist often or more members.

(c) They shall appoint a Branch Secretary and such other officers as may be necessary.

(d) They shall meet not less than once a month.

(e) They shall pay to the Central Executive not less than one halfof their

members' branch subscriptions and one fourth of their other income.
4. The Central Executive or the Party Congress may
(a) permit any branch to levy a subscription of less than one shilling per month.
(b) Partially or wholly exempt the members of any branch or any 9f them from subscribing to the official organ of the Party provided that such branch as a whole subscribe for one or more copies in any event.

5. (a) The Central Executive shall be located in Johannesburg until otherwise decided by the Party Congress.
(b) It shall consist of a Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and nine other members, all appointed by the Congress, and three other members respectively appointed by the Cape, Natal and Free State branches.
(c) It shall fill vacancies in its number arising between Congress provided that vacancies among the nominees of the Cape, Natal or Free State shall be filled by the branches appointing them.
(d) Any member of the Central Executive absent for three consecutive meetings without leave shall cease to be a member thereof.
(e) Subject to these rules, the Central Executive shall control all the work of the Party between Congresses.
6. (a) The Party Congress shall consist of (1) delegates of the branches, appointed by them in the proportion of two for every 25 members or part thereof, such part not being less than 10, (2) representatives of the members not attached to a branch, such representation to be arranged in the like proportion by the Central Executive.
(b) The Congress shall meet at least once a year at such place and time as may be decided upon by the previous Congress, and may also be specially convened by the Central Executive or on the requisition of at least three branches.
(c) The Congress shall be the supreme organ of the Party.

DOCUMENT 21:

'The Twenty-one Points - Conditions of Admission to the Communist International' as adopted at the second Comintern congress in 1920 and appended to the constitution of the Communist Party of South Africa by its founding conference in 1921.

1. The general propaganda and agitation should bear a really Communist character, and should correspond to the programme and decisions of the Third International. The entire party press should be edited by reliable Communists who have proven their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of as simply a current hackneyed formula, it should be advocated in such a way that its necessity should be apparent to every rank and file working man and woman, to each soldier and peasant, and should emanate from everyday facts systematically recorded by our press day by day.

All periodical and other publications, as well as all party publications and editions, must be subject to the control of the presidium of the party, independent of whether the party is legal or illegal. It should in no way be permitted that the editors abuse their autonomy and carry on a policy not fully corresponding to the policy of the party.

Wherever the followers of the Third International have access, and whatever means of propaganda are at their disposal, whether the columns of newspapers, popular meetings, labour unions or co-operatives, it is indispensable for them not only to denounce the bourgeoisie, but also its assistants and agents, reformists of every colour and shade.
2. Every organisation desiring to join the Communist International shall be bound systematically and regularly to remove from all the responsible posts in the labour movement (party organisation, editors, labour unions, parliamentary faction, co-operatives, municipalities, etc.) all reformists and followers of the 'centre,' and to have them replaced by Communists even at the cost of replacing at the beginning 'experienced' men by rank and file working men.
3. The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering upon the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in the bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus which at the decisive moment should do its duty by the party, and in every way possible assist the revolution. In every country where in consequence of martial law or of other exceptional laws the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully, a combination of lawful and illegal work is absolutely necessary.
4. A persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation is necessary in the army, where Communist groups should be formed in every military organisation. Wherever owing to repressive legislation this becomes impossible it is necessary to carry on such agitation illegally. But refusal to carry on or participate in such work should be considered equal to treason to the revolutionary cause and incompatible with affiliation to the Third International.
5. A systematic and regular propaganda is necessary in the rural districts. The workers can gain no victory unless they possess the sympathy and support of at least part ofthe rural workers and of the poor peasants, and unless other sections of the population are neutralised. Communist work in the rural districts is acquiring a predominant importance during the present period. It should be carried on through Communist workmen of both city and country who have connections with the rural districts. To refuse to do such work or to transfer such work to untrustworthy half reformists, is equal to rejection of the proletarian revolution.
6. Every party desirous of affiliating to the Third International should renounce not only avowed social patriotism but also the falsehood and the hypocrisy of social pacifism; it should systematically demonstrate to the workers that without a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international arbitration, no talk of

disarmament, no democratic reorganisation of the League of Nations will be capable of saving mankind from new Imperialist wars.
7. Parties desirous of joining the Communist International must recognise the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the 'centrists,' and must advocate this rupture amongst the widest circles of the party membership, without which condition a consistent Communist policy is impossible. The Communist International demands unconditionally and peremptorily

that such rupture be brought about with the least possible delay. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to the fact that such avowed reformists as, for instance, Turatti, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hillquit, Longuet, Macdonald, and others, should be entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. This would make the Third International resemble the Second International.
8. In the Colonial question and that of the oppressed nationalities there is necessary an especially distinct and clear line of conduct of the parties of countries where the bourgeoisie possesses such colonies or oppresses other nationalities. Every party desirous of belonging to the Third International should be bound to denounce without any reserve all the methods of 'its own' imperialists in the colonies, supporting, not only in words but practically, all movements of liberation in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of its own imperialists from such colonies and cultivate among the workers of its own country a truly fraternal attitude towards the working population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population.
9. Every party desirous ofbelonging to the Communist International should be bound to carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the labour unions, co-operatives and other labour organisations of the masses. It is necessary to form Communist groups within these organisations which by persistent and lasting work should win over the labour unions to Communism. These groups should constantly denounce the treachery of the social patriots and of the fluctuations ofthe 'centre'. These Communist groups should be completely subordinated to the party in general.
10. Any party belonging to the Communist International is bound to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam 'International' of the yellow labour unions. It should propagate insistently amongst the organised workers the necessity of rupture with the yellow Amsterdam International. It should support by all means in its power the International union of Red Labour Unions adhering to the Communist International.
11. Parties desirous of joining the Third International shall be bound to inspect the personnel of their parliamentary factions, to remove all unreliable elements therefrom, to control such factions not only verbally but in reality, to subordinate them to the Central Committee of the party, and to demand from each proletarian Communist that he devote hisentire activity to the interests of real revolutionary propaganda.

12. All the parties belonging to the Communist International should be formed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralisation. At the present time of acute civil war the Communist Party will only be able fully to do its duty when it is organised in a sufficiently thorough way, when it possesses an iron discipline and when its party centre enjoys the confidence of the members of the party, who are to endow this centre with complete power, authority, and ample rights.
13. The Communist Parties of those countries where Communist activity is

legal should make a clearance of their members from time to time, as well as those of the party organisations, in order systematically to disembarrass the party from the petty-bourgeois elements which penetrate into it.
14. Each party desirous of affiliating to the Communist International should be obliged to render every posssibly assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist Parties should carry on a precise and a definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on propaganda among troops sent against workers' republics, etc.
15. All those parties which up to the present moment have stood upon the old social-democratic programmes should within the shortest time possible draw up a new Communist programme in conformity with the special conditions of their country, and in accordance with the resolutions of the Communist International. As a rule the programme of each party belonging to the Communist International should be confirmed by the next Congress of the Communist International or its Executive Committee. In the event of the failure of the programme of any party being confirmed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the said party shall be entitled to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.
16. All the resolutions of the Congresses of the Communist International as well as the resolutions of the Executive Committee, are binding for all parties joining the Communist International. The Communist International, operating under the conditions of most acute civil warfare, should be centralised in a better manner than was the Second International. At the same time the Communist International and the Executive Committee are, naturally, bound in every form of their activity to consider the variety of conditions under which the different parties have to work and struggle, and generally binding resolutions should be passed upon which such resolutions are possible.
17. In connection with the above, all parties desiring to join the Communist International should change their names. Each party desirous of joining the Communist International should bear the following name: Communist Party of such and such a country (Branch of the Third Communist International). The question of the naming of a party is not only a formal one, but one of great importance. The Communist International has declared a decisive war against the entire bourgeois world and all the yellow Social Democratic parties. It is indispensable that every rank and file worker should be able clearly to distinguish

between the Communist Parties and the old official 'Social Democratic' or 'Socialist' parties, which have betrayed the cause of the working class.
18. All the leading organs of the press of the parties of every party are bound to publish all the most important documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.
9. All those parties which have joined the Communist International as well as those which have expressed a desire to do so are obliged in as short a space of time

as possible, and in no case later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, to convene an Extraordinary Congress in order to discuss these conditions. In addition to this the Central Committees of these parties should take care to acquaint all the local organisations with the regulations of the Second Congress of the Communist International.
20. All those parties which at the present time are willing to join the Third International, but have so far not changed their tactics in any radical manner, should, prior to their joining the Third International, take care that not less than two-thirds of their Committee members and all their Central Institutions should be composed of comrades who have made an open and definite declaration prior to the convening of the Second Congress as to their desire that the party should affili* ate to the Third International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the right to make an exception also for the representatives of the 'Centre' as mentioned in Paragraph 7.
21. Thosemembers of the party who reject on principle the conditions and the theses of the Third International are to be excluded from the party.
This applies also to the delegates at Extraordinary Conventions of the Party.
DOCUMENT 22:
Manifesto of the Communist Party of South Africa adopted at the Cape Town conference held on July 30-31 and August 1, 1921.
The Communist Party of South Africa, which has been formed by the union of the former International Socialist League (S.A.), Social Democratic Federation of Capetown, Communist Party of Capetown, Jewish Socialist Society of Capetown, Jewish Socialist Society (Poalei Zion) ofJohannesburg, Marxian Club of Durban, and other Socialist bodies and individuals, and which expects shortly to be affiliated to the World Communist International, makes its appeal to all South African workers, organised and un6rgnised, white and black, to join in promoting the overthrow of the capitalist system and outlawry of the capitalist class, and the establishment of a Commonwealth of Workers throughout the World.
What does this mean?
All recorded history is the history of class struggles and consequent evolutionary changes in the form of society; the class divisions and institutions varying from age to age according to the current economic basis, and each form being superseded by another when its mission is fulfilled. Today this is more true than ever. Under the form of society dictated by modern capitalist production, the means of life are concentrated in the hands of a small privileged class, which

exploits the propertiless working masses, appropriates all the product of their labour, reduces them to the lowest and most servile level of existence that will permit them to continue working and reproducing their kind, and in addition obtains, by virtue of that economic supremacy, control of the entire State Power. This regime of contradiction between 'social production' and 'individual appropriation', of irreconcilable

antagonism between masters and man, employers and employed, property owners and proletarians - the class struggle of today - has brought mankind into unprecedented conflict, misery and chaos-a veritable abomination of desolation and terror. But it is fast approaching a crisis entailing its overthrow by the revolting masses in favour of a New Order, the transition to which will be masterfully controlled by a politically victorious working class, but the eventual outcome of which will be an emancipated world, a society of economic and social equals wherein class divisions, privileges and disabilities will for the first time in history be impossible; a system of social ownership of the means of production industrially administered by the workers on an organised and harmonious plan, ensuring from every man according to his capacity and to every man according to his needs, under the motto 'All for each and each for All'. This Social Revolution is the essential objective of the Labour Movement, the end towards which every step it takes must directly tend. The task is no mere pastime; it is a fight, a grim, often a dangerous, sometimes a mortal fight. It is idle to deny the war between the classes, or to pretend it can somehow be composed by a drawn battle or an armistice. So elemental a conflict-which a defeat of Labour obviously only prolongs-can be solved by nothing short of the world wide destruction of the capitalist power; and it is in that direction that the world is actually evolving, for Russia is only the first country where the working class has realised in practical fashion that industry needs no exploiters, and agriculture no landlords, by locking them out. That pioneer victory has set the pace for the politics of the whole world today; everyone feels that others are bound to follow the Russian lead. The governments representing the bourgeois power, having strained every nerve to strangle that young Workers' Republic, are now all the more determined to prevent its example from spreading, and are ready to adopt every method to that end, from diplomatic chicanery, false propaganda in press, school, pulpit and platform, economic pressure and intimidation, artificial trade depressiotn, hypocritical appeals to snobbery, patriotism, religious prejudice and racial fear or pride, to the brute force of the Mailed Fist and the Iron Heel wherever they dare. Lately they have instituted a determined campaign all over the world to reduce wages. They are criminally conspiring to maintain as long as they can their decadent, outworn, slave-grinding system with its political expression, the so-called democratic state, notwithstanding that, as a glance at any day's newspaper will show, it has not only failed to fulfil a single one of the promises still held out for it, but, by crushing the workers with the perpetual dread or actuality of unemployment, starvation, repression, massacre and war, it is driving mankind ever deeper into the abyss.

It is time for the Labour Movement in South Africa to hearken to the call of the times, to discard its futile reformism, its misleader's careerism, its petty middle class opportunism, its subservient snobbery and cowardice, of the past -all typical of the 'social patriotic' Second International which failed the workers so miserably at the outbreak of the great war, and which is even now being rehashed as the '21/2 International'. It is time to recognise the historic and titanic nature of the fight,

and to unite all our forces in countering the enemy's palpable activity with an even more active Red forward movement, political and industrial, of all the workers; a Great Push so militant, well organised and unified by solidarity as to deliver, in c6operation with the advanced Labour Movement ofthe rest of the world, the knockout blow to a hated class and system. To this standard the United Communist Party of S.A. bids all class conscious workers rally, whether previously adherents of any other party or not.

For the immediate future, indeed, the main duty of the party and of every member of it is to establish the widest and closest possible contact with workers of all ranks and races and to propagate the Communist gospel among them, in the first instance among the industrial masses, who must provide the 'storm troops' of the Revolution, and secondly among the rural toilers. Even that path will not be smooth. Immediate repression in the form of raids, prosecutions, mob attacks and bloodshed by 'Black (and Tan) Hundreds' or'White Guards' may be looked for as the propaganda is seen to be working among the submissive helot races whose enlightenment and organisation the ruling class dreads above all. The Communists will therefore proceed neither timorously nor tactlessly, losing no opportunity of demonstrating that, inasmuch as the cheap docile labour is what attracts the world capitalist investor to South Africa, so its understanding of and conscious entry into the working class movement is the most deadly blow South Africa can deal to world capitalism.

But propaganda 'is not enough' in these days of rapid change and action, and the party will be alert to turn to the advantage of the Labour Movement wherever possible any phase of discontent or disaffection, any opposition to imperialism, any indignation at the accepted 'skiet skiet' native policy, any genuine revolt of the masses against tyranny; striving always to hasten, sharpen and shorten the inevitably conflict, to guide and inspire the struggling workers in times of stress and trial like the present, and generally to act as the revolutionary vanguard of the Labour army of South Africa.

In any sacrifices it may be called upon to undergo the party will derive great strength and inspiration from its connection with the World Communist International, at present headed by the Russian Communist Party, with which is also closely identified the Red Trade Union International; besides which circumstances will bring it from time to time into specially close touch with the movement in Britain, where the struggle of the miners has recently disclosed unexampled heroism and endurance. Heartened by this sense of solidarity and support, and by the exhilarating comradeship known only to fellow workers in a

militant movement, we advance to do battle with the capitalist Goliath, confident that if we play our part unfalteringly we shall in our lifetime see the robber and butcher class brought low and the workers' 'Soviets' in power. We hold aloft the glistening banner of the World Commune to be, when the class war shall have been for ever stamped out, when mankind shall no longer cower under the bludgeon of the oppressor, when the necessaries and amenities of life, the comfort and the culture, the honour and the power, shall be to him who toils not to him who exploits, when

none shall be called master and none servant, but all shall be fellow workers in common.
Down with the Capitalist System! Up with the Workers' Commune! Speed the Social Revolution!

DOCUMENT 23:
Letter from W.H. Andrews, secretary of the Communist Party of South Africa, to the Executive Committee of the Third Communist International applying for affiliation.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA
4 Trades Hall
Rissik Street
PO Box 4179
Johannesburg S.A. August 10th 1921
The Secretary
Executive Committee of the Third Communist International
Dear Comrade,
I am instructed by the Communist Party ofSouth Africa, which was formed on the 30th July by the amalgamation of the International Socialist League, S.A., Social Democratic Federation, Cape Town, Communist Party, Cape Town, Jewish Socialist Society Cape Town, Jewish Socialist Society (Poalei Zion) Johannesburg, Marxian Club Durban, and which has accepted the 'twenty one points', conditions of affiliation to the Third International and adopted the constitution and rules, to apply for affiliation to the Third Communist International.
W.H. Andrews (signed) Secretary,
Communist Party of S.A.

SECTION 2
t e Biack ItpUblic
INTRODUCTION
The post-war economic crisis in South Africa resulted in a great social upheaval. African dock workers, municipal workers and miners engaged in strike action to improve their conditions, meeting with the usual repressive tactics from bosses and police. At Bulhoek in the Eastern Cape an 'illegal' settlement of an African separatist church, the Israelites, was attacked by the police, leaving 163 dead and

129 wounded by gunfire. In Namibia 150 were killed when the 'Bondelswarts Rebellion' was bloodily suppressed by the Smuts Government. White workers, too, were forced to defend themselves against wage cuts and redundancies imposed by the bosses in an attempt to lower production costs. When the price of gold dropped from 130s an ounce in 1919 to 95s an ounce in December 1921, the Chamber of Mines decided to economise by reducing the number of highly-paid white workers and transferring some semi-skilled jobs to Africans at lower rates of pay. In protest the white workers came out on a strike which quickly developed into a full-scale confrontation between the entire white working class on the one hand and the Chamber of Mines and the Government on the other.

The 1922 strike presented the new Communist Party with a dilemma. On the one hand, the white workers were striking for the maintenance ofthe colour bar on the mines and to prevent African advancement in the industry, which threatened their privileged position. As against this, the general policy of the Communist Party was for the abolition of the colour bar and the establishment of equal rights and opportunities for all workers irrespective of race. On the other hand, the white workers' strike was directed against the government and the Chamber of Mines- the mainstay of the capitalist system in South Africa. Furthermore, the Communist Party had close links with the white trade union movement, from which many of its leaders and members had been recruited and in which men like Andrews exerted considerable influence. By contrast, African working-class organisation was practically non-existant, especially on the mines, and African political organisations, while vocal, had little organisational muscle.

The Communist Party could not fail to support workers fighting against wage

cuts and redundancies. On the other hand, the Party could not support the perpetuation of the industrial colour bar. What, then, was to be done?

While the greatest industrial struggle in South Africa's history was being waged, it was not possible for the Communist Party to remain neutral or passive. In their book Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950 H.J. and R.E Simons summarise the Communist Party's attitude at the time as follows:

'The fight was on. The duty of communists was to guide it correctly, instil a revolutionary consciousness in the strikers, and lead them to victory. None of these aims would be attained if the strike degenerated into a race war. The Party must therefore stress the common interests of all workers, develop a spirit of inter-racial solidarity, and turn the
strike into a crusade against capitalism.'

The strike led to bloody clashes between the workers and the forces of the state in which hundreds were killed and thousands wounded as General Smuts threw his army and air force into the struggle. In many areas the strikers were assisted by Afrikaner commandos, since the majority of white mineworkers were Afrikaners and the Nationalist Party of General Hertzog, though officially uninvolved, nevertheless sought to turn events against the hated Smuts government and open the way to the establishment of a republic.

During and after the strike over 1,000 strikers and their leaders, including many Communists, were arrested and imprisoned. Four strike leaders were sentenced to death and three of them were hanged. The so-called 'Red Revolt' had been crushed, but in the long run it turned out to be a Pyrrhic victory for the Smuts Government.

Immediately after the strike a United Front was set up supported by rank-andfile members of the Nati6nalist, Labour and Communist Parties, with the aim of preventing further executions, procuring an amnesty for the imprisoned strikers and working for the defeat of the Smuts Government.

DOCUMENT 24:

'The Fight to a Finish', manifesto issued by the Communist Party to the striking workers of the Witwatersrand on January 30, 1922.

Fellow Workers,

An over-confident stroke on the part of the Chamber of Mines, aimed too palpably at lowering wages and reducing the number of white workers, has had the effect of bringing home to South Africa what is really involved in capitalist exploitation, so much so that a violent revulsion of feeling against the ruling class is arising not only among ourselves (with some of the petty middle-class dependent on their custom) but also among the country folk, from whom a majority of those workers are sprung, and who although themselves often far from proletarian in position and outlook, rebel against the enslavement of their country to the mining houses, largely overseas organisations and closely linked with the British Empire.

Of such situations the Communists, since the days of Marx, have always urged

organised labour to take full advantage with a view to shaking the position of the ruling class and so facilitating a change in the existing order of society. Hence without necessarily identifying itself with every slogan heard in the strike, the Communist Party of South Africa gladly offers its assistance to the Strike Committee convinced that essentially this is a fight against the rule of the capitalistic class, a fight which, if energetically pushed, may drive at least one more nail into its coffin and contribute to its eventual downfall-the only real 'settlement'. To maintain the 'white standard' to build a 'white South Africa', is impossible under capitalism, whose nature is to degrade every class it employs. Then away with it! How? By dint of the utmost solidarity of labour against the common enemy: nothing less can win. Let us take what other help is offered, but remember that the support of landowners, interested as they themselves are in cheap labour, will not last forever, while the middle class, prone as they are to face both ways may prove broken reeds. Our only permanent allies are our fellow workers-irrespective of race or colour -as this strike is plainly teaching. And the more militant the struggle, the greater is the circle of workers drawn in, and simultaneously the more revolutionary becomes the aim, until it is realised by all that every road must lead to one goal: the end of the capitalist system of profit and the establishment of the Workers' Republic of the World for the common and equal benefit of all workers.

DOCUMENT 25:
Comintern Protest Against Executions, published in The International, January 5, 1923.
'The Fourth Congress of the Communist International has received the news that the South African Government of General Smuts has executed four workers for having defended themselves during the mine workers' strike against the violence of a government of lackeys in the service of gold and diamond mining capital.
'The Congress denounces the South African Government which in the person of General Smuts when in Europe professed a liberal, pacifist character while in reality it does not hesitate to murder in order to suppress the working class movement.
'The Fourth Congress sends fraternal greetings to the South African workers. It is convinced not only that they will not give up their fight, but that, on the contrary, they will learn how to draw the native workers too into the struggle against South African Capitalism, and thereby ensure common and final victory. In this struggle the South African workers may rely upon the help of the Communist International, which looks upon them as one of its outposts'.
The above resolution was drawn up by Radek and passed on November 23rd at the Red International in Moscow.

70 South African Communists Speak
Editorial Note:
After the 1922 strike, Andrews invited the British labour leader Tom Mann to visit South Africa on a speaking tour to boost the morale of the workers.
DOCUMENT 26:
'Tom Mann's Impressions' - from a report in The International, January 26, 1923.
Comrade Tom Mann has just returned to Capetown from a three months' tour of the principal centres of the Union, and the following are some of his impressions regarding conditions here.
The meetings he addressed at Capetown, Kimberley, Johannesburg and the Reef towns, Durban, Port Elizabeth, etc., were uniformly very good indeed from the point of view of numbers and enthusiasm. A hostile crowd was not encountered anywhere throughout his tour, although the Press did its utmost to arouse public opinion against him, and when this failed it boycotted all accounts of his meetings.
His championship of the proposal emanating from the Cape Federation of Trades for a general congress of all unions to re-establish the unions upon an industrial basis was welcomed by the union leaders in Johannesburg-at least ostensibly -but in the end they stated that considerations of a financial nature would prevent the holding of a congress. He found industrial organisation at a low ebb in South Africa, with large sections of workers much depressed, even fearful. Many railway workers were afraid to be seen talking to him, so cowed were they as a result of the Railway Administration's policy of weeding out all active trade unionists from the service.
INCREASED EFFICIENCY

The result of the March strike is that £ 10,000 a day is paid less in wages to workers on the mines, 8,000 white mineworkers are out of work, and the output of the mines remains the same. New methods of operating at Kimberley has thrown 1,500 white workers on the scrap heap who will not get jobs even if business should become normal. In estimating the chances of a speedy recovery of the union movement it must be remembered that unions include the most intelligent and courageous workers who have been roused by all that has taken place, and are more active than ever, and are busy rebuilding their organisations. It is difficult to know how long it will take the union to recover, but this active minority are determined to take action as speedily as they can to regain what they have lost, and to carry on the struggle further.

Towards the Black Republic 71

DOCUMENT 27:

Report of the second congress of the Communist Party of South Africa published in The International, May 4, 1923.

The general opinion among the delegates and visiting members was that the second Congress of the Communist Party (South African section) was a very successful gathering. The delegates were representative of all parts of South Africa, and under the able and genial chairmanship of Comrade D.L. Dryburgh of Capetown, in the two days during which the Congress sat, got through a great deal of solid work.

Although the order paper included many highly contentious subjects-and there were various shades of opinion represented and expressed, the comradely spirit manifested throughout was a distinguishing feature of the meetings. The Congress was opened at 10.25 on April 28th by Comrade W.H. Andrews, who welcomed the delegates, and after receiving the report of the Credentials Committee, asked the Congress to appoint its chairman. Comrade D.L. Dryburgh was elected and briefly addressed the assembled delegates and members. Having disposed of the minutes of last Congress, the report of the Central Executive was considered, which dealt with the following subjects: Russian Famine Relief, Congresses of the Communist International, Tom Mann Visit, Prosecutions of Party Speakers, United Front Movement, Trade Union Activity, The Rand Strike of 1922, Young Communist Movement, Organisation Problems. Following this, the audited accounts and balance sheets were considered and adopted, and the past having been disposed ofthe more interesting question of the future policy came under discussion.

A very livel? and useful discussion took place on the tactics of the United Front, and the policy was unanimously endorsed. The most keenly debated item on the agenda was the recommendation: 'That this Congress instructs the Central Executive Committee to apply for affiliation to the South African Labour Party'. After an exhaustive debate the recommendation was carried by a two to one vote. The Party delegate to the Communist International Congress (Com. S.P. Bunting) presented his report, which was a closely reasoned statement of the tactics to be adopted by the South African section of the Party, based on the collective experience of the delegates from all countries.

Some minor alterations of the rules were made, and a provisional constitution and platform adopted which, in common with those of all national sections, will be presented to the Comintern for its ratification.
The election of Party officers for the year resulted as follows: Chairman, Julius First; vice-chairman, Sam Barlin; treasurer, Sydney Ward; organiser, C.F. Glass; Central Executive, A. Goldman, R. Gelblum, H. Lee, S. Rubin, E. Roux, R. Rabb, W. Ward.
May Day greetings were sent to Capetown Demonstration Committee and a vote of condolence to Com. F. Robertson, who was absent through sickness. Appreciation was also expressed of the good work he had done in the movement.

The date and place of the next Congress was left to the C.E. The Chairman, in his closing remarks, congratulated the Congress on the good work done, and the businesslike and comradely spirit in which the various problems had been debated. He said the capitalist system was crumbling, and the workers must prepare for the grand assault. With a hearty vote of thanks to the chair and the singing of the 'Internationale' and the 'Red Flag', another milestone in the journey towards the workers' emancipation was passed.
DOCUMENT 28:
'A Helots' Bill of Rights', editorial in The International, June 1, 1923.
Every intelligent worker, whether of European or African descent, must associate himself with the demands of the SA Native National Congress, representing for this purpose, we think, the subject races of the Union in general, for equal rights with the other races, right to ownership of land, equality in the eyes of the law, 'equal rights for all civilised men', equality of treatment and citizenship irrespective of race, class, creed or origin, equal share in the direction of public affairs, and direct representation by members of their own race in all legislative bodies.
It is easy to quibble at the wording of these demands; let that task be left to tJie enemy. Nor is it necessary here to point out their incompleteness -there is much more that should have been included in a Bill of Rights. But what matter? For the working class of the whole world, struggling to shake off the yoke of imperialist capitalism, the essence of imperialism is the subject status of the exploited races. As long as one section of the working class acquiesces or participates in the subjection of another, so long will that other be used to bring it down lower and lower. If the enemy is to be dispossessed by the working class, it will take all the power of the whole working class to do it, and the victory must be shared by all the victors. The native workers cannot be expected to throw their weight into the fight if no benefit to them is expected out of it, nor if they are asked to fight for people who promise them still nothing but helotry. At present the capitalist class has got the chief hold on the minds and even sympathies of the native masses, or at least of their leaders, not because the capitalist class really offers them anything substantial but because the working class movement in general has boycotted them and left the field clear for capitalist dope. Let the organised workers boldly and honestly champion the helots' demands and prove themselves worthy of their

confidence. On the helots' side are all the professed principles of the bourgeoisie: logic, justice, common sense, liberalism, progress, freedom. If we want that sort of argument to 'excuse' us for being 'negrophiles', there we have it in plenty, unanswerable, impregnable. On their side also is the historic fact that national liberation is, in the case of subject races, the necessary introduction to proletarian revolution. On the ruling class side, the only argument -and the fact that it is the

only argument shows only the more the strength of the natives' case - is 'JANNIE GET YOUR GUN and your sword and your pistol'-and your aeroplanes. Workers of South Africa, support every movement for emancipation from capitalist oppression, irrespective of race, colour or country.

DOCUMENT 29:

'Never Again', anti-militarist leaflet issued by the South African Young Communist League and published in The International, August 11, 1923.

YOUNG MEN OF SOUTH AFRICA!

Early in 1924 you will be called upon to register your names for the Defence Force. For what purpose will the Defence Force be used when once it comes into being? It will be used for the suppression of the working class and the maintenance of the capitalist class in its position on the backs of the workers. We have only to point to what happened in 1913, 1914 and 1922. The members of the Defence Force will be used to shoot down their striking fathers, brothers and comrades.

FELLOW-WORKERS

The time has come for a final decision to be made. The Press will try to befool and intimidate you. They will prate about the liberty of the British Empire, the glory of the British Flag, the honour and renown of South Africa. but experience has taught us how to value this useless prattle. We know that the British Empire stands for the vested interests of international capitalism; that the British Flag is the symbol of wage slavery and industrial tyranny; that the honour and renown of South Africa means the prosperity of a pack of blood-sucking parasites with their home in the Chamber of Mines and their executive committee in the House of Assembly at Capetown.

The capitalist class stand morally damned for the great sin of 1914-1918, but they still seek to trade on your national instincts, they still seek to use you for their own narrow ends. In the Great War 'to make the world safe for democracy', millions of young workers laid down their lives. And in this world 'made fit for heroes to live in' unemployment is chronic, wages are reduced to the pig level, and every attempt of the working class to better their conditions of living is met by the armed force of 'law and order'.

Never again, fellow workers, let it be said that you helped to drive the working class still further into misery and starvation. The unity of labour is the hope of the world! The united front of the toilers is the only salvation for the world today.

AGAINST BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALIST MILITARISM!
AGAINST CAPITALIST WARS AND CAPITALIST ARMIES!

DOWN WITH THE SMUTS GOVERNMENT!
LONG LIVE THE UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKERS AND FARMERS!
LONG LIVE THE YOUNG WORKERS WHO REFUSE TO JOIN UP!
LONG LIVE THE COMMANDOS!

DOCUMENT 30:

'Young Communist Notes', report published in The International, November 23, 1923.

At its meeting last Tuesday the Johannesburg branch of the YCL discussed 'the necessity of bringing the native youth within the Young Communist movement'. The following resolution was adopted: 'The main task of the YCL of South Africa is the organisation of the native youth.'

Next Tuesday (November 27) the question of 'ways and means' will be discussed.

DOCUMENT 31:

'Lenin is Dead! Lenin Still Lives!', editorial in The International, January 25, 1924.

All the world over the Red Flag flies at half-mast today, and we in this small and distant but none the less important outpost of the world labour movement share to the full the general sense of supreme desolation. For the moment we can scarcely collect our thoughts under the staggering blow. 'Is it really true, alas, this time?' is the question all of us have put, remembering the many such stories circulated, with a malignant political object, in the past. And if true, how can we go on without our leader?

We fear the news is true. Lenin is dead - Comrade Lenin as he was not only to all who knew him but to millions all over the world who had never seen him and never hoped to see him. Lenin, the greatest of working-class leaders (and only in the working-class movement can such greatness be really achieved, the others are but ministers and attorneys of wealthy private clients); and yet how unlike some wellknown types of labour leader! Lenin, the man of the crowd, the man after the people's heart, the rough workmanlike looking 'demagogue,' yet at the same time the greatest of Marxian philosophers, master of the most penetrating subtleties of argument, a man whose unrivalled judgement compelled assent from his most dissenting colleagues; the outstanding 'intellectual' who, all the more perhaps because he was such, penetrated and assimilated and lived in the feelings and ideas of the masses and them only.

The doctors say he died of paralysis of the respiratory organs. Not true! Lenin died by the hand of the assassin, of the 'Social-Revolutionaries' behind the assassin, of the capitalist robber class behind the 'SR's' - the world is infested with

the murderers of Lenin. At that time they imagined that the fate of 'Bolshevism' depended on one man's life, and they resolved to take that life. At first the plotters chose a man for the task of shooting Lenin on the occasion of a mass meeting he was to address. The man went to the meeting, but in the face of the overwhelming popularity, the palpable worship of the crowd for their spokesman, he faltered and returned to the conspirators saying 'I cannot kill the people's god.' Then it was that

the woman was found to attempt the job. She failed to produce instant death. But it is to her bullet that our leader has succumbed at last. On her and her backers is the blame, on the murderers of Lenin all around us our curses fall -yes, on them our vengeance shall one day inexorably descend.
But they have failed. They thought to kill the working class movement in the person of its leader. We almost thought so too. And perhaps there was a critical time when the striking down of Lenin might have meant the defeat instead of the victory of the Russian revolution, for he was life and soul of its every activity. But they and we have been 'disappointed.' He lived long enough to lead his people out of their Egyptian bondage and to strengthen their forces enough to meet their enemies' attacks, until today we can all feel that, irreparable as is the lbss, irreplaceable as was the man, yet the Soviet Government, the Communist International, the world working-class movement whether as yet it recognises his value or not, can carry on and proceed to yet greater achievements none the less though he is gone.
The other side feel that too. They now belittle the importance of Lenin's death. They have hoped in succession that the counter-revolution, the assassination of leaders, the blockade, the numerous invasions, the famine, and finally Lenin's own 'New economic policy' would be the undoing of the Workers' Republic. Yet today it emerges stronger, prouder, more confident, more convinced of its mission, than ever, and Lenin's death can no longer shake its foundations. And so, exasperated, more brutalised than ever, the rulers of the earth are planning, as best they can in conjunction with their profit-making plans, the starvation of the whole working class (outside Russia) into submission, beginning with the European workers, and of them the German workers. As they hoped to murder Lenin, so now they hope to murder the masses. But we can, and as good disciples ofour great teacher we must and shall, defeat even this latest and most nefarious plot of all. Meanwhile their following dwindles daily. Already it is reported that 'all Russia, bourgeois as well as proletarian,' mourns her greatest man. In Russia at least the defeated bourgeoisie have practically ceased political opposition; they have learnt to.understand Lenin, they are coming to recognise the poverty of their own old world and the richness of the coming age - a point that goes home to every visitor to Russia when he returns from that country where, among the bulk of the people, individual interest in money-grubbing and beggar-my-neighbour is no more, back to the miserable atmosphere ofa capitalist society. It will not be long now, though it will need the same defeat, before the bourgeoisie of other lands, in face of the ghastly mess they have made of things, will come to the same recognition, and will join humbly in future commemorations of the death of our great comrade.

DOCUMENT 32:
'Non-European Congress', report in The International, April 18, 1924.
It is reported that a United Non-European Congress has been successfully inaugurated for the purpose of protecting and furthering the education,

commercial, political and industrial interests of the non-European peoples of South Africa.
The following organisations have affiliated:- African People's Organisation, Cape British Indian Council, African National Congress, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, South African Inter-Racial Association, and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union.
S. Reagon has been elected president, A. Ismail vice-president, M. de Vries treasurer, and J. A. la Guma secretary.
This is the inevitable result of the anti-Asiatic and anti-native policy of the Government and of a large proportion of the white people of South Africa.
When politicians talk glibly about segregation of Indians and natives and in relation to the former of repatriation, they are building up a sea of trouble for the younger generations of South Africans.
Obviously and naturally when one section of the population organises with the avowed object of preventing the enjoyment of certain rights which another has been accustomed to regard as theirs, the threatened section will organise in selfdefence. The more violent the expressions of feeling and the more unjust the proposals from the one side, the more militant will become the attitude of those who see their rights and their very means of livelihood in danger.
The truest friends of South Africans, European or otherwise, are those who maintain that the division of the population on racial lines is a crime and plays into the hands of the exploiting classes here and in Europe, and leaves the workers, European and non-European alike, an easy prey to the sharks of capitalism.
It cannot too often be repeated that the workers must organise along industrial lines irrespective of creed, craft or colour, if they would not be permanently enslaved and their children after them.
The only alternative is the Ku Klux Klan and its complement on the other side.
Editorial Note:
As the general election of 1924 drew near, the United Front of Nationalist, Labour and Communist Party members which had been set up in the aftermath of the 1922 strike began to fall to pieces. The 1923 conference of the Communist Party had decided to apply to the Labour Party for affiliation. In his letter of application to the Labour Party, S P Bunting, as secretary, wrote:
'There is today, we feel convinced, among the rank and file of the workers of all sections and races in South Africa as elsewhere, a widespread common determination to overthrow the rule of the capitalist class and the whole system of capitalist production; and the consolidation of this sentiment affords a common ground broader and greater than our

separate standpoints. It is felt, therefore, that the time is ripe for the formation in South
Africa of such a unifying Federation as suggested under the aegis of your Party'.
The Labour Party rejected the application out of hand. It also withdrew from the United Front in order to clear the way for an official alliance with the Nationalist

Party, which came into being in 1923. The Communist Party had no illusions about the nature of the Nationalist-Labour Pact, but decided to support it in the 1924 election because in its view the overthrow of the Smuts Government was the overriding imperative of the day.

DOCUMENT 33:

'Communist Party, S A, Election Manifesto', published in The International, May 16, 1924.

It is hardly necessary to state that the Communist Party is heart and soul with the campaign to oust so flagrantly capitalist a gang as the Smuts Government, representing as it does all the mining, financial and commerical interests that have dominated South Africa since Union, to go no further back.

A GHASTLY RECORD

The record of this combination is black enough to warrant its removal as the foremost consideration before the electors.

It has frankly governed the South African people, White, Indian, Coloured and Native, with the sword.

Its career of bloody repression of the workers is WITHOUT PARALLEL INANY OTHER PART OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE with the exception of India.

The years 1913-14 and 1922 signalise the progressive arrogance and brutality of the Chamber of Mines regime, the latter year in particular being stained with such crimes as the cold-blooded butchery of prisoners by the military and the hanging, after refusing them a jury, of four men whose crime was only that they dared to defend themselves against the armed forces sent against them.

Bulhoek, Village Deep, Port Elizabeth, the Bondelswarts, are names which recall bloody massacres of the native peoples.

As in 1914, the Government is confronted by the active resentment of the vast mass of the workers of South Africa as well as of many other elements which have hitherto supported it.

In 1914 the outbreak of the Great War saved Smuts from political extinction. There is nothing likely to save him in 1924.

TO BURY CAESAR, NOT TO PRAISE THE PACT

Hence for the time being, and in order not to split the opposition vote, the Communists are found supporting the 'Pact'.

But this, of course, does not mean support of the Nationalist or Labour programmes and outlook.

Take the case of the Labour Party-that is, its official element. Its 'patriotic', imperialistic tone; its support of the capitalist war; its yellow leadership, flourishing capitalist orders and military titles, clinging to membership of bourgeois clubs and lodges, and unconstitutionally coveting Cabinet office; its shameless attempt to discard whatever it once had of Socialist principles; its infatuation with the will o' the wisp of 'democracy' under capitalism while on the other hand it disregards its own rank and file, and persists in ignoring the nonEuropean workers even as electors, still more as potential fighters in the common labour cause; generally its middle-class tendency, illustrated in its recent

election manifesto, to FORGET THE WORKERS AS WORKERS ALTOGETHER -these are features which cannot possibly satisfy a party based on recognition of the irreconcilable antagonism of capitalist and working class and of the need for uncompromising struggle by the whole exploited mass against class rule and the ruling class of every land alike.

It was a very different party from the Labour Party that in Russia overthrew a capitalist government and, in the chief industries, the capitalist basis of production itself.

Again, as regards the other party to the 'Pact', nothing could be more reactionary than, for instance, the general Nationalist attitude towards the non-European races of South Africa-UNLESS IT BE THE LIKE ATTITUDE, ONLY MORE HYPOCRITICALLY CONCEALED, OF THE SAP.

'Segregation', to take one 'plan' advocated, indeed, by the SAP, Nationalists and Labour alike, is in the Communist view-looking at the African continent as a whole and recognising its native population as a huge reservoir of labour for world capitalist exploitation -so childish, so parochial, so 'copy-book' a slogan as not even to deserve the name of policy at all.

While the SALP is avowedly imperialist, the National Party, as its name indicates, only differs in this, that it wants a monopoly of the exploitation of the South African workers without any interference from Britain.

In short, BOTH LABOUR AND NATIONAL PARTIES ARE PLEDGED TO UPHOLD CAPITALISM AND THE EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKERS.

Nevertheless, Communists will support any other parties that oppose the existing social and political order of things, regarding them not as saviours but as stepping stones.

And in a country so politically backward as South Africa from the working class point of view (althoughadvanced from the capitalist point of view) the defeat of the SAP Government will in itself mean quite an appreciable step in the march towards complete emancipation.

THE TRAGEDY OF IT ALL

Moreover, despie-,.the gross defects of the opposition parties as political guides,

the masses who will vote for them mean thereby to express a genuine spirit of PROFOUND UNREST AND BITTERNESS against a condition of society in which poverty and unemployment become worse and worse every day, their position and prospects seem doomed only todeteriorate, for themselves and their children they see nothing in store but blank starvation and despair.

ILLUSION AND DISSILLUSION

It is perhaps only human that, while so keenly alive to this terrible reality, they should at the same time cherish the illusion that a change of government can materially affect it.

Dutch workers, bywoners and small farmers believe that a Nationalist Government will be able to, and will, in fact, legislate them into a fuller and freer life. They still believe that their misery is due to the domination of foreign capitalism as the result of the conquest and destruction of the Boer Republics,

forgetting that the poor white and bywoner problem was becoming acute even in the days of Paul Kruger.
The 'British section' are equally convinced that the Labour Party with its mild reformist proposals can and will bring about conditions in industry that will free them from the haunting dread of unemployment, underpayment and a povertystricken old age.
Of course, the Pact politicians do not attempt to dispel these illusions; quite the contrary. Instead of putting forward definite measures or adopting the concrete demands of the organised workers they fill us up with pious platitudes, equally current on SAP platforms, about 'making South Africa a home for contented and civilised men,' CANT PHRASES WHICH ONLY RECALL THE WAR RECRUITING SWINDLE ABOUT A 'LAND FIT FOR HEROES TO LIVE IN.'
EXPERIENCE TEACHES
Such illusion is not peculiar to South Africa. The German and British workers also fondly believed that a Social-Democrat or Labour bloc with a section of the capitalist class would be of advantage to them. But the events in Germany since Ebert became president, and in Britain under Ramsay Macdonald's government, are beginning to undeceive the more intelligent workers. France will soon follow suit. It appears that the same experience will be necessary in South Africa too to convince the masses of the vanity of their hopes and of the fact that WITHIN THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM THERE IS NO SOLUTION of the economic problems which have become so acute in South Africa during the last 20 years. Even an honestly Socialistic Labour Party in power could not materially alter the conditions of the workers.
Still less can we expect a composite party like the 'Pact' to effect any radical reforms.
THESE ILLUSIONS MUST BE SHED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, and this is

an additional reason for the Communist Party to do all in its power to help the 'Pact' to office.
It is convinced that only under the Communist banner can the unity, clarity and resoluteness be attained that will break up the system.
Editorial Note:
Following the defeat of the Smuts Government in the 1924general election, a Nationalist-Labour Pact Government led by General Hertzog came to power and straight away started to implement a policy of intensified race discrimination and oppression. At the 3rd congress of the Communist Party, held in Johannesburg in December 1924, the resolutions passed marked a pronounced change in the direction of Party policy. The main resolution passed by the conference was not to apply to the Labour Party for affiliation, as it had dohe regularly in the past with a view to securing a united front of the working class. The conference declared that such a united front could not be built from the top, but must come from mass action by workers of all races at rank and file level.

The resolutions passed at the conference also reflected a more pronounced swing away from the white workers and towards the black workers. Introducing the report on 'Native Affairs, trade unionist W Kalk said:
'The Communist Party must recognise the necessity of supporting every form ofnative movement which tends to undermine or weaken capitalism, and must fight for race equality of the natives on the economic and political field. The Communist Party must use every instrument which will induce the trade unions to admit native workers. Failing this, it must organise the natives into unions of their own, and apply United Front
tactics'.
Following the conference the Africanisation of the Party was speeded up. Black Party members were recruited in greater numbers and played an active role in existing organisations like the ICUand the ANC. The Party started an African night school in Johannesburg, founded a number of African trade unions. Slowly the racial complexion of the Party began to change. By 1928 the Party had 1, 750 members, of whom 1, 600 were Africans, as against 200 the year before.
DOCUMENT 34:
Draft Communist Party Programme adopted by the Party conference on December 30, 1924, for submission to the branches.
CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM
Most of the world is living under a system of society known as capitalism. The essence of capitalism is the ownership of lands, mines, factories, machinery and all other means of production, by private individuals and financial groups who are

thus able to exploit the propertyless workers for their own gain and profit. In spite of the enormous development of machinery and scientific achievement, the mass of the workers, robbed of nearly all that they produce, remain in bitter poverty. In addition to this, capitalism is characterised by periodically recurring crises, depression and mass unemployment.
The struggle between national capitalist groups for world markets leads to gigantic wars, such as that of 1914-1918, which threaten to engulf the contesting parties and destroy civilisation entirely. In the post-war period the frantic efforts of the capitalist class to patch up the system reveal only further contradictions. New groupings of powers ensue, and the struggle for supremacy goes on. Whole nations come under the sway of Imperialism. Capitalism, ever seeking cheaper labour, migrates to India, China, Africa etc whose peoples are subjected to the yoke of international capitalism and forced to work for a pittance in mines, factories and plantations. This cheap labour is used as a lever for undermining the standard of living of the more highly paid workers of the imperialist countries.
The only remedy for the evils of the capitalist system is the socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange and the establishment of a Communist society based on social as opposed to individual ownership. THIS HAS BECOME THE RECOGNISED OBJECTIVE OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. Its realisation means that with the disappearance of private profit and exploitation, all unemployment, starvation,

slums, so-called over-production, wars, the subjection of man to man and THE CLASS STRUGGLE ITSELF, WILL DISAPPEAR IN A CLASSLESS SOCIETY.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Under the capitalist system the interests of the exploiters and exploited are' absolutely opposed to each other. A continual struggle is going on over the division of the fruits of labour. In this struggle the capitalist class uses all the forces of the State against the workers, for example, the army, police, law courts etc. The working class cannot succeed, therefore, unless it CONQUERS STATE POWER AND USES IT IN ITS OWN INTERESTS AGAINST THE EXPLOITERS. There are only two alternatives: capitalist rule for the capitalists or workers' rule for the masses of the toilers.

The present Parliamentary system makes it possible for the capitalists to camouflage their rule behind the smoke screen of 'democracy'. The power of accumulated wealth gives them control over the school, the church, the press, the cinema, and many other means of influencing the minds of the masses, making democracy a farce. The workers must therefore CREATE THEIR OWN STATE wherein the Government will be BASED ON THE ORGANISATION OF THE WORKERS in town and country. The ethical justification of such a Government lies in the principle that those who produce the world's wealth sh6uld rule the world. It can only be established by the united action of the workers themselves. The Communist Parties of the world, united in the Communist International,

concentrate the action of the workers to this end. Soviet Russia is the first success, standing out as proof that the capitalist class can and shall be overthrown. The revolutionary achievement of the Russian masses, the steady improvement in their standard of living, the development of their administrative power, are an inspiration to the oppressed of all other countries to 'follow the lead of Russia!'

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS TASKS IN SOUTH AFRICA The world conditions of the decay and fall of capitalist civilisation are reflected in South Africa in the concentration of land in a few hands and the influx into the towns of the rural population, both black and white, resulting in the production of 'poor whites' and creation of a vast native town proletariat, with rapid lowering of wage standards, widespread unemployment, growth of slums, physical and moral deterioration of the population, as well as growing debauchery among the rich exploiters, great increase of insolvencies, crushing taxation, spread of bribery and corruption, etc., etc.

The ruling mining, industrial, manufacturing and landowning groups dominate the life of the country, irrespective of changes in Parliamentary groupings. The Chamber of Mines as the most centralised and dominant capitalist group and the one with the most far-reaching international connections, leads the capitalist class of South Africa in a struggle to maintain its supremacy and profits.

The South African Party is the party of 'Big Business', including the Chamber of Mines. It controls nearly all the big newspapers in the country, and until recently it completely dominated Parliament. It has been responsible for repeated mass

murder of workers, both black and white. It is the foremost champion of the British Imperial connection.
The National Party bases itself on an appeal to national and republican sentiments and on opposition to the industrial and mining capitalists. It thus attracts the support of the Afrikaner masses, such as small farmers, 'bywoners', 'poor whites', and Dutch-speaking town workers. Although now in power, however, it is quite unfitted to secure tangible benefits to these elements, for it is all the time DOMINATED BY BIG LANDOWNERS and in the last resort serves their interests exclusively.
The South African Labour Party, by endorsing the principle of capitalist democracy, perpetuates the illusion that the salvation of the workers can be attained through capitalist democratic institutior', such as Parliament. By its failure to recognise adequately the exploited native workers it forfeits all claim to be a true working-class party. It participated in the capitalist war of 1914-1918, the crushing of the Nationalist rebellion and the South West and German East invasions. It is largely controlled by reactionary non-working-class and opportunist elements. Attempting to function in the interests of the 'community as a whole' it is UNABLE TO SUPPORT THE TRUE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AS A CLASS.
It is necessary to have q real workers' party which will fight unfalteringly for the

workers and poor farmers in their daily struggle and lead them to the conquest of power.
THAT PARTY IS THE COMMUNIST PARTY. The Communist Party stresses the prime importance of mass organisation of labour for the development of the Labour movement. It aims at forwarding the industrial organisation of ALL sections of the workers, especially those hitherto unorganised, with a view to their co-operation and ultimate consolidation in One Big Union on class lines, in the struggle against capitalism which divided they cannot sustain. It declares unhesitatingly that the problems of the South African working class can be solved only through a United Front of all workers IRRESPECTIVE OF COLOUR. 'The unity of labour is the hope of the world'. It is also the only hope for South Africa.
PRESENT DEMANDS
The Communist Party, on behalf of the working class of South Africa, puts forward the following demands, th6 struggle for which WILL LEAD TO THE FORGING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WEAPONS NECESSARY FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF POWER:Abolition of indentured labour, abolition of pass laws, repeal of all illegal restrictions on the right to strike or refuse work whether collectively or individually, with unrestricted right of combination and public meeting-for all workers, irrespective of race, grade, or nature and sphere of employment. National provision of work or maintenance for all workers. 'Equal pay for equal work', irrespective of age, sex or colour. National insurance for disabled workers, extension ofworkmen's compensation to workers of all grades and races and to all occupational diseases. Compensation to strike victims and

their dependants. Universal maximum eight-hour day and 44-hour week; prohibition of labour under 16.
Enforcement and tightening up of mine, factory and workshop regulations for the safety and health of the workers, with trade union control of inspection. Equal justice, irrespective of colour.
Abolition of civil imprisonment for debt. Free compulsory universal secular primary education for workers' children, European and non-European.
Elimination of capitalist, imperialist and militarist bias in education.
Proper housing for all workers.
Abolition of poll and hut taxes.
A capital levy.
Expropriation of big estates in favour of the landless rural population. Provision of vastly increased areas of land for natives. Nationalisation of mines and banks.
Extension of Cape native franchise to other Provinces.

Votes for women.
Deprivation of power of native chiefs.
Reorganisation of the Defence Force on a Workers' and Farmers' Commando basis.
Demilitarisation of the police.
DOCUMENT 35:
The International Changes Its Name - announcement in The South African Worker, January 1, 1926.
TO OUR READERS
With this issue the Communist Party (SA) makes important changes in its weekly organ.
The 'International' was the name chosen at a time when the International Socialist League (SA) stood out in contrast with the social-patriotic SALP for the international fraternity of the working class in the war. When simultaneously it began to stress the need of enlisting all workers in South Africa-irrespective of race or colour in the working-class movement -the title became doubly appropriate, and has served to typify the principles of the Communist Party also to this day. The new title, however, will emphasise the CLASS basis of the Party's objective, for it is only by virtue of common class interests against a common class enemy that unity of the working-class - international or inter-racial the world over -can be attained, and without unity we cannot win. It is hoped that under the new title further illumination will be thrown on the dark places of the workers' life in town and country, and finally that the workers of South Africa will rally round our organ and make it completely their own. It is in order to facilitate this end that the price has been reduced from threepence to One Penny, and the Subscription rate to 5s per year, or 2s 6d per halfyear, post free from to-day.
Fellow workers you must help in the campaign. Read our paper, boost it, buy it, sell it, circulate it, write to it and for it, and help to make it more than ever the leader and inspirer of every South African worker.
Editorial Note:

The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU)founded by Clements Kadalie in 1919, had developed in the early years of the 1920s into the biggest African mass movement ever seen in South Africa, with branches in the main centres of the country and a membership estimated at over 100,000. Communist Party members like]. La Guma and E.J. Khaile hadplayeda big part in building up the ICU, and by 1926four Communists were on the ICU executive, with J. La Guma its general secretary. By this time, however, Kadalie had started to come under the influence of white liberals,

and his leadership began tofalter as he turned away from militancy towards apolicy of reformism. At a meeting of the National Council of the ICU in Port Elizabeth on December 16, 1926, Kadalie launched a furious attack on the Communist Party for 'interfering'in the internal affairs of the ICUand a resolution was passed by 6 votes to 5 'that no officer of the ICU shall be a member of the Communist Party'. Next morning La Guma asked what the position was of Communist Party members who were already officers of the organisation, and was informed by the chairman that they must resign either from the ICU or from the Communist Party. They refused to do either and on being told they were therefore expelled left the room singing the 'Red Flag'. This was the beginning of the end of the ICU as an effective mass organisation in South Africa.

DOCUMENT 36:

On the expulsion of Communists from the ICU - extracts from Communist Party manifesto in The South African Worker, December 24, 1926.

To the Native Workers and Oppressed Peoples of Africa. To the Members of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa (ICU).

Fellow Workers and Comrades,

At this critical moment, when the Government of Hertzog, Roos and Co is planning new slave laws for the native masses of South Africa, traitors and dupes of the Bosses are trying to break up the only effective organisation you have which is capable of putting up a real fight against oppression and slavery-the ICU. On December 16th the National Council of the ICU met at Port Elizabeth, but instead of deciding on a fighting policy against Hertzog's proposed slave legislation, Messrs Kadalie, Champion and Co., proceeded to destroy the fighting energy of the ICU by expelling the following members:J.A. La Guma, ICU General Secretary.

E.J. Khaile, ICU Financial Secretary.

J. Gomas, Cape Provincial Secretary.

These three comrades were expelled for no other reason than because they were active members of the Communist Party. They were not accused of not doing their work in the ICU properly. No! Every member of the ICU, including Kadalie, Champion, and others, knows full well that these three comrades have given their whole life and energy to the building up of the ICU. They were expelled because they belonged to the only political party in this country which has all along championed the cause of the oppressed native masses of Africa.

The Communist Party has persistently fought for a united front of all workers and oppressed against the common enemy, the capitalists. The Communist Party was and is the staunchest friend of the ICU. It appeals to

all native workers to join up and help to build a still stronger ICU. The Communist Party is not in opposition to the ICU. It is a political party, whereas the ICU is a trade union. Nearly every member of the Communist Party is a trade unionist, and some hold office in the trade union movement. No other trade union has ever suggested that they should be expelled. Comrades! You are told that one cannot serve two masters. Your expelled officials have never served two masters, but only one -the downtrodden workers of Africa. They have carried out their duties as working class fighters as no other ICU leaders have,

Who are the people who serve two masters? Kadalie, Champion and the other 'good boys' who seek to split your ranks in the midst of the enemy attack!

WORKERS OF AFRICA!

Do not allow 'good boys' and other boss-class instruments to get control of the ICU. Demand that Comrades La Guma, Khaile and Gomas be immediately reinstated.

Demand that your leaders take up a real fighting working class policy instead of relying on the capitalist law courts.

Down with the traitors who live on the sweat and blood of the toiling masses and insult those Native workers who with magnificent courage came out on strike for their rights.

Down with the 'good boys' Kadalie, Champion and Co., when they seek to break your organisation up.

Long live the unity of the oppressed working class. Long live a united and fighting ICU.

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

DOCUMENT 37:

'Open Letter from the expelled ICU Members to the Rank and File', The South African Worker, December 24, 1926.

Comrades, -The hour has struck for you to voice your opinion in no uncertain tone as to what the policy of the ICU shall be, pacifist or militant. The ICU is in danger of being handed over to the enemy. Kadalie and his clique have become 'good boys' and have publicly declared their policy to be a reformist one. Having gained their main personal objective, the favour of the boss class, they now intend to sit in office and ride on your backs at leisure, unless you awake in time. The question confronting you now is: Are you going to allow yourselves to be duped by the reactionaries? We, the 'expelled' comrades, feel that we are speaking your mind when we answer an emphatic NO!. We want no reformism in the ICU, an organisation that has been built up upon militant lines and is being betrayed by a clique who have been waxing fat at the expense of the toilers. We maintain that the only and correct polici for the oppressed workers of South Africa is an outright

militant one.
As recent events clearly prove there is a conspiracy afoot against your welfare. Large amounts have been spent upon the conventions of the National Council, and yet nothing has been done to give you the lead to better your conditions, economically and politically. Actually the reverse is the case. The comrades, men with honesty and a fighting policy, have been unconstitutionally expelled by a politically corrupt and reactionary 'engineered' majority of the National Council, for daring to demand that the ICU take up a definite stand against the oppression under which you are suffering, and against which they are pledged to fight to the last ditch.
By our removal the reactionaries have deluded themselves into the belief that the channels whereby the correct interpretation of the will of the masses could-have been expressed are blocked: but they have reckoned without your determination that the last word shall be with the rank and file. Since we do not wish to resort to action that will cause a split in the ranks of the workers in contesting this issue, we call upon you for your decision, and feel confident that you will support us in the following demands:(a) The immediate convention of conference.
(b) No interference with officials' or members' political views.
(c) Unconditional reinstatement of expelled comrades.
(d) Active resistance to be organised in conjunction with other bodies against the pass laws and all other oppressive legislation.- Yours fraternally, J.A. LA GUMA
E.J. KHAILE
J. GOMAS
DOCUMENT 38:
'Turning Point in African History', editorial in The South African Worker, March 2, 1928.
The establishment of contact between Soviet Russia and the African National Congress through the visit of President-General Gumede and Cape Provincial Secretary La Guma constitutes a manifestation of the revolutionising of the oppressed masses of South Africa.
The return of the delegates coinciding as it does with a new wave of oppression instigated by the present Government is clearly a call to the oppressed people to commence the first stage of the journey to independence and emancipation. The deportation of the ICU organiser Sambo in Natal, the arrest of the ICU organiser Mote in the Free State, and the arrests of comrades Gomas, Silwana and Ndobe, vice-president, executive member and organiser respectively of the Cape African National Congress, call for a definite stand by the masses of Africa against these intolerable measures.
The necessity for united direct action presents itself as an immediate task of all

organisations, and concerted demonstrations of protest must be organised in all parts of the country as a step towards moving forward on a revolutionary basis to the throwing off of the double yoke of British imperialism and local capitalism.

The picking up of the gauntlet thrown down by the Government is a welcome sign, and is a gesture by the African National Congress calculated to sweep the mighty legions of Africa into a determination to end oppression.

DOCUMENT 39:

'Workers' Confidence in the Communist Party - Capetown ANC Resolves Support - Answer to Disrupters', report in The South African Worker, May 25, 1928.

At a well attended meeting of the Cape Town Branch of the African National Congress, held in the International Hall, 162, Caledon Street, Cape Town, on May 9, 1928, the following resolution was moved by Comrade A Brown, seconded by Comrade E Blackie, and carried by a large majority.

'This General Meeting of the Cape Town Branch of the African National Congress, though it affirms the statement of the President, Mr J T Gumede, to the Convention of Chiefs held in Bloemfontein in April last, that the African National Congress is in no way attached to or affiliated to the Communist Party of South Africa, hereby places its full and unqualified confidence in the CPSA, in view of the fact that of all political parties of South Africa the Communist Party alone unreservedly advocates freedom and equality for the non-European people of South Africa with other races.

'Further, that it is the only political party that champions the cause of the workers of South Africa irrespective of colour and knows no colour discrimination within its ranks.

'Further, as the aims and objects outlined in the constitution of the Communist Party are the correct interpretation of the aims and aspirations of the workers of South Africa, this meeting calls upon the Headquarters Executive of the African National Congress to consider and explore every avenue towards the closest cooperation with the Communist Party of South Africa as the only party correctly interpreting the aspirations of the working class of this country, especially the subject peoples'.

At a subsequent meeting, held on May 13, 1928, and attended by a large gathering, the above resolution was reaffirmed upon a motion by Comrade J Mabitla, seconded by N Maseti, and carried by a large majority.

Editorial Note:

The following letter was written by Albert Nzula, who was later to become the first African general secretary of the Communist Party and editor of its journal The South African Worker.

DOCUMENT 40:

Letter from A. Nzula published in The South African Worker, October 24, 1928.

Wilberforce College,
Evaton, 24th September, 1928
Editor of 'South African Worker.'

Dear Comrade,

Thank you for 'Christianism and Communism' and also 12 copies of the 'SA Worker.' By the way they were sold on arrival.

After reading through Communism and Christianism I have come to the conclusion that every right minded person ought to be a Communist. I have hesitated all the time because Communism has been misrepresented; I have been brought up on capitalistic literature which is never satisfactory when it tries to explain working class misery. I am convinced that no half measures will solve the problem. There is a clash of interests between the capitalists and the workers which cannot be removed by anything except by the abolition of capitalism. Once the workers understand that they will know how to act. I am prepared to do my little bit to enlighten my countrymen on this point.

You may be assured that I have my mind full of nothing but communism and the future of the Bantu people and the working classes of the world. I wonder what part will be played by the Bantu in realising for the world a Communistic order.

A. NZULA

Editorial Note:

The relationship between the Communist Party of South Africa and the Third Communist International had always been close. As we have seen, ever since the break with the Labour Party over the war, the South African Communists had called for the formation of a new international and hastened to join it as soon as it came into existence. South Africa was represented at the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921 by D. Iron Jones and Sam Barlin, at the Fourth Congress in 1922 by Sidney and Rebecca Bunting, at the Sixth Congress in 1928 by Sidney and Rebecca Bunting and E.R. Roux, and at the Seventh Congress by Lazar Bach. W.H. Andrews had been elected by the Fourth Congress in 1922 to serve on the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationalfor the ensuing year, and lyon Jones had remained in Moscow after the Third Congress for health reasons and served on various Comintern committees up to the time of his death in 1924. In 1928, after considerable discussions between the CPSA and the Comintern on the national question, the Sixth Congress and afterwards its Executive Committeeformulated a new slogan to direct the work of its South African affiliate: 'A South African Native Republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' government with full protection and equal rights for all national minorities. This slogan was to serve as the

foundation of Communist Party policy on the relationship between the national ind class struggles in South Africa over the ensuing decades, but divisions over its implementation and interpretation in the early stages led to a series of expulsions from the Party which, combined with intensified Government repression, held back the Party's development for some time.

After its adoption the Native Republic slogan was first announced to South African Communists at a meeting at the Inchcape Hall, Johannesburg, on November 18,1928, with Douglas Wolton in the chair and the main report delivered by Sidney Bunting, newly returned from the Moscow congress. The new slogan, said Wolton, was a 'ray of hope for the oppressed people of South Africa who suffered not only from capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination but also from racial discrimination ... The right of the potentially great

Bantu nation was embodied in the new slogan. The majority in South Africa was the oppressed people, and they must of necessity determine the future condition of the country'.
Bunting said the slogan of the white racist minority who ruled the country was absolute race domination and enslavement.
'We are here today to say that Communists join issue with every word and letter of that slogan. If they say white domination, we say black republic. We are a party for freedom and independence. We preach good tidings to the poor, liberty to the captives and the
opening of the prisons to them that are bound'.
If there was going to be any race domination, there must be.native rule in South Africa. If there was going to be equality, there must be domination by the majority.
The Native Republic slogan was formally endorsed at the next conference of the Communist Party at the end of December 1928 and the beginning of January 1929. The conference also adopted a new constitution and programme.
DOCUMENT 41:
Extract dealing with South Africa from the main 'Thesis on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and Semi-Colonies' adopted at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in August and September 1928.
In the Union of South Africa, the negro masses, which constitute the majority of the population, are being expropriated from the land by the white colonists and by the State, are deprived of political rights and of the right of freedom of movement, are subjected to the most brutal forms of racial and class oppression, and suffer simultaneously from pre-capitalist and capitalist methods of exploitation and oppression. The Communist Party which has already achieved definite successes among the negro proletariat, has the duty of continuing more energetically the struggle for complete equality of rights for the negroes, for the abolition of all special regulations and laws directed against negroes, and for the confiscation of the land of the landlords. In drawing into its organisation non-negro workers,

organising them in trade unions, and in carrying on a struggle for the acceptance of negroes by the trade unions of white workers, the Communist Party has the obligation to struggle by all methods against every racial prejudice in the ranks of the white workers and to eradicate entirely such prejudices from its own ranks. The Party must determinedly and consistently put forward the slogan for the creation of an independent native republic, with simultaneous guarantees for the rights of the white minority, and struggle in deeds for its realisation. In proportion as the development of capitalist relationships disintegrates the tribal structure, the Party must strengthen its work in the education in class consciousness of the exploited strata of the negro population, and co-operate in their liberation from the influence of the exploiting tribal strata, which become more and more agents of imperialism.
DOCUMENT 42:

Resolution on 'The South African Question' adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International following the Sixth Comintern congress.

South Africa is a British Dominion of the colonial type. The development of relations of capitalist production has led to British imperialism carrying out the economic exploitation of the country with the participation of the white bourgeoisie of South Africa (British and Boer). Of course, this does not alter the general colonial character of the economy of South Africa, since British capital continues to occupy the principal economic positions in the country (banks, mining and industry), and since the South African bourgeoisie is equally interested in the merciless exploitation of the negro popula.tion.

In the recent period in South Africa we have witnessed the growth of the manufacturing iron and steel industries, the development of commercial ciops (cotton, sugar, cane), and the growth of capitalist relations in agriculture, chiefly in cattleraising. On the basis of this growth of capitalism there is a growing tendency to expropriate the land from the negroes and from a certain section of the white farming population. The South African bourgeoisie is endeavouring also by legislative means to create a cheap market of labour power and a reserve army. The overwhelming majority of the population is made up of negroes and coloured people (about 5,500,000 negroes and coloured people and about 1,500,000 white people according to the 1921 census). A characteristic feature of the colonial type of the country is the almost complete landlessness of the negro population: the negroes hold only one-eighth of the land whilst seven-eighths have been expropriated by the white population. There is no negro bourgeoisie as a class, apart from individual negroes engaged in trading and a thin strata of negro intellectuals who do not play any essential role in the economic and political life of the country. The negroes constitute also the majority of the working class: among the workers employed in industry and transport, 420,000 are black and coloured people and 145,000 white; among agricultural labourers 435,000 are black and

50,000 are white. The characteristic feature of the proletarianisation of the native population is the fact that the number of black workers grows faster than the number of white workers. Another characteristic fact is the great difference in the wages and the material conditions of the white and black proletariat in general. Notwithstanding a certain reduction in the living standard of the white workers which has lately taken place, the great disproportion between the wages of the white and black proletariat continues to exist as the characteristic feature of the colonial type of the country.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The political situation reflects the economic structure- the semi-colonial character of the country and the profound social contradictions between the black and white population. The native population (except in the Cape province) of the country have no electoral rights, the power of the State has been monopolised by the white bourgeoisie, which has at its disposal the armed white forces. The white bourgeoisie, chiefly the, Boers defeated by the arms of British imperialism at the

close of the last century, had for a long time'carried on a dispute with British capital. But as the process of capitalist development goes on in the country, the interests of the South African bourgeoisie are becoming more and more blended with the interests of British financial and industrial capital, and the white South African bourgeoisie is becoming more and more inclined to compromise with British imperialism, forming with the latter a united front for the exploitation of the native population.

The Nationalist Party, which represents the interests of the big farmers and landowners and a section of white (mainly Boer) bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie is winding up its struggle for separation from the Empire and is surrendering before British capitalism (the formula proposed by the leader of this Party, General Hertzog, and carried at the British Imperial Conference). Furthermore, this party is already coming out as the open advocate of the colonial expansion of British capital, carrying on an agitation for the extension of the territory of the Union of South. Africa to the north (the annexation of Rhodesia), hoping in this manner to secure a vast fund of cheap native labour power. Simultaneously with the importation of British capital and British goods, there are imported to South Africa the methods of corrupting the working class. The Labour Party of South Africa, representing the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and of the skilled labour aristocracy, openly carries on an imperialist policy, demoralising the white workers by imbuing them with a white racial ideology. Nevertheless, the influence of this party is being undermined by the steady worsening of the material conditions of the mass of the white workers. At the same time the South African bourgeoisie is endeavouring to attract to its side certain elements of the non-European population, for instance, the 'coloured' population, promising them electoral rights, and also the native4eaders, turning them into agents for the exploitation of the negro population. This policy of corruption has

already brought about the fact that the leaders of the negro trade union organisations - the Industrial and Commercial Union - having expelled the Communists from the union, are now endeavouring to guide the negro trade union movement into the channel of reformism. The inception ofnegro reformism, as a result ofthe corruptionist policy of the white bourgeoisie, a reformism which acts in close alliance with the Amsterdam International, constitutes a characteristic fact of the present political situation.

The united front of the British and South African white bourgeoisie against the toiling negro population, backed by the white and negro reformists, creates for the Communist Party in South Africa an exceptionally complicated but favourable position of being the only political Party in the country which unites the white and black proletariat and the landless black peasantry for the struggle against British imperialism, against the white bourgeoisie and the white and black reformist leaders.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS TASKS

The Executive Committee of the Communist International recognises the successes which the Communist Party of South Africa has recently achieved. This is seen in the growth of the Communist Party, which is now predominantly native in composition. The Communist Party has a membership of about 1,750 of whom 1,600 are natives or coloured. The Communist Party has also spread into the country districts of the Transvaal. The Party has waged a fight against the reactionary Native Administration Act. The ECCI also notes the growth of native trade unions under the leadership of the CP, the successful carrying through of a number of strikes and efforts to carry through the amalgamation of the black and white unions.

The present intensified campaigns of the Government against the natives offer the CP an immense field to develop its influence among the workers and peasants, and it is among this section of the South African population that the chief field of activity of the Communist Party must continue to lie in the near future.

(a) The first task of the Party is to reorganise itself on the shop and street nuclei basis and to put forward a programme of action as a necessary condition for the building up of a mass Communist Party in South Africa.

(b) The Party must orientate itself chiefly upon the native toiling masses while continuing to work actively among the white workers. The Party leadership must be developed in the same sense. This can only be achieved by bringing the native membership without delay into much more active leadership of the Party both locally and centrally.

(c) While developing and strengthening the fight against all the customs, laws and regulations which discriminate against the native and coloured population in favour of the white population, the Communist Party of South Africa must combine the fight against all anti-native laws with the general political slogan in the fight against British domination, the slogan of an independent native South

African republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic, with full equal rights for all races, black, coloured and white.

(d) South Africa is a black country, the majority of its population is black and so is the majority of the workers and peasants. The bulk of the South African population is the black peasantry, whose land has been expropriated by the white minority. Seven eighths of the land is owned by the whites. Hence the national question in South Africa, which is based upon the agrarian question lies at the foundation of the revolution in South Africa. The black peasantry constitutes the basic moving force of the revolution in alliance with and under the leadership of the working class.

(e) South Africa is dominated politically by the white exploiting class. Despite the conflict of interests between the Dutch bourgeoisie and the English imperialists, the basic characteristic of the political situation in South Africa is the developing united front between the Dutch bourgeoisie and the British imperialists against the native population. No political party in South Africa with the exception of the Communist Party advocates measures that would be of real benefit to the oppressed native population, the ruling political parties never go beyond empty

and meaningless Liberal phrases. The Communist Party of South Africa is the only Party of native and white workers that fights for the complete abolition of race and national exploitation, that can head the revolutionary movement of the black masses for liberation. Consequently, if the Communist Party correctly understands its political tasks it will and must become the leader of the national agrarian revolutionary movement of the native masses.

Unfortunately the Communist Party of South Africa did not give evidence of sufficient understanding of the revolutionary importance of the mass movements of the native workers and peasants. The Communist Party of South Africa carried on a correct struggle for unity of the native and white workers in the trade union movement. But at the same time the Communist Party of South Africa found itself in stubborn opposition to the correct slogan proposed by the Comintern calling for an independent native South African republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic with full, equal rights for all races.

This.opposition shows a lack of understanding of the task of our Party in South Africa relative to the revolutionary struggles of the native masses, which explains partly the still insufficient growth of the political influence of our Party upon the negro masses despite the extremely favourable conditions.

South Africa is a British dominion of a colonial type. The country was seized by violence by foreign exploiters, the land expropriated from the natives, who were met by a policy of extermination in the first stages of colonisation, and conditions of semi-slavery established for the overwhelming majority of the native masses. It is necessary to tell the native masses that in the face of existing political and economic discrimination against the natives and ruthless oppression of them by the white oppressors, the Comintern slogan of a native republic means restoration of the land to the landless and land-poor population. This slogan does not mean that we ignore or forget about the non-exploiting

elements of the white population. On the contrary, the slogan calls for 'full and equal rights for all races'. The white toiling masses must realise that in South Africa they constitute national minorities, and it is their task to support and fight jointly with the native masses against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists. The argument against the slogan for a native republic on the ground that it does not protect the whites is objectively nothing else than a cover for the unwillingness to accept the correct principle that South Africa belongs to the native population. Under these conditions it is the task of the Communist Party to influence the embryonic and crystallising national movements among the natives in order to develop these movements into national agrarian revolutionary movements against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialists. The failure to fulfil this task means separation of the Communist Party of South Africa from the native population. The Communist Party cannot confine itself to the general slogan of 'Let there be no whites and no blacks'. The Communist Party must understand the revolutionary importance of the national and agrarian questions. Only by a correct understanding of the importance of the national question in South Africa will the Communist Party be able to combat effectively the efforts of

the bourgeoisie to divide the white and black workers by playing on race chauvinism, and to transform the embryonic nationalist movement into a revolutionary struggle against the white bourgeoisie and foreign imperialists. In its propaganda among the native masses the Communist Party of South Africa must emphasise the class differences between the white capitalists and the white workers, the latter also being exploited by the bourgeoisie as wage slaves, although better paid as compared with the natives. The Communist Party must continue to struggle for unity between black and white workers and not confine itselfimerelyto the advocacy of 'co-operation' between the blacks and whites in general. The Communist Party must introduce a correct class content into the idea of co-operation between the blacks and whites. It must explain to the native masses that the black and white workers are not only allies, but are the leaders of the revolutionary struggle of the native masses against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialism. A correct formulation of this task and intensive propagation of the chief slogan of a native republic will result not in the alienation of the white workers from the Communist Party, not in segregation of the natives, but, on the contrary, in the building up of a solid united front of all toilers against capitalism and imperialism.

In the struggle against the domination of British imperialism in South Africa and against the white bourgeoisie under the slogans ofthe agrarian revolution and native republic the Communist Party ofSouth Africa will undoubtedly meet with the most brutal attack ofthe bourgeoisie and the imperialists. This can be no argument for not adopting the slogan of a native republic. On the contrary, the Party must wage a struggle for this slogan preparing all possible means, first and foremost by mobilising the black and white workers, to meet the attacks of the ruling class. The ECCI, while fully approving the Party's agitation against the native Bills put forward by the Pact Government, considers that this agitation should be

further strengthened and intensified and should be coupled with agitation against all anti-native legislation.

The Party should pay particular attention to the embryonic national organisations among the natives, such as the African National Congress. The Party, while retaining its full independence, should participate in these organisations, should seek to broaden and extend their activity. Our aim should be to transform the African National Congress into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists, based upon the trade unions, peasant organisations, etc., developing systematically the leadership of the workers and the Communist Party in this organisation. The Party should seek to weaken the influence of the native chiefs corrupted by the white bourgeoisie over the existing native tribal organisations by developing peasants' organisations and spreading among them the influence of the Communist Party. The development of a national-revolutionary movement of the toilers of South Africa against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialism, constitutes one of the major tasks of the Communist Party of South Africa.

The Party should immediately work out an agrarian programme applicable to the native agrarian situation. The ECCI considers that the Party was correct in launching at its last Congress the slogan of 'Expropriate the big estates and give them to the landless whites and natives'. But this can only be treated as a general slogan. It is necessary to work out concrete partial demands which indicate that the basic question in the agrarian situation in South Africa is the land hunger of the blacks and that their interest is of prior importance in the solution of the agrarian question. Efforts should be made immediately to develop plans to organise the native peasants into peasant unions and the native agricultural workers into trade unions, while attention to the poor agrarian whites must in no way be minimised.

In the field of trade union work the Party must consider that its main task consists in the organisation of the native workers into trade unions as well as propaganda and work for the setting up of a South African trade union centre embracing black and white workers. The principle that the Party's main orientation must be on the native population applies equally well to the sphere of trade union work. The Party should energetically combat the splitting policy of the Industrial and Commerical Union leaders under the slogan of unity of the whole trade union movement of South Africa. Further, the Party should work out a detailed programme of immediate demands for the native workers. The Communists must participate actively in the trade union organisation of the native workers, pursuing the policy of building up a strong left-wing within these organisations under Communist leadership.

The Party should continue its exposure of the South African Labour Party as primarily an agent of imperialism in the Labour movement.

While concentrating its chief attention on organising the native workers in the trade unions the Communist Party should not neglect the workers in the white trade unions. Its tasks are the organisation of the unorganised workers in the existing trade unions, to intensify the propaganda for reorganisation of the trade union

movement on an industrial basis, increased agitation for affiliation of all trade unions to the Trade Union Congress. In all trade union organisations the Party must strive to build up a strong left-wing under Communist leadership.

The Party must energetically combat the influence of the Amsterdam International in the black and white trade union movement, intensifying the propaganda for world trade union unity along the lines of the Profintern (RILU) policy.

In connection with the danger of world war, the present imperialist intervention in China and the threatening war against the USSR the Party must fight by all means against the help given to the military policy ofGreat Britain which found its expression in the tacit support of the break of the British imperialists with the USSR. The Party should not neglect anti-militarist work.

The ECCI repeats its previous proposal to launch a special paper in the chief native languages as soon as technical difficulties have been overcome. Such a step is of great political importance.

DOCUMENT 43:
'Our Annual Conference - An Inspiring Gathering', report in The South African Worker, January 31, 1929.
The Seventh Annual Conference of the Communist Party of South Africa, which lasted from Saturday evening, December 29th to Wednesday night, January 2nd, was the finest ever held, although it had been preceded by much serious controversy during the year. There were 30 delegates, 20 black and 10 white. The visitors were guests of the party during the conference, and their daily meetings round the hospitable board of Comrade Mrs Jacobs, who did the catering, contributed not a little to the success of the conference.
OPENING GREETINGS
Beginning with a 'social' entertained by talent of a high order from Vereeniging, Potchefstroom and Johannesburg branches, the 'real business' was ushered in next morning by a procession with band and banners from the Party Headquarters to the Inchcape Hall where a great throng before entering the building sang the Internationale.
Inside, every seat was occupied by a keenly interested crowd consisting mainly of native workers with a very few from white trade unions, although they had all received invitations. The credential committee reported that a membership of nearly 3,000 was represented by the delegates.
Greetings were read from the British Communist Party, from our former chairman Jimmy Shields (recently arrested for free speech in Greenock, Scotland), from the African National Congress and from sundry trade unions and organisations, white and black, from the Cape to the Zambesi. In turn greetings were sent to Soviet Russia as the workers' 'fatherland', to the class war prisoners of the world and to-the workers of Rhodesia and the Congo.

Comrade S.P. Bunting, opening the proceedings as chairman, spoke on the lines of the introduction to the new Party Programme (see pages 3 and 6) and hailed the coming into power of those now contemptuously dubbed 'kitchenboys' by labour Minister Sampson, or the 'Jim Fishes' for whom the chairman of the Labour Party pleaded his detestation as a ground for soliciting votes, whereas Lenin said every cook must become a politician and a ruler. If the masses seemed unripe today that was only the result of just this stunting oppression: once this was removed a rapid ripening would result under Communist leadership.
WAR DANGER
Comrade J Gomas (Capetown) on the WAR DANGER showed how the imperialists were doubling their armaments and using armed force on more fronts than ever, fomenting trouble everywhere, whether in the colonies or against the USSR. The USA having become Britain's great capitalist rival, Americans are now called 'too foreign blooded' as the Germans were called 'Huns' by the British press. Meanwhile their whole system is challenged by the very existence of the USSR. If war comes, it must be made to mean 'disorder at home' leading to socialism. The non-Europeans; who are also being trained for the next war, must thus play their part in the campaign against imperialist war. An ICU official in the

audience recalled the king's personal promise of benefits to African soldiers, which remained unfulfilled,

POLITICAL REVIEW

The POLITICAL SITUATION was ably reviewed by Comrade D G Wolton, who stressed the growth of colonial liberation movements and the colonial workers' growing unity with the workers of the home countries. Witness the Pan Pacific Secretariat, to which even 'white Australian' labour had affiliated; also the growth of the Anti Imperialist League. The Chamber of Mines was for breaking down the Colour Bar with a view to rationalisation and cheaper labour. Social democracy had captured the ICU and hoped to kill the liberation movement 'by kindness' to a few chosen natives.

In discussion it was urged that the CP could now stand and lead the masses from slavery without the need for white leaders. Union with 'Home' workers was facilitated by the fall of their standard to 'Kaffir level', leading them to support the colonial revolt. The white unemployed here flocked to the CP for bread; when they had got it they disappeared, warned not to associate with 'Reds'. But only the CP offered any salvation to white workers, bywoners etc.: the alternative sjambok policy of the 'Boer-geoisie' and its 'Scabinet' Ministers could lead them nowhere. Native Trade Unions could not really flourish until special oppressions such as passes were removed: hence they must take up politics. Salaaming the bosses in the hope of favours was useless. It was resolved to contest one or more constituencies in the general election.

TRADE UNIONISM

Comrade E.S. Sachs, reporting on the TRADE UNION movement, denounced the Conciliation Act chloroform, which led to the Industrial Councils being preferred above Trade Unions, the latter in some cases surviving only as salary providers for Government controlled officials. The bright feature of TU life is the growth and heroism of our native Unions and their coming together with white unions. If the SAFNTU applied for affiliation to the TUC, it would be well supported. Anyway, the native unions must fight for complete political freedom and equality, and the basic industries must be organised. These unions can exercise great influence in regard to war.

In discussion the dangers were mentioned of party members absorbed in TU work becoming lost to the party or debarred from doing party propaganda in TU's or of black and white TU unity being used to subordinate black militancy to white reaction.

THE NATIVE REPUBLIC

The new PARTY PROGRAMME was debated for over a full day. The point that raised most discussion was the 'Native Republic' slogan. The chairman ruled that any motions involving its rejection or modification were out of order under the CI statutes, but welcomed discussion tending to its explanation. In the result it was understood that it implied, by whatever stages, a workers and peasants Republic, but with the necessary stress on its overwhelmingly native character; for practically all natives are workers and peasants, and again, probably only a

workers' and peasants' victory can achieve such a republic. After further discussion the clause 'Self-determination of the African peoples' was adopted by 11 votes to 4.
Next a new PARTY CONSTITUTION was adopted, providing for delegates of branches on the Central Committee meeting quarterly, with an Executive Bureau meeting weekly in Johannesburg, and otherwise on the lines of the CPGB rules.
PARTY AFFAIRS
Comrade D G Wolton, General Secretary, explained his desire to leave for Britain, urging that his successor should be a non-European, and attacking alleged 'chauvinistic errors'in the party. Discussion was eventually cut short by a general request to him to remain at his post, to which he eventually yielded 'until', as he said, 'a non-European is ready to take my place.' The-most moving and inspiring of all the proceedings was 'Branch Reports'. The unvarnished yet splendid tales of struggle, heroism and sacrifice in the teeth of incredible persecution, intimidation and espionage (even at the hands of other

native workers) which made up the story of the country branches especially, including the very live women's branches, brought tears to the eyes of more than one.
At the close a white comrade said: 'I came to this Conference somewhat prejudiced, but the comradeship and success achieved have given me enthusiasm, and I can see how worth while the propaganda among natives is.'
Head-office officials were elected as follows:- Chairman and Treasurer: S P Bunting; Vice-Chairman: E S Sachs; General Secretary and Editor: D G Wolton; Members of Executive Bureau: R Bunting, M Wolton, T W Thibedi, J Nkosie; Organising and Assistant Secretary: A Nzula; Bookkeeper: S Malkinson.
DOCUMENT 44:
Programme of the Communist Party of South Africa adopted at the seventh annual conference of the Party on January 1, 1929.
INTRODUCTION
Most of the world is living under the system of Society called Capitalism. The essence of Capitalism is the ownership of land, mines, factories, machinery and all other means of production by private individuals and financial groups who are thus able to exploit the propertiless workers for their own gain and profit.
The phase of Capitalist colonial expansion known as Imperialism has brought whole nations under its domination and capital, ever seeking cheaper labour, new markets'and spheres of investment, has migrated to India, China, Africa etc., where the mass of the people have been robbed of their land and forced to work for a pittance on farms and plantations, in mines and factories.
The struggle between Imperialist powers for domination and control of colonies leads to war on a world-wide scale, and the 1914-1918 war threatens to be eclipsed by a greater conflagration than was ever known.
South Africa is in a period of transition. At first it was a source of raw materials, and also to some extent a market for British capitalist industry. To-day we see the growth of local manufacture and even heavy industry, so that South Africa will

tend to become more independent of British manufacturers; and in addition there is a commencement of cultivation of commercial crops and a more highly developed system of agriculture on large scale capitalist lines.
Whilst South Africa continues to be financed mainly by British Capital, American capital too is beginning to penetrate rapidly, thus giving rise to pronounced rivalry between the two powers.
In the industrial life of South Africa the native predominates as worker, and the numerical increase of native workers is greater than of white, although measures of repression debar the native from developing freely into skilled spheres of labour, and prevailing wage rates are on a very low level. A position of domination is exercised by the whites as a whole, but the position of the white workers as sharers

in the exploitation ofthe natives is gradually breaking down with the reduction of their average standard of living.
In addition to the economic exploitation suffered by the natives they have the additional burden of a whole system of race discriminating measures which keep them socially and politically under semi-feudal conditions. This double burden of exploitation carried by the native masses calls for a democratic revolution which will mean the smashing of all feudal relationships and the securing of full citizen rights. To all natives, whether farm labourers, factory workers, chiefs or peasants, this revolution means the abolition of all discrimination against blacks as such, with independence and the opportunity to develop as a national or racial unit. Such a revolution does not by itself mean the final liberation of the broad masses of South Africa. The stage remains to be traversed to the final abolition of exploitation and domination of class by class, of man by man, the final stage of the Social Revolution for the establishment of Socialism under which all men shall be socially, economically and politically free to share alike in the fruits of their joint labour, with equal opportunity and equal access to all the comforts of life. This can only be accomplished under the leadership of the United Workers and Peasants of town and country.
The overthrow of Imperialist domination and the Capitalist system is the recognised objective of the Communist Parties of the world, united in the Communist International which points to Soviet Russia and the wonderful progress already achieved there as proof that Imperialism and the Capitalist system can be overthrown and that Socialism can be and is being built up.

THE TASKS OF THE CPSA

The accelerating intensification of Imperialist exploitation and oppression in recent years, in South Africa no less than in other countries, colonies and semicolonies, has led to new stages in the development of the revolutionary working class movement, necessitating a certain revision of Communist programmes. The Communist International itself has just issued its new world programme which must be read as the foundation of all local party programmes. The Communist Party of SA, for its part, has always been an active champion, ever since its origin in 1915, of complete political and industrial equality for the

black man, declaring for working class unity irrespective of colour, and for removal of all race oppressions and discriminations, such as pass laws. In recent years it has succeeded in drawing into its ranks an overwhelming majority of native workers and also peasants who are learning to acclaim it as their own party, the party of the masses, giving it already the largest Negro -membership of any Communist Party in the world. The work of the party in its turn has come to centre more than ever on native agitation, education and organisation, political and industrial extension of the party's influence wherever possible in native bodies like the African National Congress or ICU; promotion of and assistance to native trade unions, strikes and political demonstrations; and a commencement of mobil-

isation of the agrarian masses who constitute the great bulk and potentially, owing to land hunger, perhaps the most revolutionary section of the oppressed race; accompanied by strenuous propaganda among the white workers both on their own particular demands and also in favour of labour unity and militancy and one Trade Union centre, as against the estranging and debilitating effects of 'white chauvinism' and reformism.

THE NATIVE NATIONAL CAUSE

Moreover, as a weapon in the overthrow of Imperialism i.e. world capitalism in its last phase, and in its principal strongholds, the colonies, the Party devotes special attention to the national cause of the native people as such, not indeed in the sense of a campaign 'to drive the white man into the sea', but in the Leninist sense of underlining the prime importance of supporting movements for complete national liberation of colonial peoples, removing all the political and social disabilities which make up their enslavement, restoring to them the lands and liberties taken away from them by foreign conquerors, settlers and financiers, and vindicating their right, as the immense majority and in the truest sense the people of Africa, to equality, emancipation, independence and self-determination, and hence (for freedom here means power) to predominant political power in their own country on a basis however of equal rights for Europeans and other minorities as 'most favoured nations'.

CLASS AND RACE EMANCIPATION

Is this a departure from the strict class outlook? By no means. 'Labour solidarity' cannot mean ignoring race discrimination or subjection. Moreover, modern capitalism typically treats colonial races, at any rate in Africa, as constituting, en bloc, reservoirs of labour. South African imperialism helotises the whole .of the native people as a race as providing a national labour breeding and recruiting ground. Again, unity postulates equality. If we are to achieve real labour unity we must first remove the greatest obstacle to it, viz, the unequal, subjected, enslaved status of the native workers and people. Hence race emancipation and class emancipation tend to coincide. Hence too the conception and realisation of native rule merges into that of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic, non-imperialist, noncapitalist, non-racialist, classless and in effect Socialist.

This policy has become all the more necessary asthe result of the markedly increased aggressiveness of the South African ruling class which to-day flaunts and stresses the racial domination of the whites as against the old Cape nominal equality, deliberately inflaming white chauvinism, suppressing native movements as 'creating hostility between black and white,' attacking the native franchise such as it is and, through General Hertzog's bills, promoting increased native landlessness and proletarianisation-to mention only a few recent turns of the screw.

THE NON-EXPLOITING WHITES

As for the white working class and peasantry, they will not for ever be content with a position oftinsel 'aristocracy' whose material advantages are continually dwindling, or with the venal role of mere policeman, watchdog or bully for the master class over the black slaves. To-day there is almost as great poverty and hopelessness to be found among large strata of whites as among blacks. 'Poor whites' are already a 'depressed class' and many white proletarians tend to become declassed or excluded as 'redundant' from the working class proper. White labour to-day, viewed as a racially exclusive section, hangs in mid-air between ruling class and proletariat with no room for it in either; without stability or prospects, heading for degeneration or fascism, a role of either helplessness or treachery in the class struggle. The SA Labour Party is in collapse because it no longer represents the working class centre of gravity in South Africa. At the same time white workers are beginning to realise the need of joint action with black ifthey are ever to win in a first class 'forward movement,' which clearly implies that if the black is not to scab on the white his demands must be espoused by the white. And after all, the whites are only a small minority of the population and still more of the proletariat.

Hence the Communist Party, which has always been in the forefront of the battles of the white workers in South Africa, claims their support also for its present programme as the only practical one for the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism and attainment of workers' rule in South Africa. In this revolutionary epoch the world labour movement cannot allow itself to be held up in favour of one or another small privileged section; it must march forward for the emancipation of the whole labouring class and subject population of the world, 'subordinating', as the Comintern programme says, 'the temporary, partial, group or national interests of the proletariat to its lasting, common and international interests.'

Accordingly the Cgmmunist Party, on behalf of the working class and subject population of South Africa, puts forward the demands set forth below, the struggle for which will lead to the forging of the revolutionary weapons necessary for the attainment of power.

Down with imperialism, British and Afrikaner!

Down with the capitalist class!

Down with the Subjection of race by racel

For equality and majority rule!

For the liberation of the whole world from slavery and exploitation! WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

GENERAL DEMANDS

Complete equality of races in South Africa; abolition and repeal of all laws, regulations, customs and administrative practices tending to support white domination

over black, conferring special privileges on Europeans as such, or placing restrictions, disqualifications or disabilities on non-Europeans as such, persecuting or discriminating against them or favouring their segregation, exploitation or treatment as a subject race, including removal of all limitations on their right to own, acquire and occupy land in any part of the Union, or to reside in any town.

The land for the landless, expropriation of the expropriators, restoration of the land of South Africa to the land workers and poor peasants, consisting chiefly of non-Europeans but also including poor whites, bywoners, etc.

Unity of the working class of all races in South Africa in the militant revolutionary struggle, in conjunction with the peasantry, for the overthrow of capitalism and imperialist rule.

Self-determination of the African peoples, i.e. their complete liberation from imperialist as well as bourgeois and feudal or semi-feudal rule and oppression, whether 'British' or 'South African', and wresting of power for a Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic wholly independent of the British or any other Empire, and comprising all the toiling masses, whether native or otherwise, of the Union and adjacent protectorates, etc, under the leadership of the working class, with the slogan of 'An Independent South African Native Republic as a stage towards the Workers' and Peasants' Republic, guaranteeing protection and complete equality to all national minorities' (such as Europeans): leading to the reconstruction of the country and rehabilitation of its people on a non-Imperialist, Socialist basis.

Internationally: strenuous campaign against the growing danger of Imperialist war, and support by every means of the USSR (Soviet Union) as the present headquarters of the world revolution against imperialism.

PARTICULAR DEMANDS

As immediate, interim or partial demands and subject to revision from time to time as the various needs become clarified.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL

Retention intact of the Cape Native Franchise and extension of the parliamentary, provincial, divisional and municipal franchise to the whole of the adult male and female population of the Union irrespective of colour, on the same purely residential qualification as applies to Europeans in the Northern Provinces, with the right to sit in Parliament and on all other public bodies, to ener the public service and to occupy all ministerial and other public offices.

Total repeal of the pass laws. Abolition of hut and poll taxes, and of all other taxes calculated to drive the taxpayer into the labour market. Poorer workers and peasants to be relieved of taxation altogether.

Repeal of the Native Urban Areas Act. Self government for locations, native townships, etc., pending their abolition.

Repeal of Clause 29 of the Native Administration Act, with compensation to all who have been sentenced thereunder. Recognition of full rights of free speech, press and assembly.
Abrogation of all special or arbitrary powers (whether of proclamation, regulation or otherwise) conferred by that Act on the Governor-General, and abolition of his Supreme Chieftainship.
Universal free compulsory non-religious primary education for non-Europeans with higher education on the same terms as enjoyed by Europeans. A National Health Service meeting the needs of the whole native as well as white population.
Abolition of the present system of Government-paid chiefs and revival of the popular authority of the tribe in the form of elected tribal councils.
A Native Citizen Force. The right of non-Europeans to purchase arms.
JUDICIAL
Equal justice for all races in the courts. Non-Europeans to serve on juries.
Establishment of popular tribunals of native justices, especially in native areas and labour districts.
Severe punishment for police bullying of prisoners.
A public defender in every Court for poor accused.
LABOUR
Removal of all restrictions on right of combination and strike irrespective of race.
Recognition of all bone-fide working class unions, urban or rural, and no prosecution of same.
Repeal of master and servant act and all other laws criminally penalising failure to work or breach of contract to.work or enforcing serf or semi-serf relations.
Abolition of indentured and contract labour, no labourer to be bound for longer than one month.
Abolition of labour compounds.
Abolition of labour recruiting system.
Provision of full facilities for family life of workers in labour districts.
No Importation of native labour from outside the Union.
Prohibition of child labour, including all obligation or compulsion of heads of families to supply the services of members of their families.
Repeal of colour bar laws and regulations.
Civilised wages, hours, housing and conditions generally for non-European workers equally with European, including sickness, accident, occupational disease, unemployment and old age insurance, workmen's compensation and pensions.
Equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex or colour.
National provision of work or maintenance for unemployed of all races.

LAND ETC

Repeal of Natives Land Act.
In view of the extreme land hunger of the native population, immediate provision of vastly increased areas of land for natives.
Expropriation of big estates, large farms and land held by big trusts or companies and all land lying idle, and throwing open of Crown Land, for redistribution among landless squatters, poor peasants and labourers, black and white.
Where tribes or portions of tribes occupy European owned land, this to become the property of the native occupiers.
Mineral wealth of areas set aside for native inhabitants to be developed for their sole benefit.
Rejection of General Hertzog's Land Bill and of all legislative interference with squatting or attempt to drive natives off European lands.
Protection of crops and stock and security of tenure of squatters, labour tenants, etc., on farms, and compensation for improvements made by them.
Abolition of pound charges.
Application of Wage Act to agricultural labour; Wage Board to be empowered to revise agricultural conditions of service of all kinds.
Establishment of large up-to-date scientific model community farms under communal control with proper provisions for housing, schooling and common village life and for expert management in the sole interests of those working thereon.
Promotion of irrigation on a national scale, and conversion of irrigated areas into self administered co-operative farm units.
Increase of agricultural schools and farm demonstrators, encouragement of improved stock breeding, provision of improved seed, fertilisers, implements, fencing, marketing, credit, banking and co-operative facilities, railways and transport services, and promotion of greater and better agricultural and pastoral production generally in native districts and among poor peasants and farmers everywhere.
TASKS OF COMMUNIST PARTY
In support of the foregoing the Party's tasks will include:
Formation of factory, mine, works and farm groups or committees and councils of action, and formation of unions and co-operatives of poor natives and white peasants.
Energetic promotion of militant trade union organisations of all unorganised workers, especially non-Europeans, on industrial lines, including farm labourers.
Organisational contact and co-operation between rural and urban workers, between non-European and European workers, and between South African workers and the workers of Britain as the imperialist 'home' country, and also of the USSR. Promotion of affiliation with the Red International of Labour Unions.
Strenuous campaign in labour organisations against white 'chauvinism', against all illusions of 'class peace' or 'the classless state' under capitalism, against bourgeois reformism, social democratic confessionalism, corruption and treachery.

Editorial Note:

From the issue of April 18, 1930, the organ of the Communist Party, after a break of some weeks, was printed from Cape Town under the name of Umsebenzi, the Xhosa word for 'Worker'.

DOCUMENT 45:

'An Appeal to Non-Europeans - Help Build a Fighting Weekly', editorial in Umsebenzi, April 18, 1930.

The present number of The South African Worker (now having a bilingual title) is the first to be printed in Capetown, whither our publishing office has now been transferred. A serious attempt is being made to publish weekly once more. The importance of a weekly paper to the Communist Party is obvious to all. It must be emphasised, however, that immediate and continued financial support is essential if we are to continue to publish weekly.

The day has gone when the CP could depend on large donations from Europeans. Today our membership is largely composed of poverty-stricken NonEuropean workers and peasants; what white members we have now are not exactly rolling in money. As a paper voicing the grievances of the black masses we must rely primarily on the support of Non-European sympathisers; and indeed a state of dependence on white financial support alone would not (be) a healthy one.

We shall continue to receive gratefully any 'windfalls' we may get from these comrades, but the basis and stand-by of our paper must be mass donations from the exploited and oppressed slaves of Africa. We therefore appeal to all Native and Coloured supporter(s) of the Party to boost 'Umsebenzi' for all they are worth and to contribute as liberally as they can afford to our printing fund. In particular we ask all who are responsible for bundle orders to make regular weekly payments to the publishing office in Capetown. This is important. We are confident that Umsebenzi can be made to pay its way on the basis of a mass circulation among Africans.

Every member of our party must help to sell the paper. Thus we shall build up a fighting organ for the down trodden slaves of this country.

DOCUMENT 46:

'To the African Mine Workers of the Rand', Communist Party statement in Umsebenzi, August 29, 1930.

Fellow Africans, fellow workers,

In years gone by our fathers were driven by white usurpers into territories and reserves far too small to make a living on. To-day, under-the spur of poverty, debt

and unbearable taxation, we are driven out again to work on the goldfields, leaving only old men, women and children to look after what has been left to us for 'homes'.

What do we gain by it? For pay, whatever the recruiters' fine words, we get a beggarly 1/8 a day, the same as 25 years ago; far too little even then, and worth, owing to the rise in prices since the Great War, little more than half its former value. Our pay is stopped when we go sick or fail to do our 'task', and in any case is always subject to some deduction or other, and partly deferred. About £2 clear, often much less, is all we generally have left after we reach home, so that it is not

long before we are compelled to return to the Rand once more; and so on, till we are done for. As for hours we have to get up while it is still night, and go on shift, (often breakfastless) long before our white 'bosses', remaining below till evening brings us exhausted to the surface. To prolong our agony our contract time is spun out by loafer -tickets. For food we get muck, vilely cooked and insufficient. Our' 'kaya' is just a wretched shelf in a stuffy overcrowded dormitory. To be torn from wife and family, kicked about daily worse than a beast or a dog, denied all freedom what with passes and compound walls, punished if we do not work or leave work, carefully shut off from contact with whatever real civilisation can be found in the towns, so that after completing our dreary nine or eighteen months' contract in the bowels of the earth we return home no more advanced than we came - that is what a black miner's life means. If we get maimed or killed, phthisis or other disease, we are thrown out with little or no compensation -what do the mineowners care except to make money out of us?

Such is 'Civilisation's' handiwork on the African people: it has established a domination of white exploiters and oppressors over our country and reduced us to landlessness and slavery for the profit of rich men here and overseas who do not work themselves.

African Mineworkers, are you content with all this? Do you think it good enough? Is it not time for us all to shake off our stoical acquiescence, our indifference, ignorance and despair, to resist this wicked treatment and insist on better wages and conditions of work?

How is it to be done? Why, by organisation! The masters will not like it, that is true, for it is on our lack of organisation and political understanding that their profit and power are built up; but if we organise properly we can ourselves become masters of the situation, in the leading key industry of the country, yes, we can even lead our people in the march towards freedom and recovery of our lost land. Is it not worth the trouble and the struggle?

Fellow workers, let us make a start forthwith in organising ourselves into one great Mineworkers' Union, with a branch in every mine or shaft. Never mind our differences of tribe or race or language; our masters keep us divided on such lines in order to rule us. Let us unite as African workers, let us learn to act as one man. Xhosa, Zulu, Basuto, Shangaan, our division is our weakness, our union will be our strength. The Communist Party will do all it can to help the Union. Write or call at the Party office and hear what big things can be done.

MAYIBUYE AFRIKA!

Yours fraternally,

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA, 41a Fox Street, Johannesburg, August 1930.

DOCUMENT 47:

'Smash the Passes!', by A Nzula, Umsebenzi, August 29, 1930.

Last year the leaders of a number oforganisations - including the African National Congress, the Joint Council and the ICU of Africa -went to see Jansen, the Minister of Native Affairs, in order to see whether he would be willing to revise

the pass laws. Jansen told these leaders that the Government was not prepared to abolish these laws but that it would revise them. The Government DID revise them, but not in the way the Native leaders expected. Not only men but WOMEN ALSO must now carry passes! And on top of all that blacks who are not working under a baas will be taxed £5, according to Pirow's new bill to amend the Master and Servants Act.

This proves that the Government will do nothing for us. We must up and fight for ourselves. As a result of these pass laws we are slaves in Africa to-day. The pass system forces us to become criminals and thieves. We are slaves -not free men, and we shall remain slaves as long as we think we can beg and pray to this cruel Government. How long will we tolerate this monstrous oppression in the land of our fathers? Let us unite: only by unity we can do away with these passes. Think, Africans, how the pass law touches all of us. Whether educated or uneducated, rich or poor, we are all subject to these badges of slavery. Even if you are 'exempted' you are still stopped by the ill-mannered policeman at every other corner. We, the black people, will have to do away with these things, not the Government.. Arise, Africans, arise! A trumpet has sounded. By Dingaan's Day the passes must go.

DOCUMENT 48:

'Burn Every Pass from Cape to Kenya! Prepare for Dingaan's Day', manifesto issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa, Umsebenzi, November 28, 1930.

TO ALL AFRICANS,

On Dingaan's Day the Communist Party issues a call to all Africans to destroy their passes as a protest against the regime of increasing oppression under which the masses exist in South Africa.

The world economic crisis brings increasing difficulties to the Government which, in a futile attempt at solution, flings additional burdens on to the backs of

the toiling masses by the further lowering of the standard of life and intensified legislative and social oppression, whilst unemployment rapidly increases.

British imperialism, faced with crisis and the growing revolutionary struggles of the colonial peoples, concludes its plans for war on the Soviet Union and intensi. fies its bloody suppression of the colonies with all the strength of its armed forces, and at the Imperial Conference endorses General Hertzog's Fascist measures for South Africa.

The Police Government of Hertzog and Pirow is now charged with the task of further suppression of the native peoples and prepares to carry through its antinative Bills and openly encourages increased police and military violence.

A determined resistance must be offered to these measures by the Native masses and at the cost of mass imprisonment the challenge must be flung back into the teeth of the Government.

Let the burning of every pass from Cape to Kenya on Dingaan's Day be the answer of the oppressed masses. of this country.

AWAY WITH PASSES!

DOWN WITH THE PIROW TERROR!
THE LAND TO AFRICANS FOR A NATIVE REPUBLIC!
Executive Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa.
Editorial Note:
The biggest response to the Communist Party's call for the burning of passes on Dingaan's Day, 1930, came from Durban, where thousands turned out to the meeting organised on Cartwright's Flats. The meeting, which started at II in the morning, was entirely peaceful and continued for hours as Africans came up to the platform to put their passes into the bags provided by the organisers. Suddenly, at about 4 in the afternoon, as the crowd prepared to march off in procession through the centre of Durban, the police charged. The police, a mixed force of whites and Africans, were armed with pick handles, assegais and revolvers, while the Africans in the crowd resisted their attack with sticks and stones. Communist leader Johannes Nkosi was shot down while appealing to the crowd to remain calm, and three other Africans were killed and 20 seriously wounded in the police charge. An eyewitness reported:
'When the crowd was dispersed I saw them pack the wounded on a lorry. I followed in my car. There was a trail of blood dripping from the lorry. The lorry waited outside the police station for three-quarters of an hour or more. Then they were removed to hospital'. The hospital doctor, giving evidence at the inquest, said all the dead had been horribly mutilated. They had been hacked all over the body and their skulls were fractured. The evidence of several witnesses established that the mutilations had been inflicted by the police after the wounded had been removed from the scene of the meeting. Nkosi had been struck down by a single bullet in the head, but the post mortem showed that his skull was fractured and he had stab wounds all over his body.

DOCUMENT 49:
'3,500 Passes Burnt at Durban -No Weeping at Nkosie's Grave', report in Umsebenzi, January 9, 1931.
Over 3,500 passes have now been burnt at Durban. Many hundreds of Zulu workers have joined the Communist Party and many hundreds more are anxious to join. Leading members of the Party, including comrades Nzula and Makabeni, have been sent from Johannesburg to assist in the work at Durban. The funeral of the brave African Communist, J W Nkosie, who was murdered together with four others by the brutal hirelings of the Pirow Government, took place on December 20. Over a thousand people attended at the undertaker's and some 500 of these marched to the cemetery and were present at the burial. A large force of police was in the neighbourhood. A number of comrades spoke at the graveside, urging the oppressed people of Africa to carry on the struggle which Nkosie and the others had laid down their lives for. There was no weeping at the graveside, but an atmosphere of solemn determination to go forward to smash the pass laws and break the power of a tyrant government.
DOCUMENT 50:

'Comrade Johannes Nkosie, First African Revolutionary Martyr' by A Nzula, editorial in Umsebenzi, January 9, 1931.
'Every cook must learn to become an Administrator.'-Lenin. Born on September 3, 1905, farm labourer and kitchen 'boy' at different times, Comrade Nkosie ended on Dingaan's Day, 1930, a career which for selfless devotion to a noble cause-the liberation of the oppressed masses of Africa-is an inspiration to all Africans suffering under the iron heel of imperialism. Comrade Nkosie joined the Communist Party in 1926. At that time he was employed as a kitchen 'boy' in Johannesburg. His political career, however, began earlier than that. He took an active part in the 1919 pass strike and subsequently in the strikes of the unions affiliated to the African Federation of Trade Unions. He was appointed Communist Party organiser for Durban at the beginning of 1929 and from that time never ceased to push forward the cause of the Durban workers untilhe met his death at the hands ofthe brutal police thugs of Pirow and Hertzog on Dingaan's Day, the 16th of December, 1930. I stayed for a week with Comrade Nkosie just previous to Dingaan's Day. When I left Durban he hinted to me that I was seeing him for the last time. Other comrades in Durban also state that Nkosie had a premonition of his death. This knowledge of the danger he was in did not in the least dampen the spirit of our comrade, and his last message to the workers of Africa, found among his papers after his death, is as uncompromising as ever. Translated freely from the Zulu it reads: 'Never under the sun has a nation been so shackled with the chains of slavery. We are not even allowed to voice our opinion on the state of affairs in our

motherland. Why not awake and stand on your feet, Africans? Why these dissensions and divisions among us, an oppressed race? Men, women and young people, we must support the organisations that FIGHT for our freedom.' As he lived so Comrade Nkosie died, without fear and always thinking of the cause and its success. A thousand Africans must take his place. Let the cowardly murderers of the Durban workers tremble at the awakening of the African giant whose progress no power or brutalities can stop.
Long live the name of Nkosie!
Long live a free Africa!
DOCUMENT 51:
'A New Defence Organisation, Ikaka Laba Sebenzi', report in Umsebenzi, January 9, 1931.
The events at Durban - the brutal murders committed by the armed forces of the Government and the municipal police, and subsequent arrest of 32 African workers -has resulted in the birth of a new organisation to 'assist to the utmost every revolutionary fighter and his family who may be arrested, deported, imprisoned, wounded or killed.'
Such defence organisations have grown up in every country where the workers and oppressed nations are suffering under the heel of capitalist-imperialist tyranny. These bodies have united to form an international organisation known as

'International Red Aid.' The new South African organisation will be a branch of the IRA and will be known as 'Ikaka laba Sebenzi'-The Shield of the Workers. The first conference of'IKAKA' will be held in the Trades Hall, Johannesburg, on Sunday February 8. Hetty Nkosie, wife of the murdered Communist, will be the principal speaker. An invitation is extended to all sympathetic organisations and individuals. Roll up and help to build a defence organisation to defend our fighters against the brutal attacks of the murderers Government of Pirow and Hertzog!

Editorial Note:

During 1930 the Communist Party received from the Executive Committee of the Comintern a lengthy document entitled 'How to build a Revolutionary Mass Party in South Africa'which contained an attack on 'reformist'elements in the leadership of the Communist Party of South Africa. The document stated, inter alia:

'Failure to understand the bourgeois-democratic and the socialist tasks of the South African proletariat is reflected in the fact that both the leaders and the members of the Party have not yet understood the significance of the slogan of Independent Native Republic. The white members of the Party, who have not yet cast off the remnants of white chauvinism, do not understand the nationalist tasks of the revolution, and try to reduce the whole of the struggle of the South African proletariat to a purely proletarian

class struggle, while the Native members, who are still influenced by petty-bourgeoispeasant nationalism, on the contrary, do not understand the tasks of the proletarian class

struggle, and try to reduce the struggle to a nationalist-revolutionary movement...

'This lack of understanding leads, in practice, to a position where both sections of the

Party, in different ways, commit the same mistake with regard to the growing nationalist revolutionary tasks ofthe proletariat and in this way deny the hegemony of the proletariat in this movement. The Natives, by restricting the tasks of the proletariat solely to nationalist revolutionary tasks, in practice would cause the proletariat to become absorbed in the broad petty-bourgeois movement, and in this way destroy its hegemony in this

movement.'

The ECCI letter was published in instalments in Umsebenzi between December 1930 and March 1931. At the Ninth Conference of the CPSA held in Johannesburg at the end of December 1930 a resolution was passed focussing attention on the danger to the Party represented by its own right wing and calling for the reorganisation of the Party on Leninist lines. On September 4, 1931, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party announced in Umsebenzi the expulsion of a number of leading comrades from the Party. The PB resolution stated:

'In South Atrica, the internal situation of the party has been characterised by the existence of strong right-wing elements which have revealed themselves in opposition to the leadership of the party, in unprincipled, opportunistic acceptance of the line of the party in words, whilst rejecting it in deeds; in sabotage of the

activities of the party, in attempts to discredit the leadership of the party in the eyes of the masses; in passivity in regard to the work of the party, in the increasing drawing away from the party and its activities, and in the crystallisation of definite fractional activities against the leadership of the party.'

Among those expelled were WH Andrews, C Tyler, E S Sachs, S P Bunting, F Glass and B Weinbrenn. Other comrades in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town were expelled by the Political Bureau later in the year.

Within a few years it was acknowledged by the Party leadership that the 1931 purge had been conducted in an exceedingly arbitrary and undemocratic fashion and had caused great harm to the Party at the time. By the end of the 1930s, however, the wrong course taken in 1931 had been corrected. WftAndrews, for example, was readmitted to the Party in 1938 and later servedfor many years as the Party's national chairman.

DOCUMENT 52:

'Building a Leninist Party - Important Decisions ofJohannesburg Conference', reported in Umsebenzi, January 9, 1931.

The Ninth Conference of the Communist Party of South Africa, held in the Communist Hall, Johannesburg, on December 26, 27 and 28, 1930, marks a definite step forward in the history of the revolutionary movement in South Africa. It is impossible in the small space available in this paper to give a full or adequate account of the discussions which took place. A full report will be

circulated to all branches in due course. The following were the chief achievements of the Conference:

1. For the first time in the history of the Party the Conference was able to make a general analysis of the situation and tasks of the Party in this country in terms of Leninist theory. The Conference faced the mistakes of the past, and, on the basis of political and organisational resolutions of the Communist International, determined to avoid such errors in the future. Chief among the dangers to be confronted is the Right Wing danger, expressing itself in the lack of faith in the revolutionary capacity of the Native masses and resulting in the past in a reformist or chauvinistic outlook on the part of the Party leadership (opposition to the Native Republic slogan, formation of the League of African Rights, running after Kadalie tc.)

2. The Conference faced'up to the necessity of building basic Party units in factory, mine-compound, farm and location. It was realised that until it had carried out this fundamental task the Party would not become a real Bolshevist organisation capable of leading the masses in the struggle for power.

3. The Conference discussed the events at Durban and elsewhere on Dingaan's Day and resolved on-the necessary organisational and political measures to consolidate the gains made and to broaden and deepen the anti-pass struggle.

The new Central Committee of the Party, elected by the Conference, consists of 23 members, of whom 19 are Africans and 4 are Europeans.

ECONOMIC STRUGGLES AND THE ROLE OF THE PARTY

The resolution on the economic struggles and the tasks of the Party led to a very interesting discussion in which the delegates from the country districts took a large part. Owing to lack of space we can only quote a few extracts from the resolution which was finally adopted:RISING TIDE OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

The deepening economic crisis in South Africa is reflected in the decline in prices of agricultural and industrial products and in the rapidly worsening conditions of the farmers, leading to growing poverty among themass of the black peasantry and the decline of the standard of life of the workers in town and country, while the poorer sections of white workers and small farmers are being more and more included in the general decline.

The growing revolutionary activity of the masses has been seen in the anti-tax movement in Durban last year, the mass unrest in the Transkei around the democratic demands of the Wellington movement and the Communist Party election programme, in the movement of agricultural labourers in the Cape, leading to the events at Worcester and the subsequent widening of the struggle over the whole South Western area, in the growing sporadic strike movements in the industrial centres, and in the mass demonstrations and pass burning on Dingaan's Day.

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

In this period has been observed a growing together of the agents of the employing class, the Government, and the trade union bureaucracy, and the complete passing over of the so-called 'left-wing' (Kadalie, Champion, Moore, Ballinger etc.) into the other camp.

The harnessing of the official trade union machine to the Government and the employing class through the medium of legislation, together with the increasing bureaucracy of the trade union leadership, has led to the abandonment of class struggle and the increasing adoption of Amsterdam tactics of reformism. We see this not only in the case of the white unions but also to an increasing extent in the case of the Non-European unions. An attempt is being made to win over the NonEuropean trade union leadership to a reformist programme as is seen in the recognition of Native unions registered under Government legislation and the inclusion of a Native worker on the new SA Trades and Labour Council. At the same time united strike action of black and white workers in furniture and clothing factories has been betrayed and sabotaged by the reformist leaders. In this light the creation of the new Trades and Labour Council represents only a consolidation of the reformist bureaucracy, a firmer welding of the trade unions to the Government apparatus.

The process of rationalisation rapidly increases the number of unemployed workers and the general pauperisation in the rural areas increases the drift to the towns,-a situation demanding joint struggle between employed and unemployed workers, black and white.

INDEPENDENT LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY

In this situation it is the task of the Party to take the initiative in preparing strikes, to win the leadership of all economic struggles, and to convert local partial struggles into wide class battles developing into mass political struggles, in which the agrarian masses of the peasantry are assisted and led by the workers of the towns against the land-owners, the employing class and the Government, the whole struggle culminating in the agrarian revolution as a stage towards a Workers' and Peasants' Government.

DOCUMENT 53:

'Germiston: Communist Party Enters The Field With A Native Candidate', report in Umsebenzi, October 1, 1932.

The Communist Party has decided to put forward Comrade J B Marks, a Native worker, as a candidate in the Germiston by-election.

The laws of the white imperialist ruling minority deny a Native the right to stand for Parliament in this country. They also deny the right to vote to all

Non-Europeans in the Transvaal, OFS and Natal (even in the Cape only an insignificant handful are allowed voting rights).

Why then does the Communist Party contest this election? The Communist Party, the only political party of the working class and the leader of the toiling masses, tells the workers, white and black, that Parliament does not and cannot solve the burning questions affecting the interests of the toilers. The CP mobilises the masses to fight for their demands, not in the house of the slave owners' representatives, but outside in the mines, factories, farms, locations, streets, etc.

All the other parties contesting the Germiston by-election (SAP, Nationalist, 'Labour', Workers' and Farmers' Bond) have supported and are supporting wage cuts, worsened conditions and oppressive laws against the working masses. These parties represent the interests of the capitalists and landlords. They all stand for the maintenance of the imperialist slave system.

Only the Communist Party comes to the exploited and oppressed people with a programme of demands expressing the true desires and aspirations of the workers, The Communist Party is using the election campaign to mobilise the workers to struggle for the following immediate basic demands:

1. For unemployed insurance at the expense of the State and the bosses for all workers irrespective of colour, nationality, age or sex. A weekly dole for every unemployed person.
2. Against the wage-cutting policy of Hertzog, Smuts, Creswell and Steenkamp.
3. For equal rights without qualification for the Native, Coloured and other Non-European people of this country. For the immediate granting of the franchise to all Non-European men and women.
4. For the right of self-determination for all oppressed nations and races in the protectorates and mandated territories.
5. Against all slave laws and for the mass violation of the same.
6. For the exemption of all Native, Coloured people and poor Whites from poll and hut taxes, rents and debts.

7. Against imperialist terror, police persecution and brutalities. For the release of all class and national liberation fighters and those who have broken the slave laws.
8. Against imperialist war preparations on the Soviet Union and the Chinese people. For the defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution.

AGAINST THE WHOLE IMPERIALIST SLAVE REGIME

In the revolutionary struggle for these demands the masses are forging weapons which they will use against the whole imperialist slave system. There can be no lasting improvement in the condition of the exploited masses under the imperialist-capitalist system. Therefore a struggle for these demands also means a fight for the overthrow of imperialism in South Africa. The enforcement of these demands depends entirely on the fighting determination and organisation of the workers

and peasants. Only the complete national independence of our country; the overthrow of the imperialists and the confiscation of their businesses, factories, mines, land etc., the setting up of an Independent Native Republic, a Workers' and Peasants' Government based on the revolutionary councils of the workers and poor people (Soviets),-only this will guarantee the full realisation of the demands set forth above.

The CP does not limit its struggle to merely the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution-independence of South Africa, equal democratic rights for all people, return of the land to the landless, etc. The CP aims at converting the democratic revolution into a social revolution -the abolition of all exploitation ofman by man and the building of a socialist society in Africa.

PARLIAMENT A FARCE

The emancipation of the working class and oppressed peasantry cannot be achieved through the exploiters' institution - Parliament. Parliament always legislates in the interests of the rich against the poor, even in countries where the workers all have the vote. In South Africa parliamentary democracy is obviously a farce. The Native people, who form the great majority of the population, have no democratic rights and are held in subjection by armed force. By democracy we understand the will of the majority. But capitalist 'democracy', especially in South Africa, means the will of a handful of exploiters and oppressors who by force and fraud impose their slave laws upon the people. Only in the Soviet Union under the workers'power, where the workers together with the peasants have overthrown the rule of the exploiters and are governing themselves through their elected councils of workers' and peasants' representatives (Soviets), is there democracy for the great majority of the population, for all who live by work and do not exploit the labour of others. While we know that Parliament cannot solve the problems of the people, we utilise Parliament and parliamentary elections nevertheless in order to organise the workers to fight for their interests OUTSIDE of Parliament, by strikes, demonstrations and other mass actions. We EXPOSE THE LIE about popular representation by showing that THE NATIVE MASSES ARE NOT EVEN GIVEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE. But even if they had the vote,

and together with all other sections of the working class elected a working class majority in Parliament, workers' rule would not yet be brought about. The moment the working class majority in Parliament attempted to pass laws in favour of the workers, the capitalist exploiters would enforce their dictatorship by armed force. Our struggle, therefore, is mainly outside of Parliament; it involves not only a fight against the capitalist class but also against the capitalist state, for its forcible overthrow and the establishment of the workers' and peasants' power.

A PROGRAMME FOR THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS

Comrade J B Marks, the Communist candidate, is the best representative of the

entire working class and oppressed people. The capitalist candidates merely want your votes in order that they may have soft jobs. Our comrade asks the stipport of all class-conscious workers for the CP programme of struggle. You workers can best express your support of the CP by joining its ranks, by becoming members of the revolutionary trade unions of the AFTU, by fighting for your own interests and demands. Your vote for Marks is a vote against wage-cuts, against unemployment, against national and class subjection.

Your support of the Communist candidate is an indication of your understanding of your interests and your desire to fight for better conditions. The greater your support for the Communist programme the nearer in sight is your emancipation. Mr Pirow is planning new attacks against the toiling masses and against their leader and organiser, the Communist Party. Your reply to Pirow must be MASS SUPPORT FOR THE COMMUNIST PROGRAMME. Editor's Note: Further articles dealing with the different aspects of the election, as well as articles on bourgeois democracy, soviets, etc, will appear in subsequent issues of'Umsebenzi.' We shall also publish instructions as to how to record your vote for the Communist Party.

Editorial Note:

J B Marks, as an African, could not be legally nominated. Nevertheless, the Communist Party conducted a full-scale election campaign in both white and black areas in the constituency, and in the African township more than 3, 000 Africans put their crosses on the voting forms issued by the Party.

Encouraged by the propaganda success it had scored in the Germiston election, the Communist Party decided to take part in the 1933 general election which followed the government's abandonment of the gold standard and the formation of the HertzogSmuts coalition. The Party's 1933 election manifesto concluded:

'Fellow Workers!

'Vote Communist Party for struggle against wage cuts, unemployment and worsening conditions; for state non-contributory unemployed insurance; for 35% wage increases

and the restoration of wage cuts, etc. Our candidates are:

Maitland - Leepile (Native); Castle - D G Wolton (White);

Vrededorp - Tefu (Native); Troyeville - Roux (White);

Fordsburg -Arnold (Coloured); Germiston -Thomas (Native)

'Support the programme of struggle and the candidates of the Communist Party!

Build a united fighting front of Native, Coloured and White Workers!
Down with the treachery of the 'Labour' Party!
Join the Communist Party, the only working class political party!
VOTE COMMUNIST!
The outcome of this campaign was not recorded.

Towards the Black Republic 119
DOCUMENT 54:
'Native', 'Bantu' or'African'? - What Shall We Call Ourselves? article in Umsebenzi, March 10, 1934.
The controversy regarding the most suitable name for -the negroid, dark-skinned, aboriginal inhabitants of southern Africa at present raging in the vernacular press, may not be without interest for revolutionary workers and peasants and other readers of 'Umsebenzi.' The Communist Party of South Africa has written upon its banner, as a slogan for the present period, 'A South African NATIVE Republic, with equal rights for all national minorities.'It now appears that we ought to have said 'a Bantu Republic' or possibly 'an African Republic.' The objection to the word 'Native' as descriptive of the negroid peoples of South Africa is that it really refers to those who are born in the country, so that South African born whites, Indians, Malays and Chinese are really also 'Natives' of South Africa.
'Bantu' is said to be an academic word, first invented by anthropologists to describe the languages spoken by a large section of the Negro or black race inhabiting central, eastern and southern Africa. All these people when describing a person use the word 'Muntu' (plural 'bantu') or some word similar in sound and of identical origin. The people who speak 'Bantu' languages have consequently been called the Bantu people, the word 'bantu' meaning literally 'people'. They are distinguished by scientists from the true Negroes, inhabitants of West Africa who speak languages belonging to an entirely different family. The Bantu are said to be racially not true Negroes, but to show evidence of admixture with Semitic and Mongoloid races at some unknown period of the distant past. The critics of the use of the word 'Bantu' consider it a mere academic abstraction, something 'highbrow' and unnatural. They say it is ridiculous to call a nation merely 'people'.
The use of the word 'African' has also met with opposition. If it is used exclusively for the black inhabitants of Africa it rules out non-Africans, the Arabs in the North, the Bushmen and Hottentots in thesouth, peoples who have just as much claim to be considered Africans as the Negroes themselves. A further complication arises when translating this word into South African Dutch. The language spoken by over a million white South Africans, whose ancestors came to this country from Holland and France, is known as 'Afrikaans', and they are in the habit of calling themselves 'Afrikaners'. 'Die swartmense is net Kaffers,' we hear it arrogantly said.
It is interesting that Hertzog in 1924, when the Dutch National Party was still in opposition and the ICU was a growing force, tried to cater for the black vote in the Cape and wrote a letter to Kadalie in which he said that 'white Afrikaners' and 'black Afrikaners' should unite in opposition to Smuts. The word 'Kafir' is usually considered an insult and term of reproach though it was not used in this sense by

the early missionaries in the Eastern Cape. The original Xosa dictionary was called a 'Kafir Dictionary' without any insult being

intended. The Boer landlord, whose intolerant attitude towards blacks is notorious, is chiefly responsible for the dislike which we feel for the word. In Arabic 'kafir' means 'infidel' or 'non-believer'.

A term of reproach, however, may be taken up by a persecuted people and used as a sword to smite the oppressors. Take for instance the words 'Quaker' and 'Negro'. The members of the Society of Friends were originally described by their enemies as 'quakers'. To-day the Quakers are a highly respected set of people in the bourgeois world. They adopted the word 'Quaker' and tried to make it famous.

In the southern states of America the word 'negro', which, like the word 'nigger', simple means a black man, was employed by the white slave-owners in much the same way as 'Kafir' is here. The more snobbish blacks, 'good boys' and the like in the USA even to this day dislike the term 'Negro'. The American equivalent of our Joint Councils is known as 'The Society for the advancement of Coloured People'- the words 'coloured person' being considered less insulting than the word 'Negro'. Those American blacks who were proud of their race and prepared to fight for their freedom have not been ashamed to call themselves Negroes. They are not ashamed of the colour of their skins and do not try to pass off as 'coloured people'.

We may imagine a state of affairs in this country when blacks may even be prepared to call themselves Kafirs and where the descendants of Hertzog and Pirow may find themselves enjoying equal rights (but no more) in a Kafir Republic!

For the present 'Umsebenzi' will continue to use all three words, Native, African and Bantu, until such time as agreement is reached by the advanced section of blacks themselves.

DOCUMENT 55:

Letter calling for Africanisation in the Party from Moses M Kotane in Cradock to Johannesburg District Party Committee dated February 23, 1934.

Dear Comrades,

In my last report I promised my conclusions arrived at from my recent observations. What I have learnt from my recent study ha further strengthened my old conclusions (known only to a few leading elements in our Party) that our Party has and is suffering owing to being too Europeanised. That the Party is beyond the realm of realities, we are simply theoretical and our theory is less connected with practice. If one investigates the general ideology of our Party members (especially the whites), if sincere, he will not fail to see that they subordinate South Africa in the interests of Europe, in fact, ideologically they are not S Africans, they are foreigners who know nothing about and who are the least interested in the country in which they are living at present, but are valiant 'servants' of Europe. They are 'revolutionaries' and 'Bolsheviks', their hobbies are 'the German situation and the

comintern, Stalin and Trotsky and 'the errors of various communist parties.'
But such conception is just the opposite of Bolshevism. But we are living in a culturally backward Africa -Africa is culturally or economically backward. The oppressed and exploited people of Africa are without the 150 years of organisational tradition possessed by the European working class. The European (the term European is used in its correct sense -not for white), language is therefore not blindly applicable for S Africa. In Europe self-consciousness (class) has developed immensely whilst here national oppression, discrimination and exploitation confuses the class war and the majority of the African working population are more national conscious than class conscious.
Socialism, the proletarian revolution to our rural population (the majority) is but a vague expression which sounds more as a dream than a reality, to them it sounds like the 'land of Canaan' which can be 'attained only after death.'
The Independent Native Republic which in essence means a bourgeois republic, but which the S African (owing to the objective conditions), must necessarily presuppose a democratic workers and peasant republic, has different premise, language and attitude to that of the proletarian dictatorship and socialist revolution and it is precisely here where the crux of our argument necessarily revolves. It is from this premise that the author bases his arguments, that the general propaganda for a democratic workers and peasants republic cannot be identical with that for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The identity or the identification of the two different historical stages is nothing but rank opportunism, a minimisation of our present task. We created imaginary bureaucracy sometimes where it did not exist, but just because our European comrades are fighting real bureaucracy. We have sometimes followed International Press Correspondence phrases and terminology in this country. We must learn from our European brothers but we should not lose sight of the fact that Europe differs historically, politically and economically with S Africa.
I started my observations in Queenstown among the African intellectuals, elements hostile to communism. But their hostility is due rather to ignorance. Among them I found some staunch nationalists, people who have not time for white people, but for their dependent economic position. Since then I am working among the non-intellectual section of the Native people. They are most interesting of the whole lot. They are revolutionary, but have not yet learnt the weapon of organisation and some of them are misled by ministers, they are religious, they all believe in the existence of God and in the bible, but disapprove of the venality of the leaders of the churches. They find proofs for everything they say in the bible. Personally they are rather nationalistic, but so far I always succeed in bringing them to my point of view, e.g. on the question of poor whites.
The Independent African National Congress has deeply entrenched itself in these districts, Cradock, Tarkastad, and its leaders are extremely popular. It would simply be tactlessness to denounce Tonjeni at present. He has won the confidence of his followers and many admire him. Up to now I have met two groups of his followers. First on Wednesday 14th instant (12) and Thursday 22nd instant

(10) meeting again some on Monday night (26th). I am very pleased with these two groups so far and would be very pleased to see such serious people among our socalled Party members.
I think it is time I ended my 'sophisticated' arguments and gave some suggestions. My first suggestion is that the Party become more Africanised or Afrikanised, that the CPSA must pay special attention to S Africa, study the conditions in this country and concretise the demands of the toiling masses from first hand information, that we must speak the language of the Native masses and must know their demands. That while it must not lose its international allegiance, the Party must be Bolshevised, become South African not only theoretically, but in reality, it should be a Party working in the interests and for the toiling people in S Africa and not a party of a group of Europeans who are merely interested in European affairs.
With revolutionary greetings.
Yours fraternally,
MOSES M KOTANE.
Editorial Note:
The Independent African National Congress (Cape) had been formed in 1931 by Elliot Tonjeni and other left-wing members who had been driven out of the Cape ANC by the dictatorial action of the chairman 'Professor' Thaele. Tonjenihad been banished to the Eastern Cape by Justice Minister Pirow, and the Independent ANC drew most of its support from country branches in the region.
DOCUMENT 56:
'Fight the New Fascist Bill - Defend the Cape Native Franchise', Umsebenzi, May 18, 1935.
The new Native Representation Bill (summarised before in this paper) is another blow at the rights and liberties of the Native people in South Africa. If it is passed it will be another step towards fascism.
The new bill proposes to abolish the Cape Native franchise, which has been in existence since 1854. If it does this it will do away with the only remaining democratic right possessed by the African people in the Union. It will reduce the Bantu people of the Cape to exactly the same slave status as the people of the other three provinces.
As alleged 'compensation' for this encroachment on their liberties, the bill proposes to set up a so-called 'Native Representative Council.' This council will be a mere puppet council, with no real powers or authority. It will not even be representative of the Native people. Of the 21 members, five will be white and officials of the Native Affairs Department. Four of the sixteen Native members

will be appointed by the 'electoral colleges.' What are these 'colleges'? They will mostly be made up of chiefs, headmen, etc-all paid agents and nominees of the Government. The only 'democratic' element will be the members of the advisory boards, who in turn will be elected by a limited number of the location residents (those who have paid their rent and are in good standing with passes, taxes, etc.) But in any case the members of the advisory boards will only form a small

minority in the electoral colleges. It therefore stands to reason that even the 12 'elected' native members of the 'Native Representative Council' will not be put there by the people and will not reflect the views of the people but only those of the Government that pays them to keep their people in slavery.
The four white senators chosen by the electoral colleges, in view of the undemocratic nature of the said colleges, are not likely even to be good champions of the Native cause, apart from the fact they they will have no power to do anything except talk. There already exist four members of the Senate who are supposed to represent Native interests. An indication of their utter failure to do anything at all is the fact that nobody has ever heard of them or their activities. All that the new bill will do will be to increase the number of the impotent nonentities from four to eight.
This new bill must be fought tooth and nail. The Communist Party calls upon all Native national organisations and upon the Native people as a whole and the white workers to rally to mass demonstrations of protest against this new fascist measure.
Against the new fascist bill!
In defence of the Cape Native franchise!
For democratic rights and complete equality for all Non-European people in South Africa!
DOCUMENT 57:
'Refuse to Ship Goods to Abyssinia! Defend the Last Independent Native State in Africa from the Attacks of Italian Imperialism! An Appeal to the Harbour Workers of South Africa', Umsebenzi, June 22, 1935.
Mussolini, the fascist dictator of Italy, is preparing to make war on the last remaining independent Native state in Africa, Abyssinia. Already thousands of Italian soldiers have been sent to East Africa and already there have been attacks on the borders of Abyssinia.
Inquiries are being made in Durban and Capetown by the heads of Italian shipping firms for meat, jam and other foodstuffs to be sent to feed the Italian troops in East Africa.
If we, the workers of South Africa, allow this food to be sent to East Africa, we shall be helping Mussolini to conquer and enslave the people of Abyssinia.
Dockworkers of Durban, Capetown, Port Elizabeth and East London! Refuse to

handle any goods destined for Italian East Africa! As workers, both black and white, we appeal to you to resist the war preparations of fascism. The war on Abyssinia may be the beginning of another world war, with consequent destruction ofcivilisation and the killing and maiming of millions of people. As workers it is your duty to fight against all forms of war and fascism and actively to oppose all preparations for war.
Native dockworkers of South Africa! Remember it is your fellow black Africans of Abyssinia upon whom Mussolini is making war. The independence of Africa's only remaining black state must be dear to your hearts. You have it in your power to help your fellow Africans against the Italian imperialists. Keep a sharp look

out! Refuse to send food to Mussolini's soldiers. Demand that the food be kept here to feed the starving people of South Africa.
By defending Abyssinia you will be striking a blow against all the white robber imperialists of Africa and bringing nearer the day when the black man in South Africa shall also be free.
District Committee C P Durban, to the harbour workers.
DOCUMENT 58:
'Native and Coloured Dockers' Anti-War Strike - Refuse to Load Italian Ships at Durban and Capetown', Umsebenzi, September 7, 1935.
Native dockers at Durban and Coloured dockers at Capetown have refused to load Italian ships with chilled meat destined for Mussolini's soldiers in East Africa. In this way the workers of South Africa are clearly demonstrating their solidarity with the people of Abyssinia in their fight to maintain the independence of their country.
At Durban the local committee of the Communist Party issued an appeal last June to the dock workers calling upon them to refuse to handle cargo destined for Italian East Africa. It called upon them to keep a sharp lookout for Italian ships loading meat at Durban. The first of these ships arrived last week and docked at the Congella Wharf. A gang of 60 Native stevedores refused to handle the frozen meat. Unfortunately all the dockers did not exhibit the same degree of political consciousness and another gang was taken on by the employers. The Communist Party is doubling its efforts to extend the 'hands off Abyssinia' strike in Durban. A special Ethiopian Zulu edition of Umsebenzi has been issued (see p 3) and circulated in large numbers among the dockers. It is hoped that all the dockers will be persuaded to take the same stand as the 60 who set the example. In Capetown last Sunday the dock workers (the majority of whom are Coloured) have refused to load the Italian vessel Sabbia with a cargo of South African chilled meat which is destined for the Italian army, 'because they will not be a party to any action which will promote the war now threatened.'

This decision was come to at a meeting of the Dock Workers' Union held on Saturday night. Other centres have been communicated with, and the position has been placed before the Prime Minister, General Hertzog.
At a meeting of the General Council of the Cape Federation of Trades, which was attended by the representatives of 18 workers' organisations-it was decided to support the stevedores and dock workers 'by all the means in their power and to appeal to the public conscience of South Africa in defence of their action.' The Communist Party appeals to the dock-workers of East London and Port Elizabeth and also to those Durban dockers who have not yet joined the protest strike, to refuse to handle any cargo destined for Italian East Africa.
Help to stop the war! Defend the last remaining independent Native state of Africa!
Editorial Note:
After the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow in JulyAugust 1935, had endorsed Georgi Dimitrov's callfor a broad united front to

halt the drive to fascism and war, the Communist Party of South Africa acknowledged its own sectarian errors of the past and sought to ally itself with other anti-fascist and antiracist elements amongst both blacks and whites in South Africa. With the rise of Hitler and Mussolini, Italy's attack on Abyssinia, the Spanish civil war and Japanese aggression in the Far East, the danger of a second world war loomed ever more threateningly. At home Hertzog's Native Bills heralded a new assault on the rights of the oppressed black majority, and Cabinet Ministers like Pirow openly expressed their admiration for Europe's fascist leaders. Fascist and racist organisations like the Greyshirts became active, stirring up hostility towards the Jews and the blacks and making physical assaults on the Communist Party's platforms.

The Communist Party took part in the great Bloemfontein conference on December 16, 1935, which gave birth to the AllAfrican Convention and also co-operated with the National Liberation League which had been formed in Cape Town. Party members also played a key role in the revival of the African National Congress towards the end of the 1930s.

During 1936 the name of the Party's journal was changed back to The South African Worker,,though Umsebenzi remained as a sub-title. Possibly the intention behind this was to make the paper more acceptable to progressive whites whom the Party hoped to bring into the unitedfront. A new slogan runningacross the head of the paper in each issue was: 'For a United Working Class Front Against Imperialism and War.

DOCUMENT 59:

'For a United Front of the People Against Imperialism', Umsebenzi, October 26, 1935.

Some leading representatives of the Native population of the Union of South Africa such as Prof Jabavu, Dr Seme, Matseke and others proposed

a few months ago to call on December 16, this year, a joint convention of all existing Native organisations. These proposals could not but be greeted by all sincere fighters for the cause of the Native people, as such a convention is of great importance for our cause and a mass movement in favour of it was already called to life.

The position of the Native population becomes ever worse. In the run for profits, in the desire to strengthen their power in our country, the Anglo-Boer imperialists are tightening the rope around the necks of our people. The prosperity in the mining industry, the improvement of the economic conditions of the Native population. It just brought tremendous profits to the mine shareholders and fat subsidies of the government to the rich landowners.

On the contrary, striving to retain their profits, imperialists started a new attack on the living conditions of our people. The colonial government wants to take away the vestige of our miserable political rights, it wants to rob the Native population of the Cape of its franchise. The Native population suffers heavily of national oppression, landlessness and systematic robbery. It is now more than ever necessary, therefore, to unite the efforts of the whole Native population and its

organisations for the defence of its human rights against the new brutal laws of the imperialist Union Government.
We fully agree with Mr John Chekedi, who says: 'We shall be made slaves indeed, unless we can unite and become a nation.'
The Communist Party pointed out many a time during the last years that the unity of action of the whole Native population and its organisations is the main and decisive condition which will bring our struggle to a victorious end. The Communist Party proposed many a time that united action with the African National Congress and the ICU should be established for the fight for the immediate demands of the people. But the leaders of the ANC and the ICU without explanation have continually refused our proposals. The more heartily we greet now the initiative of the ANC leaders in calling the JOINT NATIONAL CONVENTION.
In the fight for land and independence, our people have set up many organisations: political, economic, sport, religious and so on. Each of these has its program and particular principles. Each of these organisations offers its way to solve the questions that interest the Native population-to:free our country from brutal imperialist slavery. In the same time the ANC, for instance, thinks it possible to regain our land and independence through co-operation with the Colonial Government and the Anglo-Boer imperialists, the Communist Party says that our people can fully free themselves from slavery only by driving out the Anglo-Boer exploiters from our country and by establishing an Independent Native Republic. Yet, let us put away the difference of the ways towards national liberation. All of us have one common cause, requiring the unity of our efforts, and however different we regard the solution of the question of national liberation, it is clear for all of us that in the interests of national freedom we cannot allow that the imperialists should tighten more and more the rope

around our necks, that our last political rights should be taken away. The fight against national oppression and exploitation, the fight for the immediate, most necessary needs of the people-that is the basis for the united action of all the Native organisations, irrespective of their political differences. That is why we greet warmly the proposal to call a joint convention. The necessity to call such a convention now is dictated also by other external events. Italian imperialism raises its fascist fist against the last and only independent Negro state in Africa-Abyssinia. The Italian fascists prepare for a bloody war against the peaceful Abyssinian people. We cannot remain indifferent in the fight of our Abyssinian Brothers for their independence. We must rally as a united people and stretch out our hand of solidarity to the Abyssinian people and hinder the Italian fascists in fulfilling their imperialist plans. The significance ofthe convention is enormous. It will be the first convention in the history of our people's struggle for its freedom, on which there will be represented the vast masses of the Native population.
DOCUMENT 60:
Extract from resolution on 'The Liberation Movement and the Tasks of the Party' passed at Communist Party conference on September 5 and 6, 1936.

The seventh World Congress of the Communist International has pointed out that the most important task facing the Communist Party of South Africa consists in the establishment of an anti-imperialist peoples front. And in order to successfully accomplish this task it is necessary to draw the widest Native masses into the national liberation movement against the growing imperialist exploitation and oppression-for the independence of this country. Apart from mobilising the masses for the struggle for their immediate economic and democratic demands, the Party must take an active part in the National Reformist Mass Organisations and strive to bring about joint action on the basis of a definite anti-imperialist platform. Simultaneously, consistent work must be carried on amongst the European working class and poor people in the rural areas on the basis of their daily needs and for the struggle for the maintenance of their democratic rights in order to weaken the political mass base of the present ruling clique and to prevent the fascist movement from taking root amongst this section of the community. Any under-estimation of the role of poor whites in the class struggle ofthis country will result in giving objective support to fascism and will relatively strengthen fascist tendencies and organisations.

BUILD THE CONVENTION

The terrible and inhuman conditions of exploitation and national oppression of the Natives who constitute the overwhelming majority of the people of this

country makes this the most important task of the party ofmobilising the mass for the struggle against imperialism, for national liberation and independence. The immediate task of the Party therefore is not only to actively participate in the All African Convention but to do everything within its power to strengthen it. The All African Convention which is the embryonic stage of the united front consisting of the African National Congress, the ICU, Communist Party and other Native organisations can and must be welded into a powerful anti-imperialist liberation movement embracing millions of Native people. This however can only be achieved on the basis of struggle for the immediate economic, political and democratic demands of the people on a local and national scale.

DOCUMENT 61:

'Towards the People's Front - Conference Against Fascism and War', report in The South African Worker, October 16, 1936.

The United Front Conference called by the South African Trades and Labour Council opened at Trades Hall, Johannesburg on Saturday afternoon, October the 3rd.

Thirty five organisations including a number of trade unions, such as the Engine Drivers and Firemen's Association, Branches of the SA Typographical Union, the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, the South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union etc., as well as the Trade Union Political Wing and the SA Trades and Labour Council; the Native Trade Unions Co-ordinating Committee, the Communist Party of S A, the Farmers' and Workers' Party, branches of the League against Fascism and War, youth and peace organisations and other democratic bodies.

The Executive of the SA Labour Party had decided not to send representatives a decision which we very much regret, but one branch was represented officially and members of the Party were present. A resolution was adopted instructing the Committee to ask the Labour Party to reconsider their decision, the opinion being expressed by a member of the Party present that it did not represent the wishes of the rank and file. A letter had also been received from the Cape Federation of Labour Unions stating that at this stage they would not co-operate. In opening the Conference, A A Moore, President of the South African Trades and Labour Council, who was elected chairman of the Conference, explained that the Conference was called as a result of a resolution of the SA Trades and Labour Council annual conference. He stressed the fact that although the people present may differ on a number of questions, particularly economic conceptions, every one believed in the rule of law, in freedom of association and democratic rights, which were being gradually taken away. In the face of the threats of fascism and war he appealed to the Conference to avoid personalities but base their discussions on principles and find a common platform on which they could agree. We are glad to report that a Minimum Programme similar to the draft

programme published in last week's issue, and making it quite clear that all economic and political demands were to apply to all people. The following organisational methods were finally agreed upon:
1. That the name of the movement should be the People's Front. 2, That a national committee be elected to co-ordinate the activities of the People's Front.
3. That every organisation be entitled to one representative on the Committee. 4. That a committee of fifteen members resident within a radius of one hundred miles be elected by the Conference.
5. President and four Provincial Vice-Presidents be elected by the Conference.
6. The Secretary and officials be elected by the organising committee.
7. Local People's Front Committees be established everywhere to co-ordinate all labour and democratic organisations.
8. The relationship with the SA Trades and Labour Council to be maintained and that they be asked to support the People's Front financially.
9. The Organising Committee to produce a Report of the Conference as soon as possible and to send to all delegates.
10. An appeal for finance be made to delegates and others. On the basis of these decisions the conference proceeded to elect the officers.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Comrade W H Andrews was elected President of the People's Front Movement with the following as provincial vice-presidents: L Larkins (Transvaal), Adv H Snitcher (Cape), Hauptfleisch (OFS). There being no representative from Natal, the election of vice-president for that province was left over. The National Organising Committee was constituted as follows: Comrades Carby (Furniture Workers Union), Edwards (Commercial Employees), W Kalk (Leather Workers' Union), A FW Lucas (Farmers' and Workers' Party), I Wolfson (Tailoring Workers' Union), J Cornelius (Garment Workers' Union), P Mostert

(Typographical Union), H Basner (Communist Party), H Cornelius (Garment Workers), Van Rooyen (Garment Workers' Union), Weber (Tailoring Workers' Union), Kiloh (Typo Union), W N Cowlard (Butcher's Union), Taylor (Explosive Workers) B Weinbren (Reef N Trade Assistants Union). E S Sachs (Garment Workers) having re-considered his refusal to stand for election was coopted. The following National Committee was elected to communicate with trade unions which were not represented on it with a view to getting them to appoint their representatives to the Committee: Adv G Findlay (unattached), Mather Smith (Farmers' and Workers' Party), Van Rooyen (Farmers' and Workers' Party), Vermeulen (Railway Workers), I Wolfson (Tailoring Workers' Union), Edwards (Commerical Employees), Miss Venter (Garment Workers' Union), G Routh (University Democratic League), L Larkins (Transvaal Committee League against Fascism and War), H Basner (Communist Party), T Emmerich (Cape Tram and Bus Union).

AFRIKANERS BECOMING CONSCIOUS OF NECESSITY OF UNITY

Comrade Andrews said that the main purpose of the People's Front Conference, the kernel ofthe movement was combating Fascism and fascist legislation in South Africa. The working class was threatened legalised terrorism because the same forces were at work here as had resulted in Fascism in Italy, Germany and Austria. It could have been prevented in these countries if there had been a People's Front as it had been prevented in France and in Spain. Comrade Moore showed the danger of Fascism introduced by the Government. In Germany the Communist Party and the Social Democrats had been gaining support and the force of the workers was so great that the German Government turned to Hitler, the promoter of terroristic measures, and invited him legally into the Government to take what steps he chose to destroy the Trade Unions, to put thousands in concentration camps without trial and exploit the German Youth in labour camps. A real People's Front would sweep the United, Party into oblivion at the next elections. All who took part in the discussion agreed that the main task of the People's Front was to go out to the platteland and show the poor farmers the emptiness of the Greyshirt-Blackshirt policy and win them over to a real support of democracy. The fascists were already actively propagandising among the Afrikaners, and the farming community which was being broken up and forced into industry had not the experience of Trade Unionism and active work was very necessary among them if fascists were to be prevented from gaining ground,

A very good sign that the Afrikaners are already arousing themselves to fight for their rights was shown by the many speeches in Afrikaans at the Conference. Almost the whole of the general discussion on Saturday afternoon was in Afrikaans.

. The following additions to the draft programme on the Native questions were proposed by Comrade Basner for the Communist Party.

(a) Free primary education for all Non-European children.

(b) Abolition of the recruiting system.

(c) The abolition of the pass laws.

(d) The right of Native workers to organise into trade unions and to enter into collective agreements with their employers.
After considerable discussion the proposals were referred to the drafting committee which recommended that the additions be included under the various headings in the programme and that the special item Native policy be deleted.
DOCUMENT 62:
'An Appeal to African Women -Join the Struggle Against Oppressive Laws', by Josie Mpama, The South African Worker, January 30, 1937.
A year has passed since the Native Bills were passed and to-day we are faced with a new bill to amend the pass laws relating to Natives in urban areas.

There are Natives who maintain that the reading of the bill could not take place without the consent of the Native Representative Council. There are others who do not believe that such a bill can be passed in this period of 'prosperity and progress'. That the Government is determined to get the bill through was shown by the first reading, which took place on Tuesday, the 12th January. This is the beginning of a hard struggle which confronts all African men and women. Very few women took part in the struggle against the Native Bills, probably because not having had the vote they did not think it important to assist their men to maintain the vote.
Now we have a bill that is going to drive Natives back to the land when the authorities find it necessary to do so, is going to regulate the recruiting and employment of Native labourers. We know that this bill is seriously taken up by the men and we wonder whether the women also see the dangers with which they are confronted. Fathers, brothers, husbands and sons have flocked into towns not only because living conditions and treatment were better, but mainly because wages are higher, and here is the danger of BEING DRIVEN BACK TO THE LAND WITH THE FAMILIES AND ALL.
We, women, should come on to the field as strugglers, for only with our help can our men fight successfully against this new bill. Only by joint struggle can we compel Grobler and Co to withdraw this new slave law. Women, we can no longer remain in the background or concern ourselves only with domestic and sports affairs. The time has arrived for women to enter the political field and stand shoulder to shoulder with their men in the struggle. It was owing to the existence of the All African Convention that we have been offered half a loaf. Had we been truly united we would have won the battle. Women of Africa, I appeal to you to lose no time, but come forward and take your place in the struggle against the oppressive laws inflicted on you. Come to-day for tomorrow it will be too late.
DOCUMENT 63:
'Revival of the ANC - The Co-Ordinating Committee and Unity', The South African Worker, November 6, 1937.
The Transvaal Co-ordinating Committee of the Reef and Pretoria Bantu Leaders has recently agreed to revive the African National Congress. A series of meetings are being carried on throughout the Reef locations, While on the whole there is a good spirit of co-operation in carrying on positive work-a thing that we have not

had for years, we strongly resent the allegations made by three or four members of the committee, who harbour the illusions and haunt themselves with a perpetual fear that members of the Communist Party are aiming at capturing the leadership of the African National Congress. Such accusations are not only unfounded, but have the effect of preventing the revival of the African National Congress. Tactics like these are destructive. The

Communist Party of South Africa more than any other organisation realises the necessity for a national movement and supports every progressive organisation struggling for emancipation of the oppressed and exploited Africans.
Our interests are identical with those of everybody in the Co-ordinating Committee. Since the majority of the members of the African National Congress have taken such a firm stand against those who are responsible for such allegations, it is to be hoped that these gentlemen will change their wrong impressions. Personal attack has to stop from a united platform. Organisations are not built for the purpose of fighting the leadership.'Let us revive it for the sake of unity, the question of who will be head is not important -it is a part and parcel of the organisation itself.
DOCUMENT 64:
'White Terror in South Africa - What Must Be Done to Counteract It', by Edwin T Mofutsanyana, The South African Worker, August 14, 1937.
The Union Government through its police have launched a terror unequalled in the history of South Africa against the Non-Europeans. Coloureds are equally sharing the lot of the Bantu people. Johannesburg is the most active centre, where day and night the police hunt for the Africans. The overwhelming majority ofthe African intelligentsia- teachers, ministers of religion, clerks, civil servants, doctors and professors who in the past sneered at anybody who spoke of terror, to-day admit that there is an unheard-of police terror. This is our present daily experience. The Africans are dragged out of their dwellings in midnight silence and thrown into the pick-up vans and taken to prisons for no crime whatsoever, but only for the failure to produce any of the papers such as pass and tax receipts. The Native Commissioners, the following day, are busy with the people who are arrested. The press shows that one Commissioner had to dispense with 498 cases for tax per day. With the growing of the police raids in the Native areas, the women suffer equally, if not more, than their menfolk. Women, because of the low standard of their wages and that of their men are forced to make beer to sell, no matter how harsh the police may be. They generally have to choose between gaol and starvation, and prison is the lesser evil. Now that innocent men and women are filling the gaols, the only alternative for the Native Oppressing Affairs Department is to give lashes to those in default with their tax. The question to-day amongst the Natives in the locations is: What is the way out? Some think that more deputations to the authorities are the most urgent need of the moment. While we are not opposed to those who are labouring under these delusions, that by sending deputations they will get results, we can safely say that the history of

South Africa is full of such deputations without results. The police are not acting on

their own, they are carrying out the instructions of the authorities to whom the deputations go.
The recent police commission did not really inquire into the action of the police and their treatment of the Africans for justice's sake, but to whitewash the police and to see if it were possible to intensify still more the oppression of the people. In point of fact, immediately after the commission's sittings the screw was put on. While the police are terrorising men, women and children, the municipalities are busy with their scheme of municipally-controlled beer halls. They are trying to utilise the terror to get their oppressive schemes through without opposition.
The only way out is that every African must join up with existing organisations such as the African National Congress or the Communist Party, and help to build a strong mass national movement.
This inhuman action of the government can be stopped. Our enemies take advantage of our disunity. When we are organised and can down tools for one day they will come to their senses. They know how to arrest, but they cannot do the work themselves. Unity is the only power and weapon in our hands, and not deputations who cringe before our enemies.
Editorial Note:
The 'white terror' against the Communist Party in Johannesburg, combined with internal squabbling amongst the leadership, had reduced the Party to a low ebb. The Party journal, The South African Worker/Umsebenzi, lineal descendant of the old International founded by the ISL in 1915, ceased publication in March 1938 because of lack of funds. Following strong pressurefrom the Cape Town and Durban districts, where a better spirit prevailed, a conference of the Central Committee of the Party was held in Johannesburg on December 29, 1938, and the decision was taken to transfer the Party's headquarters to Cape Town, where it remained until the dissolution of the Party in 1950. The incoming Political Bureau elected Moses Kotane as general secretary of the Party-a position which he held until his death on May 19, 1978.

SECTION 3

INTRODUCTION

The outbreak of the second world war in September 1939 placed the Communist Party in something of a dilemma. The Party had long foreseen the possibility of war, and in a pamphlet 'Must We Fight?' issued in June 1939 had indicated its reluctance to support preparations for war then being made by the Hertzog-Smuts Government.
'A Government as undemocratic in its policy as the present one cannot lead the country along the path of freedom', said the pamphlet. Only the formation of a common front between people of all races in the effort to build a real democracy could bring about the national unity necessary to cope with such a state of

emergency. The emphasis had to be placed on the extension of democratic rights to the Non-Europeans.

'What right has the Government to expect loyalty from the Non-European peoples?... When talking about the defence of 'democracy and liberty' we should remember that to seven out of the Union's nine million inhabitants these words do not mean rights that they now possess, but a distant goal which must be reached after a hard struggle. In a war the Africans would rightly hesitate to assist the Government to maintain a system that denies them political power, and even the elementary rights of freedom of movement and residence in their own country. The African feels no loyalty towards a Government that binds him witl pass laws, burdens him with oppressive taxation, prevents him from buying land, keeps him uneducated, shuts him out from the public service and other better paid jobs, and in every possible way closes the door to his advancement... The fight against Fascism must start in our own country. It must be fought against the present system ofpoverty, cultural backwardness and race discrimination, which are the breeding ground of the Fascist mind'.

On the outbreak of war, however, the alignment of political forces in South Africa changed dramatically. Premier Hertzog had introduced in Parliament a motion proclaiming South Africa's neutrality in the war on the grounds that Germany's actions constituted no threat to South Africa and there was no evidence that Hitler aimed at world conquest, as his enemies alleged. Smuts moved an amendment calling for an immediate declaration of war. Since the fate of South West Africa

would depend on the outcome of the war, South Africa was involved willy-nilly, he said. In any case, South Africa was part of the British Commonwealth, whose fate now hung in the balance, and to stand aside from the conflict would expose the whole civilised world to danger. Smuts' amendment was carried by 80 votes to 67 on September 4, 1939 and South Africa was formally at war. Hertzog resigned as Prime Minister at once, recommending that a general election be held to test the feeling of the electorate, but the Governor-General declined to follow his advice and called upon General Smuts to form a government. Smuts brought Labour Party leader Walter Madeley into his Cabinet and the country was ruled by a United Party/Labour coalition with the support of the Native Representatives, while Hertzog went into opposition and joined forces with Malan's Nationalist Party.

The problem of the Communist Party could be summed up in the following questions: Would not support for the war effort amount to support for British imperialism abroad and a government of white domination at home? On the other hand, would not a policy of neutrality strengthen Hitler's position and place the Party in the same camp as the Nationalists and their fascist allies in South Africa? The Communist Party's first statements were somewhat tentative. In a leaflet produced within days of the declaration of war, the Central Committee said:

'The war is a struggle between rival imperialisms for raw materials, markets, capitalist domination and the power to exploit colonial peoples in Africa and Asia... Hitler, in the interests of the German capitalists, is carrying on a war for

the domination of Europe and in the end for the control of the whole world. British and French imperialisms are defending their property against Nazi imperialism. The capitalists of Britain and France are waging a war in their own interests and not to improve the position of the workers in Britain and France. It is possible that these capitalists will come to terms when the time is ripe with German capitalists, against the workers in their different countries. The danger of another Munich swindle, even during the war,
must not be overlooked.
'But the people of Britain and France are fighting in this war because they wish to destroy capitalism in its most brutal and aggressive form -Fascism: a system which has destroyed the rights and liberties of workers and their organisations, lowered the living standards of the people, stamped out freedom, and crushed the independence of the peoples of Germany, Italy, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania and Abyssinia -in
the interests of humanity it is essential that Nazism be destroyed'.
The statement added that the workers of the world 'cannot be indifferent to the question whether Nazism succeeds or fails in its struggle for world power. There will be no end to war and oppression until workers rule in all countries. But in the interests of humanity it is essential that Nazism be destroyed'. But the fight against Nazism had to be waged in South Africa. A ruthless struggle had to be carried on against the Hertzog-Malan forces and all pro-Nazis. The Smuts government must not be allowed to take away rights and liberties.

DOCUMENT 65:
Editorial 'Money for War', published in the Communist Party's official organ Inkululeko, November 15, 1939.
Reports from all parts of South Africa, from all four provinces and from the Protectorates, show that a campaign is being carried on to collect money from Africans for the war. We do not know what reasons the agents who go round collecting money for battleships, etc., give for supporting the war. Most probably they assure the people that they should be 'loyal' and rely upon the backwardness of the people to obtain money from them.
WHAT KIND OF A WAR IS THIS?
At the beginning of the war we pointed out that if the Union Government was to fight oppression, as they said they world, they must start by fighting oppression inside the country. This is not being done. In not a single way has the 'Native policy' of the government been changed. Not a single attempt has been made to give greater liberty to the African people. The danger that the Protectorates will be incorporated in the Union is as strong as ever. Clearly there can be no talk of fighting oppression inside South Africa. But also outside South Africa, in the war against Germany, we have no war against oppression. In fact it is a war to retain oppression. Great Britain wants to continue oppressing and exploiting the colonial peoples under her, and is fighting to defend her rights of exploitation and oppression from Germany, which wishes to seize some of her colonies.

The British working class is demanding peace, and is demanding that a government of the people should be formed in England in place of the present government of the rich. We in South Africa support the British working people in these demands. We declare that this is an unjust war in which we have no interest except our desire to end it.

WHY GIVE MONEY?

Africans should not give money to support the war. Instead they must show that they will not support the war in any way. Africans must demand just representation in parliament and in the Municipal and Provincial Councils. Today we have a government which cannot be trusted. The alternative to the present government is a government of the Nationalist Party, which we will not be able to trust either. Only if the Non-Europeans obtain their just share in the government of the country can we hope to have a government which will work for the progress of the country and its people.

Editorial Note:

The loss of their land as a result of white conquest was the main grievance of the African people, and their bitter resentment was intensified by the passage of the 1913 LandAct restricting land purchases by Africans. The African National Congress had been formed in 1912 largely with a view to opposing the passage of the Land Bill through Parliament the following year, and the land problem occupied the attention of the Communist Party from the moment of its foundation. Wherever possible the Party formed groups of members living in the African reserves or the rural areas, and from the late 1920s onwards had maintained regular contact with the Basutoland peasant organisation Lekhotla la Bafo (League of the Poor). From time to time the Party held 'country conferences' at which matters of special interest to the rural workers were discussed, though Party officials constantly complained that their work and influence in the rural areas were far kss than they should have been.

One of the main areas of Party work was in the northern Transvaal, where one of the most active cadres was Alpheus Maliba, a stalwart of the Party and the ANC, who did sterling work among the Venda people. The problems of the African people in the rural areas described in the pamphlet below were not restricted to the Venda but were typical of the whole country. Despite the banning of the Communist Party and the ANC, Alpheus Maliba stuck to his post and continued to mobilise his people against the apartheid regime. In late August 1967 he was detained by the security police under the Terrorism Act and taken to Pretoria Central Prison for interrogation. Three weeks later, on September 19, 1967, he was reported to have committed suicide in his cell. The police chief, Col F van Niekerk, reported that he had died from asphyxia due to hanging, but his comrades had no doubt that he was one of the more than 50politicalprisoners tortured to death by the security police after the detention without trial laws came into force in 1963.

DOCUMENT 66:

'The Conditions of the Venda People', by A M Maliba, pamphlet issued by the Johannesburg District Committee of the Communist Party, December 1939.
The Communist Party is publishing this pamphlet to explain the conditions under which the Venda people are living in the towns and on the land. It will also help the people to organise their struggle for an improvement in their conditions. It will explain to the other African peoples, those who do not belong to the Venda tribe, the conditions under which their brothers live. It must help to bring about unity among all Africans-no matter to what tribe they belong. It exposes the government policy of using the Africans for the profit of the employers, without any regard for the interests of the African people. It explains the policy and programme of the Communist Party, and it invites those who read it to join the Communist Party.

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THE VENDA PEOPLE

The Venda people live in the Zoutpansberg and Pietersburg districts of the Transvaal and number about 150,000. The area in which they live is the part of the Union most densely populated by Africans, and in the same district also live 50,000 Shangaans and 130,000 Basutos. The number of Europeans in the area is 13,000. These Europeans are farmers, relying on the Africans living on their farms and those in the neighbouring reserves to supply them with labour.
The Venda were among the last Africans in the Union to lose their independence. They were finally brought under the control of Europeans a few years before the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902.
The people live by means of agriculture, the methods of working the land being traditional. Plouglhs are not used, because the greatest part of their land is on hiltsides where they cannot use ploughs, and their poverty prevents them from buying such implements. They dig the ground with spades and plant mielies, beans, pumpkins, kaffir corn, and sweet potatoes. They do not sell their produce on the markets, but use almost everything they grow for their own consumption. When they have a surplus, they barter their produce with the Indian storekeepers for articles of clothing. They seldom slaughter cattle, only making use of the milk. Such methods of farming are backward and wasteful, but are not discouraged by the government, which finds that the problem of supplying labour for the Union can best be solved when the Africans are poor and unable to produce sufficient to live on, so that as a result they have to go and work for the Europeans in order to get enough to live upon.

TRIBAL ORGANISATION

The chiefs of the Venda are Paramount Chief Mpefu, Chief Sibasa, Sinthumule, Ramputa, Pafuri, Kutama and Tshivhula. Mhinga is a chief of the Shangaans.
While the policy ofthe Government is directed towards retaining backward and out of date methods of owning and cultivating land, it is slowly and carefully undermining the power of the chiefs, and is gradually attempting to force them into a position where they are nothing but the agents of the government.
In the past, the tribal organisation and customs, and the chief with his special functions, served a very useful purpose.

Although the chief was not elected-the throne passing from father to son-there were indirect restrictions on the powers of the chief, and so much power was retained in the hands of his subjects that the system was almost democratic. Nowadays those chiefs who rule as the government wishes them to receive its special support.
Although the people were expected to work on the lands of the chief before they worked on their own, and had to attend to his cattle before they looked after their own, it would be wrong to say that they were ruled by a dictator. Tribal custom was strong, and these duties were obligatory, and similar to a tax paid in labour.

But if an accident befell a tribesman so that he lost his cattle, he would be helped by the chief, receiving a number of the chief's cattle to tend, and he would use the milk and take the calves of this herd so that his misfortunes were repaired. In the past, the members of the tribe who became poor were aided in this way, so that the problems of unemployment and poverty were unknown among the Venda.
In this way the tribesmen were repaid for the labour they gave the chief, and the property of the chief was a common fund of the tribe from which help could be obtained in times of misfortune.

POLITICAL POWER OF THE PEOPLE

The people were able to exercise a good deal of pressure on the chief. If he was unjust to any member of the tribe, that person could leave with his family and property and place himself under another chief. An unpopular chief soon became a weak chief, with few subjects under him. The tshividzo, or tribal meeting, served as an expression of popular opinion by which the chief was further advised and controlled.
Apart from the free labour they gave the chief, the people paid no taxes. And even this labour was partly paid for, as the chief often gave beer and food to those who came a long distance to work for him. The people had no employers to work for, but were able to satisfy their requirements by working on their land.
According to R Wessman, author of 'The Bavenda of the Spelonken', which was published in 1908, '. . . there is hardly any sphere of industry in which they (the Venda) do not show their natural aptitude and skill. They can produce earthenware pots and jars of most convenient and practical shapes; clothing, powder, furniture. They tan skins, repair rifles and shoes, furnish government schools with teachers, build European houses on contract, and repair or renew cart wheels. The country itself furnishes the raw materials, which the Natives handle with very primitive tools only in the absence of better European implements.' He goes on to say that 'all the actions of the Bavenda are based on the principle of equality... The whole nation resembles one large family, which will not allow any difference to arise between rich and poor.'
These were the conditions before 1908. We must now study the present conditions.

GOVERNMENT 'NATIVE POLICY'

It is the policy of the government to use the Africans for the profit of the employers. The first need of the capitalist is for cheap labour. By making the

workers work on his farm, in his mines or factories, the capitalist makes his profits. But when the government made the first attempts to get the Africans to work for wages it found that they were able to obtaih a living on their own land, and did not need to work for wages. For a number of years the government was forced to bring Chinese into the Union to work on the Mines. So the government introduced the Poll Tax. This tax has to be paid by all Africans over the age of 18- those who are able to

work. They have to pay Li every year. As the people do not use money in the reserves, they had to leave their reserves to work for wages with which to pay the tax. In this way the government obtains cheap 'Native labour' for the employers. The government found it necessary to keep the Africans very poor to compel them to go to work for wages. The Venda have much experience of this.

Not only have they to pay Poll Tax of.£1 a year, bur those who live on crown lands (a very large number) have to pay C1/10 per year rent, 5/-grazingfeefor their cattle, dipping fees, dog licences, licences for chopping trees (which means 10/- for sufficient wood to build a hut) and so on. Each man has to pay at least £2/15/0 every year to the government.

In the past the Venda used to prepare their own iron for tools. Nowadays they are prevented from doing this, fences being placed round the places where they obtained the iron ore in the past, so that they have to buy iron articles from European storekeepers, and to pay with money. In order to pay for the things they need, they have to go to work to earn money. In the past they used to make pots of clay. Nowadays they are prevented from doing this. The holes where they obtained the clay have been fenced round, and the people warned by the police not to go there. So pots and plates, too, must be bought with money, which can only be obtained by working for others.

It is part of the policy of the Government to take away from the Venda people any chance of protesting against these conditions. They have no representatives in Parliament, there are no Venda members of Parliament or members of the Senate. The people are supposed to be represented on the Native Representation Council, but there are no Venda members, and the Council only has the right to give advice to the government, and cannot do more than this to improve the conditions of the people.

This policy has led to poverty, and today many poor persons may be found among the Venda-a thing which did not exist before.

Finding that the people were obedient to their chiefs, the government permitted the chiefs to remain, but it has attempted to change the work of the chief, so that, instead of being the father of his people, he has become the policeman of the government. They try to make the chiefs and headmen act as tax collectors for the government.

DIVIDING THE PEOPLE

The attitude of the government to the chiefs can be seen from the plan to cut away some of the land of chiefs Ramputu and Sibasa to give it into the care of Chief Mpefu. This is not being done because the government has a good opinion of

Chief Mpefu, but because they wish to cause quarrels and trouble among the chiefs and people.
The power of the chief is being taken from him by the government, which seeks only to use the chief as its servant. In place of the chief, the government appoints Native Commissioners, who are not responsible to the Venda people, but to the

government. They have to account only to the government for their actions. The government wishes the commissioners to be the real rulers, while the chief is kept merely in order to keep the people quiet.

MAKING THE VENDA POOR

As the demand for 'cheap Native labour' grew, the government found that it was not driving sufficient people to work by means of the Poll Tax, dog tax, rents, dipping fees, licences for chopping trees, preventing the people from making their own articles from clay, and so on. Therefore the government decided that the people should be made poor. In 1937 the Venda people were told that they had too many cattle. As their land is too small, the cattle eat off all the grass and the ground begins to get wasted (erosion). For this reason the government said that the people must kill some of their cattle. But the people refused to do this -as did the people in Rustenburg and in the Free State.
The real reason for the killing of the cattle was that thepeople should become poor; so that they would be forced to go and work on the mines, which are at present making great complaints about the shortage of Native labour. The people ask: IF OUR CATTLE ARE SHORT OF GRASS, WHY ARE WE NOT GIVEN LAND BELONG. ING TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE MINES-FOR IT IS NOT BEING USED? There is a great deal of Crown land, which once belonged to the Venda, and much land belongs to the Consolidated Land and Investment Company -a very rich mining company.

WHAT HAPPENS TO THOSE WHO GO TO WORK?

By these methods the government forces many people to leave their homes each year to go to work for wages with which to pay taxes, licences, and buy the articles which they formerly made for themselves, but which they are now prevented by force from doing.
Those who go to work on the farms get very low wages, but most of them do not go to the farms, because large numbers of Venda are already living and working there. These are the 'labour tenants', who do not receive any food or wages, but are given a small piece of ground on which they grow their food for the year. During a few months they are allowed to work for their own benefit, but during the rest of the year they must work for the farmer. The men work, and in addition their wives and children have to work-even children only seven years old are employed looking after sheep. They start work at sunrise, and finish at sunset. Very few of the children of the labour tenants have a chance to go to school. Altogether, the labour tenants own 66,000 cattle, but there is little opportunity for them to better their position, because the farmers only permit a limited number of cattle to graze on their land. As a result of this, the labour tenant can never improve his position very much.

Those who go to work on the mines get 1/8 per shift, and are in constant danger.

In 1937, about 13,000 persons were injured on the mines. The mineworkers are removed from their wives and children for six months or a year. Those who work for the Municipality complain about the low wages of 12/- per week, about the bad food, and about their rooms in the compounds. In each room forty persons sleep on cement racks. They are also against the system whereby faction fights between members of different tribes are foolishly or deliberately provoked by the authorities.

Factory and mine workers alike have a hard time to organise themselves into Trade Unions in order to struggle for higher wages, and against the many things from which they suffer.

LAND AND CATTLE

The 330,000 people in the Zoutpansberg and Pietersburg Districts own 223,000 cattle, according to the Agricultural Census Report. This means about two cattle for every three people, which shows that the people are not so well off that stock limitation can be started. Yet while there are only two cattle for every three Africans in these districts there are 27 cattle for every three Europeans. During 1935-6, sufficient mealies were reaped by Europeans to provide six bags per head, while the mealie crop of the Africans yielded less than 1/2 a bag per head. THE REAL TROUBLE OF THE PEOPLE IS NOT THAT THEY HAVE TOO MANY CATTLE BUT THAT THEY HAVE TOO LITTLE LAND. Grazing fees and dipping fees are a severe burden to those who own cattle.

In 1932, the Native Economic Commission stated that a 'native area can be distinguished at sight by its bareness.' Yet not far from the Reserves empty Crown land, and land owned by the great mining companies is lying idle. Professor Frankel has estimated that the average earnings of the African working the land in the Reserves is £5 per year -that is, 8/- per month. From this £5 he has to pay £2/15/0 to the Government in taxes, etc., and so he is compelled to go and work for wages.

Although the government has spent £I 12,000,000 on the European farmers during the past 29 years, it has spent only £750,000 on the agricultural needs of the Africans during the same period.

Between 1928 and 1938, seven indunas were removed from Crown land, together with their people in the Zoutpansberg District. The land from which they were removed was used to plant trees on, and many of them were not given any new land.

Every effort is made to prevent the African worker from selling his products on the European markets, where he will compete with the products of European farmers. In order to prevent this, the government has not built Railways through the reserves, or if it has done so, has built them so that only a few are served by them3 roads are bad, and the people cannot transport their products to the markets. The result is that they barter their products with the Indian traders, receiving terribly low prices.

It is clear that the government has a policy of benefiting the rich; that it wants the African farmers to work in backward ways; and that it wants the people to be poor, so that they will go and work for wages.

EDUCATION

Although more than £15,000 per year is collected from African children in the Transvaal in school fees, only about 16 out of every 100 children go to school In the reserves there are Venda children who have never seen a European. There are tens and thousands of children growing up without any education. There are only 51 Venda teachers, although there are 150,000 persons who speak Tshivenda.

The Venda schools are: Tshakhuma school, where children are taught up to Standard 7, and Goldville, Mhinga, Maungani, Khalavha, Sinthumule, where children are taught up to Standard 6. In Mpefu's reserve, there are schools only up to Standard 4, and at Limane only up to Junior Certificate, with lessons in carpentry and dress-making.

In 1937, only seven Africans passed matriculation in the Transvaal. These things happen in spite of the strong wish of the people to obtain education for their children. Instead of talking about the 'great improvements' that they have made, the government must set towork to give education to the people. The few schools are badly equipped; they are short ofeverything, pencils, desks, tables, books, and the teachers only get £5 per month.

The policy of the government is to save what it can on education, because the farmers and the mines do not want educated Africans- they want cheap labour, and are not interested in what education the people receive.

But because there can be no advancement for the mass of the people while they remain uneducated and illiterate, because the people must be educated so that they can progress, the Communist Party wants free compulsory education for all Venda children. While the Venda people remain so poor that the children's earnings are necessary in every home, it will not be possible to send them to school. That is why the demand for the abolition of oppressive taxes, the demand for higher wages and for better living conditions, goes hand in hand with the demand for compulsory education.

THE NATIVE COMMISSIONERS

As we pointed out above, the government has attempted to weaken the power of the chiefs, and is replacing the chiefs with commissioners. The beneficial administration of their own chief, who was responsible to his people, and whose power was controlled by the meeting of the people (tshividzo) and by tribal customs, has given way to the oppressive administration of the government Native Commissioner who is responsible only to his employer-the Native Affairs Department.

HEALTH

The 330,000 people in the Northern Transvaal are desperately short of hospitals and doctors. This can be seen particularly in times when malaria is prevalent. The hospitals are so few, that when a person in remote areas becomes ill, he has to go

50 or 100 miles to hospital, with the result that his relations cannot visit him. The doctors are European, and cannot understand him. The result is that the people fear the hospitals and do not go there unless they are extremely ill. If Venda doctors were trained, and if there were more hospitals so that the people could be visited by their relations, they would not be afraid of going to hospital, and so thousands of lives and much suffering would be saved.

THE GOVERNMENT PROGRAMME

We have explained already how the government represents the rich, and how it strives to serve them. We will repeat here some of the main points of the government's 'native policy'.

Firstly, the government attempts to satisfy the constant demands from the mines, farms and factories for cheap native labour. Secondly, it tries to prevent any competition of African agricultural products with the products of European farmers on our markets. Thirdly, they have destroyed the old system where the chief was responsible to the people and helped those in want. Nowadays, those who are in want must go and work for wages.

Fourthly, they have retained the tribal ownership of land, and gradually turned the chiefs into agents of the government.

Fifthly, they have taxed and impoverished the people in order to supply cheap labour for the capitalists.

This is the programme and policy of the government, the representatives of the rich, the servants ofthe Chamber of Mines, a policy which they have been carrying out, so that the people have become poor.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY PROGRAMME

The Communist Party stands against the rich, and voices the demands ofthe poor; it organises and leads the working people in their struggle against the rich, in their struggle to secure better conditions of life. The Communist Party programme for the people of the Northern Transvaal is: Firstly, the land must be taken from the rich and must be returned to the people, together with the Crown Lands.

Secondly, the mines must be taken from the mine-owners, and must become the property of the people to use to their own advantage.

Thirdly, the Poll Tax, Dog'tax, dipping fees, licences for chopping trees, grazing fees, etc., which serve only to drive the people to work, must be abolished.

Fourthly, the power of the Native Commissioners and of the Native Affairs Department, as well as the useless 'Native Representation Council' must be abolished, and the people must be given the right to vote for Africans to represent them, and to administer their affairs.

Fifthly, agricultural schools must be started to teach up-to-date methods of farming, and modern implements must be provided by the government. Sixthly, individual land tenure must take the place of tribal tenure so that competition will be encouraged, and the farm workers will have the incentive to improve their land.

Lastly, unity must be established between the Venda people and all other African tribes, so that they must struggle together against restrictions and oppression which affects them all equally.

THE TASK OF ORGANISING THE PEOPLE

We have learnt of the conditions under which the Venda people live and we have learnt exactly why, and exactly how, the capitalists through the government, oppress the people. Now that we have some understanding of things which must be improved, we must find a way to bring improvement. It is clear that neither the government nor the rich people will do this work for us. The improvements in the present conditions of the Venda people which we are striving for will have to come as a result of the actions of the Venda people themselves. At present the Venda people are very poorly organised. Without organisation they have no way of putting forward their demands. The first task is organisation. The people have their tribal organisations, the African National Congress and the Communist Party. All these organisations are still weak. The tribal organisations are usually afraid of'politics', and only help individuals who are in need ofmoney. This will have to be changed. Unless the tribal organisations represent the people when misfortune befalls numbers of them, they will bring very little benefit to the people as a whole. The tribal organisations must co-operate with the African National Congress, with African trade unions and with the Communist Party in order to struggle for improvements in the conditions of the people. In order to strengthen their organisation the people must join them. Those who are more advanced will have to do responsible work. They may join the Communist Party in order to learn how to organise and lead their people, or they may learn from the Communist teachers without joining the Party if they wish to. The more advanced people will have to teach and organise the backward people.

We appeal to all who have read this pamphlet to join the Communist Party, or to make use of its political classes in Johannesburg. If you will write to us we can also help and teach you in the reserves.

The Communist Party paper, INKULULEKO, which has been responsible for the production and distribution of this pamphelt, is the only paper in South Africa which has regular articles in Tshivenda. Help the paper by buying it, and in this way you can help the struggle of your people.

In order to join the Communist Party, write to The Secretary, Box 4179, Johannesburg, and ask him to send you an application form.

Editorial Note:

The background of Communist Party thinking on the war was outlined in the following analysis.

DOCUMENT 67:

-Extracts from 'The War and South Africa' by J Morkel, report delivered at a conference of the Communist Party held on March 23 and 24, 1940.

The aggressive policy of Japan in China and the offensive of German and Italian fascism brought these states into direct conflict with the democratic imperialists, Britain, France and the USA. Fascism is the organisation of imperial capitalism

for war, to which aim it subordinates all other considerations. The drive to war, the successes of the dictatorship in China, Abyssinia, Spain, Austria and Czechoslovakia, were all threats against the continued domination of the rival imperialist states. That these states failed to crush the fascist offensive in its early stages, failed to utilise their own League of Nations which they had constructed with the direct object of meeting such a challenge, and made one concession after the other to fascism, can be explained on one ground only, namely, their hatred of Soviet Russia, their fear of the revolutionary movement, and their hope that fascism would in fact be a 'bulwark' against the fatherland of socialism and the maturing revolutionary struggle.

There can be no doubt that Nazi Germany not only declared but regarded itself in fact as the champion of war against the USSR. For this reason the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International declared that 'to concentrate our battle fire against German fascism, as the principal instigator of war and the mortal enemy of the Soviet Union and the proletarian revolution, is the duty of every revolutionary.' That is why the USSR and the Communist International called for a peace front against fascist aggression. That is why British and French imperialism, themselves directly menaced by fascist aggression, nevertheless aided and abetted it in the hope that the offensive would be turned against the Soviet Union.

In his report to the Seventh World Congress Comrade Ercoli summed up the position as follows. 'We have here a classic example of the permanent tendency of the imperialist countries to solve their contradictions by organising intervention against the USSR. The reactionary British bourgeoisie thinks it can direct the drive of German and Japanese imperialism that menaces its own positions into an anti-Soviet channel ... The British bourgeoisie, by the concessions and support which it gives to the instigators of war in Europe and the Far East, accelerate the

onslaught of a new world war into which the British Empire will inevitably be drawn.'

In the interests of the mass of the people, in the interest of the revolutionary movement, in the interests of Soviet Russia, the policy of" the united peace front was adopted. Its aim was to end the policy of 'appeasement', and to prevent war by forcing the British and French Governments to collaborate with Soviet Russia. The peace front failed. The Chamberlain Government believed up to the last that peace could be secured in the West at the expense of Soviet Russia. It needed the Soviet-German pact to convince them that Hitler had abandoned the line of attack upon the USSR. When in the next few days of bargaining, Hitler made no attempt to negotiate with Chamberlain, gave no loophole for another 'settlement', the,, British Government was forced to fight dragging French Imperialism with them. From the viewpoint of British Imperialism, the war could not be averted, it was essential to maintain British dominance in Europe, to defend British colonies and retain British trade and investments overseas against a rival imperialism.

SOUTH AFRICA BEFORE THE WAR

In South Africa the United Party Government accepted the policy of 'appeasement' of British Imperialism. The only point of disagreement was over the recognition of Italian fascism's conquest ofAbyssinia, when the Union took a somewhat firmer stand than Britain in the League of Nations. This recognition of peculiar interests of a South African Imperialism in Africa did not, however, lead to disagreement with British Imperialism on the wider issue ofthe attitude to fascist aggression and its relation to the revolutionary struggle. The South African rulers also regarded fascism as an 'insurance' against progressive democratic movements and the growing strength and influence ofthe USSR, and within the Government Party there were elements, then suspected and now openly recognised, as having more than a sympathy for fascist ideology. The support that Hertzog and Pirow have given to Nazi Germany did not develop only when the war began.

In the Nationalists' ranks pro-fascism developed until the Party itself accepted the Greyshirts and other Nazi organisations into its ranks, and based its appeal on the typical slogans of fascism: anti-Semitism, attacks on 'international' capital, race theories and the communist bogey. The analysis made by the Party was that certain of the Nationalist leaders believed that the clash between Britain and Germany would lead to war; that Germany would win, and would then enable the Nationalists to break the connection with British Imperialism and establish an Afrikaner bourgeois domination over the rest of South Africa under the Nazi wing. This analysis still holds good. The issue of the war remains uncertain, so that the Nationalists are still playing a cautious game of watching the course of events. Their future policy will probably depend on which way the victory seems to go.

The Party concentrated during the pre-war period on building a movement against fascism and for peace. The fascists made very little headway amongst organised workers. In the trade union movement the dominant note was an anti-

fascist one, and the Nazis never succeeded in making much headway among the organised workers. As regards the peace front, here little advance was made in forming a well-supported organisation, though the policy of the Party gained a large number ofadherents, as was shown by the growth of the Left Book Clubs and the progress made by the 'Guardian'.

After the betrayal of Czechoslovakia at Munich the Party considered that a new situation had arisen. It held that the possibility of preventing fascist aggression, and at the same time of maintaining peace, was negligible. The conclusion was therefore drawn that the 'Peace Front' policy had to be abandoned; that capitalism .was rapidly moving towards another world war; and that the efforts of the Party should be directed to building up a mass movement to resist attacks that would be made in the war situation on the workers' and democratic organisations. The participation of the Non-Europeans was essential to the success of such a movement. The national struggle of the Non-Europeans had therefore to be developed in order that they would be in a position to move forward when the war broke out.

When the Chamberlain Government in March 1939 rejected the USSR's proposal for a Conference of the 'Peace Powers' on the situation created by Hitler's violation of the Munich Agreement, it seemed that British Imperialism would concede everything demanded by Nazism in order to achieve its aim of starting a war between the Axis Powers and the USSR. But when the British guarantees were given to Rumania and Greece, and when in June, negotiations were opened between Britain and the USSR, some of our members began to believe that British Imperialism was at last preparing to resist fascism. In Johannesburg especially, the argument was prevalent that the Party should support the Government's 'National Registration' scheme as an outward expression of anti-fascist feelings. In the pamphlet 'MUST WE FIGHT?' (June 1939) this line was opposed on the ground that it meant support for the United Party Government which had attacked and threatened the people's rights. 'A Government as undemocratic in its policy as the present one', we said, 'cannot lead the country along the path of freedom'. The main emphasis had to be placed on the extension of democratic rights to the Non-Europeans. No clear lead was given as to the attitude that should be adopted in the event of war. The omission was deliberate. The complexities of the international situation did not allow any conclusions to be drawn as to the character of the war that, we felt, would come. We confined ourselves to a demand for a Peace Front based on mutual defence treaties, coupled with a 'clearly stated determination to resist fascist violence with armed force'.

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

Less than two months later the Soviet-German Pact was signed. Immediately the Party was asked to be cautious in its attitude to the war that was ahead, and not rush in with support. The conclusions drawn were that British Imperialism had refused to give satisfactory guarantees to the USSR because it still hoped, even at that late hour, to turn Germany to the East; that 'the USSR, as Stalin had

foreshadowed in March 1939 (18th Congress CPSU) was'... not allowing herself to be drawn into conflicts by warmongers who are accustomed to have others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them.. . '; and that if Britain did go to war it would be because that was the only way left open for the defence of her Imperialist interests.

The policy was therefore one of opposition to the war. But the complication arose of a split in the Government on the war issue. There seemed to be a danger that the Hertzog-Malan combination might attempt to seize power by a coup, or force an election. They would in either case have stood for 'neutrality', but a neutrality that would have drawn them further into support for Germav Imperialism. Internally, they would have introduced a fascist regime. The Party, therefore, while declaring opposition to the war, stated that at the moment the struggle was in South Africa against the Nazis. This undoubtedly weakened the line of struggle against the war, since it meant a passive acceptance of the Smuts Government and its war policy. But the dilemma - support Smuts and the war or oppose the war and support the pro-Nazi, anti-Trade Union, anti-colour Nationalists -could not be

avoided by other means than the policy adopted: oppose the war and resist the Nationalists.
This policy did not everywhere receive support in the Party. In Johannesburg the line put forward was that while Chamberlain could not be trusted to fight a progressive democratic war, a Government could be put in its place that would carry on such a war, and that our policy should be to demand such a Government which would be 'earnest' about the defeat of Nazi Germany. This was the attitude adopted by other sections of the Communist International in the English-speaking countries. The fallacy involved was that any war against a fascist state would be progressive, and that the defeat of Nazi Germany would aid the revolutionary movement and eliminate an enemy of the Soviet Union. In addition, there was the internal consideration already noted: the reluctance to advance a policy that would, at least outwardly, put ourselves on the side of the Nationalists.
The former difficulty, i.e. the doubt about the war being Imperialist, has now been cleared up, mainly because of the change in the line of the British Party; partly because the progress of the war and the active role played by the USSR in Poland and Finland, have shown up more clearly the aims of British Imperialism and the desire to switch the war against Soviet Russia. But there is the second difficulty, i.e. can we risk helping the Nationalists to get into power? That is the question on which we need the utmost clarity and agreement.
DOCUMENT 68:
'The War and Segregation', by J Gomas, published in Freedom, organ of the Communist Party, June 1940.
While the war for 'democracy, security and the suppression of Hitlerism' is proceeding at full force, oppressive segregation measures are being passed against the

Non-Europeans. At Pretoria on May 18th, General Smuts asked the question: 'Who could possibly want to live under a Nazi regime with its denial of personal freedom, religious freedom and political freedom and its ghastly barbarities?' Undoubtedly, with the exception of a small group of white Nazis, the vast population of white and black would all chorus, No!
Let General Smuts ask the Non-Europeans whether they like to live under the Union Government with its barbarous colour oppressive laws. In this case also we should have a unanimous No! from the eight millions of Non-Europeans.
SEGREGATION IS NAZISM
What is the difference to the Non-Europeans between the Nazi regime in Europe and the Union Government in South Africa? To the dominant imperialists who in fact share the Nazi race theory, their inhuman treatment of the NonEuropeans may not seem important. But I am satisfied with the statement of the famous English scientist, Professor J B S Haldane, that he would rather be a Jew in Hitler Berlin than a Native in Johannesburg. Non-European children are segregated in schools. They do not get free and compulsory education like the white child. Segregation operates in churches, sports clubs, cinemas, libraries, on trains and beaches, in obtaining liquor, etc. Residential segregation exists in the form of

locations, townships, coloured areas, etc. In factories separate conveniences, cloak and rest rooms are provided.
Non-Europeans are not employed in the civil service and in shops, factories and mines in high paid positions. Unskilled workers are paid starvation wages. Their children are denied the opportunity to be apprenticed to skilled jobs.
Non-European males in the Cape do not enjoy the vote on the same basis as the whites, nor have the Non-European women the vote. In the three northern provinces of the Union, Non-Europeans are voteless. The eight million NonEuropeans are denied the right to be represented in Parliament, the Provincial Councils and Municipal Councils of the North. Then there are the Pass Laws, Poll Tax and other innumerable laws restricting the rights of Africans, Coloured and Indians!

FALSE LEADERS

For tolerating this mountain of oppression, the Non-Europeans are praised for ,their loyalty and expected to be ready at the Government's call as drivers, labourers and perhaps fighting units to assist in the prosecution of the war. But if there is one country where people should enrol in a war for democracy, to abolish national domination of Nazism, then that country is South Africa.
How can we be interested in fighting Nazism thousands of miles away, while in reality we have a similar monster devouring us here daily? It is natural for the

ruling class to exhort victims of their oppression to fight their wars for territory, profit and power. But for certain prominent Non-Europeans to come forward and beg the Government to give the Non-European a chance to serve in this war is a scandal. Surely these people must be so demoralised and degraded under the oppression in South Africa that they have lost all sense of self-respect. If Non-Europeans must fight, let them fight for their own democratic rights. So long as the Non-Europeans are being segregated and denied equal opportunities with the Europeans, the conditions of all sections and classes-traders, professionals, ministers, artisans and labourers must continually worsen and the upper strata will gradually disappear. This process has been taking place for some time and will be speeded on after the war because of the crisis that will follow.

FIGHT FOR RIGHTS

Those who do not fight for their rights do not progress and do not get anything from their rulers. As a matter of fact they get more depressed. The Afrikaners got the right to employment in the civil service, and to use Afrikaani as an official language, etc., because of the struggle they put up, including an open rebellion in 1914. They have risen from a position of inferiority to equality with the English and are now in a position to dominate the political situation. Evidence shows that they are not satisfied with these achievements. They are refusing to support the British in the war but are determined to further their own interests.
The Non-Europeans are more oppressed than the Afrikaners ever were. They too must fight for the opportunity to progress. There can be no progress for the Non-Europeans if they are deprived of the right to vote and to send their own representatives to Parliament, employment in Government service and in every

occupation, a decent minimum living wage, equal facilities for education. The poll tax, pass and segregation laws constitute a mightly obstacle to progress and must be removed.
These are elementary democratic rights which must be fought for and demanded from the authorities ruling South Africa before there can be any consideration of loyalty and support for a government in its war efforts. This can be done by strengthening individual organisations and linking up into a united struggle of Non-Europeans.
Editorial Note:
The whole conduct of the cphoney' war by the British and French governments in the early stages, their refusal to get to grips with the Hitlerite forces and their attempt to switch the war during the Soviet-Finland confrontation, taken together with the repressive measures of the Smuts Government at home, confirmed the Communist Party in its stand against the war.

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DOCUMENT 69:
'The Communist Party's Policy on the War Now!', a statement by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, published in August 1940.
THE NEW WAR SITUATION
The sweeping advances of the Nazi troops, the series of defeats inflicted on the allied forces in Norway, Holland, Belgium and France, the collapse of resistance in these countries after only a few weeks of fighting, have placed British Imperialism in a position of great danger, which cannot be disguised by all the ravings of the Duff-Coopers or the boastful heroics of Churchill and his Labour Party underlings.
These events have brought about a series of important changes in the international sphere. The success of the Axis powers has brought diplomatic as well as military defeat for British Imperialism. Turkey shows no signs ofany intentions to fulfil her treaty obligations to assist Great Britain upon the spread of the war into the Mediterranean. Rumania has broken with her pro-British policy and, adopting a Fascist constitution, slavishly begs favours of the Axis. In the United States the volume of opposition to entry into the war increases and forces Roosevelt to state openly that he has no intention of joining in a European or Asiatic war. In China, Japan becomes more arrogant daily, lays claims to the Netherlands East Indies, compels France to close the door to the Chinese Government through Indo-China,. and demands similar action from Britain in Burma. British diplomacy follows here too an 'appeasement' policy and attempts to buy Japan's goodwill by betraying China.
As blow after blow falls upon British Imperialism, the very foundations of the Empire are being shaken. In India the demand for National independence grows increasingly and forces Gandhi himself to state that nothing less can satisfy India. The British Government answers this demand by a furious attack on the Indian people. It arrests and imprisons Subas Chandra Bose for declaring that the memorial to the 'Black Hole of Calcutta', that standing insult to the Indian people, must be destroyed. It continues to utilise religious differences to justify its refusal

to grant India constitutional rights which it promises (under threat from Japan) to Burma- 'after the war'. But the national liberatory movement grows from strength to strength and raises now also the demand for the training and arming of sufficient Indian troops to defend India against invasion -possibly from the Axis powers!

NATIONALISTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The victories of the Axis powers and the growing weakness of British Imperialism have greatly affected also the international position of the Union, the one other section of the Empire where a strong anti-Imperialist movement exists. In the

report on 'The War and South Africa' delivered to the Communist Party Conference in March, last, it was stated that before the war:

'certain of the Nationalist leaders believed that the clash between Britain and Germany would lead to war; that Germany would win, and would then enable the Nationalists to break the connection with British Imperialism and establish an Afrikaner bourgeois domination over the rest of South Africa under the Nazi wing. The issue of the war remains uncertain so that the Nationalists are playing a cautious game and watching the course of events. Their future policy will probably depend on which way the victory seems to go'.

The belief in the ultimate victory of Nazi Germany has now become a certainty in the minds of the Nationalist leaders. Whereas in March they were 'preaching' constitutionalism, telling the Afrikaner people to wait peacefully until the next election, and postponing the struggle until an indefinite date when the issue of the war would be determined (above report), they are now organising huge peace meetings and demonstrations, inciting the people to defy the Government's orders to hand over rifles, and raising sharply the demand for an independent republic.

The defeats of British Imperialism have presented the Afrikaner bourgeoisie with the possibility of gaining power and carrying out their intention of ousting their capitalist rivals, of gaining not only political but economic power. The Nationalist leaders are genuinely opposed to the war, in so far as it is against Nazism and in support of British Imperialism; they are genuinely for a republic, but not a democratic people's republic; they are against Imperialism-of the British, The Nationalist leaders, standing for a policy of extreme repression of Non-Europeans, hostile to workers' organisations and saturated with Nazi theories, have never been and are not now a progressive force.

The conditions under which Afrikaner Nationalism might have become a progressive force were set forth in the report mentioned above. 'The Afrikaner bourgeoisie have never been able to govern without the assistance of a section of British Imperialism. The only way in which they could dispense with it would be to obtain the support of a rival Imperialism such as Nazi Germany. Failing that support, they must unite with the Non-Europeans or abandon the struggle'.

The possibility of their turning to the Non-European for support recedes further and further into the background at this stage with every new sign of Britain's weakness. The refusal to hand over rifles to the Government is being justified on

the reactionary ground that 'unarmed Europeans are in danger from Native barbarians'. Rumours are being circulated of a planned Native rising. The character of the Nationalist movement could not be more accurately described than by these efforts to whip up anti-colour feeling.
But the Afrikaners, no matter how solidly united behind the present leadership, are too evenly matched by their rival capitalists to defeat them in any kind of struggle, even if British Imperialism were defeated. Either, as in the past, the Afrikaner bourgeoisie must obtain the assistance of a section of the pro-British Imperialists or turn for help to Nazi Germany. There is every indication that the second course is the one they have chosen. Whatever their denials, the Nationalist

leaders are prepared to accept Nazi domination in order to secure their own supremacy; like France they are prepared to rule by means of, and under the dictates of, Nazi Germany.
By means of such organisations as the Handhawersbond, the Ossewabrandwag, and 'skakelkomitees', the Nationalists are preparing for a violent seizure of power which will precede the suppression of all democratic rights and intensified exploitation and oppression of the Non-European masses and of the workers. Whether or not they will actually embark on such a venture depends on the further outcome of the war and the policy followed by the pro-British Imperialists. It is not likely that they will act until the British Empire is on the point of dissolution, but they must remain under existing international conditions, a menace to the masses of South Africa.

THE POLICY OF SMUTS

The Smuts Government is following the lead of the other capitalist governments in using the war situation to place restrictions on freedom of speech, attack trade union safeguards against long hours and low wages, safeguard war profits for the capitalists, and intern Communist and militant Trade Unionists. Madeley, as leader of the Labour Party, as Minister of Labour, has agreed to appoint committees in nine industrial areas to relax wage determinations and industrial agreements that guarantee certain wage standards. Nothing is being done to prevent a steep rise in the cost of living. Under the plea of resisting 'the vicious spiral of increasing wages following rising prices', all attempts of the workers to obtain higher wages are resisted. Expenditure on Social Services like health and housing are being cut. Money voted for the purpose of purchasing land for the settlement of Africans under the Native Trust and Land Act will not be used for this purpose. But the war budget is to be raised from £14 million to £30 million. And the Gold Mines are allowed to pile up fantastic profits while the Government refuses to introduce anything like an adequate profits tax to make the capitalists, who are getting the benefit of war prices, pay for the war.
The burden of the war is being thrust on the masses. At the same time coercion and victimisation are being used to drive men into the army. In the Public Services, men not on the permanent staff, who are of military age, are being dismissed; their places are being taken by women and men over age. Officials are warned that no one 'who has an anti-Government policy' will be tolerated. Police

and military who refuse to take the oath to serve anywhere in Africa, are made to do the most unpleasant types of work, and are transferred to the least desirable parts of the Union. Private employers, similarly dismissing men and telling them to join the army, fill their places with underpaid women and old men, so that the whole wage structure of the country, for which the workers have organised and struggled, is being undermined.

At present the Government's recruiting efforts amongst the Non-Europeans have been limited to a search for coloured artisans and transport drivers. The

coloured man is not allowed to enter commissioned rank and it is uncertain whether he will be given military training. Coloured recruits, who in civil life are skilled workers earning the wages of skilled workers, are being paid 2/6 per day if single, 6/- if married, regardless of the size of the family. European privates on the other hand, are receiving 3/6 per day if single and up to 14/- if married according to the number of children, plus allowances if employed as drivers or in other skilled capacities. Subsidies are being paid to the dependants of European soldiers from non-Government funds or by employers, but no assurance has been given to the coloured that their families will be adequately provided for. But, as Mr Reagon, acting president of the APO has pointed out, 'one thing the Government has not failed to emphasise repeatedly... "Under no circumstances will coloured or Native troops be armed".' Its constant reiteration by the Information Officer has almost amounted to a stigma.

The Government does not only maintain the policy of colour discrimination in the Army. It introduced and passed further measures which were discriminatory during the last session of Parliament, such as the Electoral Laws Amendment Act (which makes the registration of the vote compulsory, except for Non-Europeans) and the Beach Segregation regulations (which drive Non-Europeans from beaches in the Cape), while the Indian Penetration Commission in Durban prepares the way'for another offensive against the Indian community.

Faced with the contradiction between its colour bar policy and its professed democratic aims in fighting the war, anxious to gain the support of the NonEuropean but without making them one concession or improving their position one scrap, the Government is launching forth on a furious propaganda campaign amongst them. Propaganda is now relayed regularly in African languages all along the Reef: a Press Information Officer appointed last year supplies the Bantu Press (owned by the Chamber of Mines and big companies, and under European control) with reliable war news; and Native Commissioners are provided with weekly war bulletins which are read out to gatherings of Africans in towns and rural areas. An officially inspired report reads that 'the need for counteracting subversive propaganda and ignorance amongst the Natives has become urgent. The loyalty of the vast majority of the natives is a great national asset, and the best way of reinforcing it is to supply natives with reliable war news and official guidance'. (Cape Argus 13/7/40). The 'reliable' news consists of reports from which all statements of Nazi victories and British defeats are

excluded. The 'official guidance' consists of warnings that the people should not listen to Africans who can read the European Press and discuss what they read. Not satisfied with one-sided and misleading propaganda, the government has been making a drive against trade unionists who have been active in organising Africans. There have been cases where such workers have been interned, while many others have been cross.examined by the police with the object of intimidation. The 'loyal press' has stated that since only Communists are active in organising Non-Europeans, the Government intends to make a drive against the Communists. Meetings of the Non-European United Front have been banned by the

police, who are active in circulating turnours that this or that Non-European leader is going to be interned.

GOVERNMENT AND THE NATIONALISTS In striking contrast to this policy of intimidation and attack upon individuals, freedom of speech and of organisation, where militant workers and NonEuropeans are concerned, is the policy pursued by the Government towards the Nationalist Party leaders. They are allowed to incite people to disobey Government instructions that rifles must be handed in, and all the Government does is to extend the date by which the orders must be carried out, They are allowed to organise huge peace demonstrations, and all the government does is to delegate Mr Hofmeyr instead of the Prime Minister to interview the demonstrators. They are allowed to set up organisations and groups which can only have one purpose, that of making a bid for power when the time is ripe -and the Government remains inactive. They are allowed to raise demands for the setting up of a republic, to utter vague yet formidable threats against their 'enemies', to carry on vicious propaganda against the Non-Europeans, but the Government remains silent.

If the Government's silence and failure to act is due to its weakness, if it feels that the Nationalist opposition is so strong that it cannot be harnessed, then the war policy of the Government stands exposed as not commanding the support of a very large minority, if a majority at all of the European electorate. In that case, on purely democratic grounds, the Government (which claims to be fighting for democracy) has no right to persist in its war policy quite apart from the rights and the wrongs of the war itself. That policy must lead to disastrous results when a great number of Europeans do not support it, and when the Non-European population, antagonised by the vicious anti-colour policy of the ruling class, is positively hostile or indifferent. A government with such little support cannot, apart from other factors such as the quantity and efficiency of military equipment or success of army organisation, hope to defend the Union against the enemy.

It is possible on the other hand that the Smuts Government is 'keeping the door open' for the future compromise with the Nationalist leaders. It is possible that in -the event of a defeat of Great Britain and a collapse of the British Empire, or alternatively of a 'settlement' between British 'and German Imperialisms, it is the Smuts Government and not the Nationalists who will declare a republic. This will be followed by a 'fresh pact' between the English and Afrikaner capitalists, and a

fierce attack upon the workers and the Non-Europeans. Already greatly weakened by the Nationalist opposition, adamant in its refusal to gain the loyalty of the NonEuropeans by making concessions to them, the Government must widen its political basis to withstand the effect of a defeat of Great Britain, or in any event, of the post war economic crisis, which will result in a tremendous fall in the price of gold, widespread inflation and unemployment. It is possible that it will seek such a wider basis by 'appeasing' the Nationalists and stealing their thunder.

THE PEOPLE AND THE CRISIS

Whatever shifts and changes may take place, there can be no doubt that the people of South Africa are being forced into a crisis by a reckless war policy of the Government and by the furious drive for power by the reactionary Nationalist leadership. All the elements for a crisis exist, in the grip that a weakened British Imperialism still applies to the Union, in the anti-imperialist sentiments of a large section of the Europeans, in the oppression of the eight million Non-Europeans, in the utter dependence of the Union's economy on one commodity, gold, in the poverty and insecurity of the masses of all races and colour. The future of the people of South Africa depends upon their ability to understand clearly the nature of this threatening crisis and on their correct line of action in the present situation.

Neither section of the ruling class, British Imperialist or Nationalist, represents interests or follows policies that can command the support of the mass of the people. Both fail hopelessly when measured by the only standard that can be applied to test the democratic and progressive qualities of a political party in South Africa. That test is the nature of policy regarding the Non-Europeans and the colour bar. The leaders of both parties have been consistent, separately and in coalition, in their attacks upon the Non-Europeans and in their determination to keep them down as an inferior and oppressed caste. Neither have shown the least sign of readiness to modify their policy since the outbreak of war. The Nationalist leaders like Pirow, Eric Louw, Strydom, Kemp and Dr Malan, have time and again expressed openly Nazified sentiments. They have hidden their anti-semitism, their hatred of the Non-Europeans under cover of 'racial theory', their dislike of 'liberalism' and 'democracy' and their adoption of other principles of Nazi theory. They have attacked Trade Unions under the cloak of 'anti-Communism'. From them the mass of the people cannot expect anything except attacks upon liberties and living standards.

Any attempt to regard the United Party as a lesser evil for the people is dangerous, because it blinds them to the real character of the interests behind the Government. These are the Gold Mines, the banks, the big commercial houses and manufacturers -the whole financial and industrial wealth of South Africa. Who can doubt that these interests will go to any reactionary lengths, betray the people to any extent necessary, if by doing so they can save their property?

The leaders of the Smuts party claim to be fighting in defence of 'democracy' and against Nazism. They include 'liberals' like Hofmeyr and 'working class leaders' like Madeley. But behind the cover of their slogans and such gentlemen as these, they, no less than the Nationalists, have attacked the Non-Europeans and the

militant workers and placed upon the mass of the people the economic burden of their war. With the example of the rulers of France and other countries before us, we cannot but believe that these fine 'democrats' may tomorrow or the day after, should such an action suit the interests of their class, turn Fascist. The policy of the Labour Party and official Trade Union leadership, of supporting the Government, disarms the working class and lays it open to the attacks of

the kind which were delivered in France as a prelude to a Fascist dictatorship supported by Nazi troops. Walter Madeley has not secured any measure in the workers' interests; he even failed to have the long promised Factories Amendment Bill passed; he has actively pushed forward schemes to suspend the operation of wage-fixing agreements; and he crowned his shameful record as a member of a capitalist government by demanding conscription. The Trade Union leadership, by giving support to the war policy, has put itself in a position where it will not defend militant workers against internment. But it is able to make suggestions, such as the national levy scheme of the Cape Federation leaders, that would have the effect of putting the burden of the war upon the workers.

PEOPLE'S WAY OUT

The labour and trade union leadership has chosen to line up with the British Imperialists under the pretext that they are fighting Nazism and 'for democracy'. In reality, these leaders have always tailed behind one or other section of the Capitalists. They have always found some or other reason to support the undemocratic, dictatorial and vicious anti-colour policy of the ruling classes. They have never shown signs of being prepared to put up an independent struggle in the interests of the mass of the people,. European and Non-European. It is only such a struggle that will save the people of South Africa from the attacks of one or other bunch of property owners and seekers after power. From the United Party, as from the Nationalist Party leaders, the people can hope for nothing that is good, democratic and progressive. These parties are controlled by the owners of the mines and banks, factories and farms, by men who demand only one thing - protection of their property and profits. They do not represent, let alone care for, the interests of the people of South Africa. The people's interests will be safeguarded against the evils of war economy only by means of an independent struggle for rights and protection. There are theimmediate economic demands arising out of the increased cost of living and attacks upon wage standards. There are immediate political demands arising from the Government's attack upon militant trade union leaders and Communists. These demands must be taken up and fought through to a successful issue in the trade unions and workers' organisations.

But such issues do not touch the core of the problems facing South Africa, and that is how to defend ourselves against Fascist attack, whether from one or other of the two main political parties in the Union, or from outside. There is only one answer, and that is to extend the democratic basis so as to mobilise the eight million Non-Europeans for a defence of rights and interests which they do not now possess. Now, more than ever before in South African history, it is necessary

to make demands for freedom for the Africans, Coloured and Indians who make up four-fifths of the Union's population. It is childishly absurd to deceive oneself with the delusion that out of a white population of two millions, which is divided by a deep cleavage from top to bottom, forces can arise that will save South Africa

from a fascist onslaught whether from within or without. White South Africa cannot hope to preserve its democratic rights unless it shares those rights with the great majority of the people.

The Non-Europeans must not deceive themselves with the belief that they will receive concessions by offering their services in any and every capacity to one or other section of the ruling class. Their own experience and those of the Indians, and other colonial peoples in the last war, showed that gratitude is not a virtue of our rulers. It is correct that the Non-Europeans should demand the right to bear arms in defence of South Africa, for a denial of that right is a shameful violation of democracy. But they must not be deceived into thinking that they will be given this right by merely asking for it. If granted, it will be given only when the NonEuropeans by independent struggle for political and economic equality have proved themselves a mighty and irresistible force.

If South Africa is to be saved from the attacks of Capitalism in its attempts to force the burden of the war and the resulting economic chaos upon the masses, a forward progressive movement will have to develop now for an extension of democratic rights to the Non-European peoples, for increased wage standards and improved social services, and for bigger taxes on the profits of the rich. Such a movement must be based on the demands of the Non-Europeans (removal of colour-bar laws, pass laws and taxation, the right to work, trade and buy land, increase of educational and health services, and the right of franchise), and be accompanied by a campaign for national demands (peace and an independent republic).

The claims of the Smuts Government that it is leading the fight for democracy against Nazism, and of the Nationalists that they are working for independence, must be exposed. South Africa cannot become free while eight million NonEuropeans are in chains. The alternative for the Capitalist class is domination by British Imperialism or domination by German Imperialism. There is a third road, which leads towards genuine independence and social progress. That is the road which only the mass of the people, workers and peasants of all races can take.

THE LESSON OF FRANCE

The crisis into which we are rapidly advancing arises from South Africa's lopsided economic development, the extreme oppression of the Non-European majority, the national divisions between the dominant European sections, and the position of the Union in the British Empire. South Africa is at one time an exploiting imperialism and a semi-colony. But the disharmony resulting from these conflicting elements has been enormously sharpened by the war. In this respect South Africa is in no way different from other countries. Everywhere the

war is producing a most profound crisis in the whole structure of capitalist society. The war is not merely a struggle between rival imperialisms, it is also the product of the modern sickness of capitalist society.
Every capitalist class, including that of South Africa, is faced not only with the

problem of defending its property against, or robbing a rival capitalist. It faces also the problem of saving capitalism itself as a social system. In country after country the capitalist class has shown readiness to forfeit national independence, to lose property to a rival, rather than to allow itself to be weakened and pushed back by the advancing stream of socialism. Austria, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland and now French Imperialism are the proof that the capitalists put class before national loyalty, patriotism and honour, behind which they shield themselves and which they so assiduously stuff down the throats of the working class.
When Laval said 'rather a white peace than a red danger' he was speaking for the Capitalist class not only of France, but of the whole world. In its reckless hatred of socialism, in its blind fear of the mass of humanity, in its stubborn refusal to allow the world to advance to a sane and decent and progressive social order, this degenerate class has shown itself prepared time and time again to call to its aid a foreign capitalism to suppress the working masses. The war is not only a struggle between Imperialisms. It has also been used by the ruling class of the weaker states to impose Fascism on the people. It has been used to continue the policy of Munich, of appeasement, but only after the sacrifice of human lives, the destruction of homes, the loss of national independence. The French capitalists have called in the Nazi army to beat down the French workers. The Communist Party, the only political body which has opposed the war as an even imperialist conflict, has been proved right again and again by these events. Without the war, democracy should still be alive in France, Holland and Belgium today. The mistake must not be made of supposing that if workers had been called upon to support the war, but to demand that it be turned into a 'real conflict' against Nazism there would have been a different outcome. Such a policy would have strengthened the hand of the appeaser and would have deprived the workers of the independent leadership which will continue the struggle under Nazi terrorism.

THE ONLY WAY OUT

The Communist Party of Great Britain has called upon the people to take 'the working class way' out of the war, to set up a people's government that will free the colonies, open peace negotiations, and enter into close and friendly relations with the Soviet Union. That is the only policy which can save the people of Britain from the fate that has overtaken France.
But if the people do not act in time, if Nazi Germany does triumph with the aid of the Fifth Columnists in the Capitalist Class, capitalism as a social system will not be strengthened. The dissolution of the French and British Empires will release immense forces in India and the colonies for social progress. Throughout the countries dominated by Fascism will develop a class struggle combined with a

national struggle. There will not be any lengthy period of stabilisation for a monopolistic Nazi Imperialism.

Dominating the future is the immense strength of the Soviet Union whose advances have already greatly strengthened her against a future aggressor. The Soviet Union is today the hope of millions, the sole alternative to barbarous Fascism. It is along the path trodden by the Russian people that the masses will go towards peace, security and plenty. That is the path which the peoples of South Africa will also tread in their common struggle for social justice, equality of rights, economic prosperity and independence.

Editorial Note:

The anti-war stance and activities of the Communists drew upon them the wrath of the Smuts Government which, while leaning over backwards to avoid confrontation with Malan 's Nationalist Party, the Ossewa Brandwag and other fascist groups, showed no hesitation in clamping down on the left. Communist leader Dr Yusuf Dadoo, who was Transvaal chairman of the Non-European United Front, was fined £25 and given a suspended prison sentence under the war emergency regulations in 1940for circulating a leaflet: 'Don't support this war: where the rich get richer and the poor get killed'. And in January 1941 he was sentenced to four months jail without the option of afinefor 'inciting' opposition to the Government's war policy. Durban Communist DA. Seedat was also jailed under the emergency regulations, while Communists like Dr Max Joffe and his brother Louis in Johannesburg and trade unionists like Max Gordon in Johannesburg and Arnold Latti in Port Elizabeth were interned without trial. Other Communists were threatened with internment if they overstepped the mark, while as late as 1943 the Party's journal Inkululeko was threatened with closure for 'inciting' its readers against the Government's oppressive race policies.

The whole character of the war was altered by the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. The defeat of the Soviet Union, said a Central Committee statement, would be the greatest triumph that capitalism could achieve over the workers and oppressed people of all nations. On the other hand the victory of the Soviet Union would guarantee the destruction of fascism, the liberation of oppressed peoples and the rapid transition to world socialism. Although the Communist Party now placed the need/or victory at the forefront of its policies and ceaselessly called for the opening of a second front in western Europe, it never abated for one moment itsfightfor the rights of the oppressed at home. Its work of agitation and organisation of the people against white domination and for improved living conditions was intensified. Its membership and influence amongst all sections of the population increased steadily.

DOCUMENT 70:

'All Support for the Soviet Union', statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa, published in The Guardian, June 26, 1941.

Soviet Russia has been attacked by the Fascist Axis without the slightest justifiable

reason. The Soviet Union is today not only defending the home of Socialism, but is fighting for the cause of freedom of all other nations and peoples. The Communist Party of South Africa calls upon the working-class and all democratic and freedom-loving people to give their unqualified and wholehearted support to the Soviet Union in its struggle against the Nazi aggressors.

COMMUNIST ATTITUDE TO THE WAR The Communist Party has up to now declared that the war between .British and German Imperialisms is a war for the re-division of the world's markets; Colonies, spheres of influence, raw materials, and fields of investment. This attitude was based on the policies and war aims of the Governments engaged in the war. The appeasement policy followed by the British ruling class before the war, their betrayal of the Abyssinian, Spanish, and Czechoslovakian peoples, their consistent support for the Fascist aggressors, their refusal ty enter into a peace front with Soviet Russia, and the oppressive policies pursued in their own Colonies and in India-all these factors could provide no other conclusion than that the British capitalists had entered the war, not to 'save democracy', not to 'defend the rights of small nations', but to preierve their Colonies, markets, and profits!

The Communists have always been the most consistent and bitter opponents of Fascism. They have always recognised the Hitler-Mussolini gangsters as being the representatives of the German and Italian capitalist robbers and war-mongers.

WHAT THE SOVIET UNION IS FIGHTING FOR The Soviet Union is not an Imperialist Power, and is not waging an Imperialist war. The Communist Party has no hesitation in calling upon the people to stand by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is the first Socialist State, the first country in which the workers have taken over the factories, the mines, and the land. It is the first country in which men and women work for themselves, not for the profit of a small class of bankers, landlords, and capitalists. In the Soviet Union the workers govern themselves. Freedom, education, culture, social justice, and security are the heritage of all citizens of the Soviet Union, without distinction of race or colour. As a Workers' State, the policy of the Soviet Union in her external relations has always been directed towards maintaining peace and actively supporting the workers ofall countries in their struggle for democratic rights and economic justice. The Soviet Union desires no Colonies, no territory belonging to other peoples, but stands for the right of self-government and national liberation for all those who are oppressed.

It is because of the character and policy ofthe Soviet Union that she has been the centre of malicious slanders and attacks from the entire capitalist world since the Revolution of 1917.

ATTACK ON USSR A MENACE TO ALL WORKERS The defeat of the Soviet Union would be the greatest triumph that capitalism could achieve over the workers and oppressed people of all nations. It would strengthen the hands of Fascist and pro-Fascist elements everywhere, and retard the final victory of Socialism.

The victory of the Soviet Union would bring about the destruction of Fascism, the liberation of the oppressed people of Europe, and other countries, and the rapid transition to world Socialism.

The destruction of the Socialist State has been the central aim in foreign policies of the monopoly capitalists in all countries. It was this aim that Hitler gave as the justification for his acts of aggression; it was this aim that induced the capitalists of other countries to 'appease' and aid the Fascist aggressors, and allow them to reach the stage where they threatened to dominate the world.

THE DANGER OF APPEASEMENT

The Communist Party, bearing in mind the past record of all capitalist Governments in their relations with the Soviet Union is of the opinion that this deepseated hatred of Socialism and the Workers' State persists in the circles of big monopoly and finance capital in all countries, including those which are now engaged in war against the Nazi-Fascist Axis.

It welcomes the statement of Mr Churchill that the British Government has decided to 'give whatever help it can to Russia and the Russian people'.

But statements of this kind, however welcome, cannot be regarded as sufficient to dispel the danger of a world line-up of capitalist forces against the USSR. The British Foreign Office Press Service has itself stated that Hitler's aim, in attacking the USSR, was not only to obtain raw materials, but also to divide public opinion in Britain and America.

Hitler is depending on his capitalist friends, the Quislings, in the British Empire and America, to use the war against the Soviet Union as an excuse for coming to a deal with Nazi Germany at the expense of the USSR and the working-class. Such a bargain can be prevented only if the peoples of the British Empire and America establish Governments that are democratic in composition and outlook, and that show their sincerity by entering into the closest diplomatic, economic, and military collaboration with the USSR.

FOR DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA

A democratic Government is a Government that maintains and extends rights to ALL its people.

Only when the people of South Africa have been assured by the Government's practical actions of the sincerity of its claim to fight for democracy can they give it their full support in the prosecution of the war.

The Communist Party declares that the utmost degree of vigilance and preparedness is needed to deal with the elements that will attempt to bring about the downfall of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party therefore calls upon all workers, friends of democracy, and oppressed peoples to redouble their efforts to organise themselves in their struggle for rights and liberties, and social justice.

The successful struggle for workers' rights is the only means of ensuring victory over Fascism in South Africa and in Europe.

Demand the arming of the African, Coloured, and Indian soldiers, and equal treatment for all soldiers, regardless of colour.

Call on the Government to release immediately all anti-Fascist internees.
Join the Communist Party and assist in the struggle against Fascism in all its forms, against race oppression, and for true democracy for'all people in South Africa.

DOCUMENT 71:

'Organising African Miners', article by Moses Kotane, general secretary of the Communist Party, published in FreedomVryheid, September 1941.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MINING INDUSTRY The Mining Industry is one of South Africa's biggest and most important industries. The value of its production was sixty-six million pounds in 1939. It employed 480,139 workers; 55,008 European, 850 Indian and 424,281 African. Of the £66,000,000, £22,500,000 was paid out in dividends to a handful of shareholders. The 480,139 workers only received a little over £35,000,000 in wages; £21,000,000 for European and £14,000,000 for Non-European workers; making an average income of £402 a year for European and £34 for Non-European workers. The Gold Mining Industry alone employs over 348,000 African workers. It is with these 348,000 workers that this article is concerned. These workers are recruited from landless, poverty stricken, heavily taxed and backward peasants in the reserves.

In 1939 these 348,000 African workers helped to produce gold valued over £54,000,000 which gave the shareholders a profit of more than £19,999,000. But they only received an average wage of £2.17.ld. per month. '685 died as a result of accidents, and 1,498 died of disease, during 1939. Every year thousands more die of miner's phthisis or tuberculosis contracted on the mines, and in most instances the dependants receive no compensation.'

THE BACKGROUND OF AFRICAN MINERS

Owing to shortage of land and lack of education the reserves population is unable

to produce sufficient food for its needs and has to buy food and other necessaries with money earned in wage employment outside the reserves. 'The average holding of an African family in the reserves works out to 5 or 6 morgen. The African peasants do not possess sufficient land for ploughing or grazing, they cannot afford to buy ploughs and manure, their farming methods are backward, and the state does not assist them to market their produce'. These are the people on whom the Gold Mining Industry relies for its main labour supply. They are recruited and then indentured for varying periods of six, nine and twelve months. They are housed in unhygienic compounds and receive the cheapest food on the market.

In the compounds a strict watch is kept over them, their visitors or any would-be organiser.

CHAMBER OF MINES' CONSOLIDATED POLICY

Instead of encouraging its African workers to settle down on mine properties and become permanent miners and efficient workers, the Chamber of Mines follows a reactionary policy of checking the process of proletarianisation among them. It prefers unstable semi-peasant labour to stable and efficient labour. This seems to

be the deliberate and consolidated policy of the Chamber of Mines pursued since the early days of gold mining in South Africa.

REASONS FOR THIS POLICY

This policy is pursued because it enables the Chamber of Mines to shirk the responsibility of having to care for the health, well-being and education of its workers and their families, or to compensate them when injured or those who contracted miner's phthisis. It is also a good policy because through it wages of those workers can be kept down under the pretext that their families, in the reserves, have independent incomes.

DEPRESSING WAGES OF ALL AFRICANS As the Gold Mining Industry is one of the pillars of the economy of South Africa, the miserable wage it pays to its African workers tends to become the national minimum wage for all African workers. And by its strong influence on the Government, it indirectly forces the wage fixing machinery to keep down the wages of Africans in other industries. As long as the Industry is allowed to pay miserable wages so long will the wages of all Africans in this country remain low.

To be able to raise the general wage levels of Africans in this country to any appreciable degree, therefore, the Gold Mining Industry would first have to be made to pay its African workers decent wages. But this can only be done when these workers are organised into a strong and militant trade union. The organisation

of African miners and the material benefit to be gained by their organisation will immensely benefit every section of the people of South Africa.

AN URGENT TASK

The task of organising African miners into a trade union is an urgent one. It is a task not only facing the organised African worker, his political organisations, but also the trade union movement, working class political parties and progressive individuals in this country. To carry out the task a lot of money will be needed. It is a difficult task indeed, but one that can be done if tackled in a business-like manner.

DIFFICULTIES

The main obstacles in the way of organising African miners are:

(a) the unsettled nature of these workers, their peasant outlook and backwardness;

(b) their suspicion towards all town-dwellers;. and

(c) the difficulty for organisers to enter the compounds.

It is pleasing to see that the Transvaal African Congress has at long last tackled this question-of organising African miners. In its circular-letter, the Congress proposes to set up an organising committee, open an office for the purpose of organising these miners and to appoint one or several full-time organisers to do the work. That would be very good.

But in addition to that contact would have to be established with the reserves. To facilitate matters people in the reserves would have to be informed ofthe existence of such an office at Johannesburg and its helpfulness to them. This means that an

organiser or organisers should be sent to the reserves to broadcast and popularise the office and what it intends doing for African miners and to tell the people that recruits should visit the office as soon as they have been employed on the mines.
FUNDAMENTAL DEMANDS OF AFRICAN MINERS The demands for which African miners' unions should strive should be the following:
(a) abolition of the present six, nine and twelve months contract and replacing of this by a system of monthly employment similar to that existing in other industries;
(b) abolition of the compound system and establishment of villages with schools, hospitals, clinics and recreation and entertainment places;
(c) a 46-hour working week;

(d) a daily minimum wage sufficient to maintain the worker and his family;
(e) abolition of the colour bar;
(f) payment of compensation on the same basis as that paid to European miners;
(g) the repeal of clauses in the Native Labour Regulations Act 1911 and other industrial laws that make the breach of contract a criminal offence; and
(h) payment by employers of transport to and from the mines.
Editorial Note:
In December 1941, when it looked as though the Nazis were carrying all before them, the Japanese launched their treacherous attack on Pearl Habour, Hawaii, destroying most of the United States fleet stationed there. This action brought the United States into the war.
DOCUMENT 72:
Extracts from 'Japan -Friend or Foe?', by Moses M. Kotane, pamphlet published in April 1942.
The brilliant military successes of the Japanese forces against the armed might of Great Britain and America - two of the world's greatest powers - have filled some Non-Europeans with a feeling of pride and false hope. They see in these military successes the dawn of the day of their liberation from the hated European domination and exploitation. In support of this they say that it is even written in the Holy Bible and the Koran that the salvation of the NonEuropean races will come from the East. They say Japan, as a Non-European nation, will be on their side; that she will do away with the colour-bar and segregation. They are proud to see a Non-European nation defeating the armies of mighty white nations. This avenges wrongs done to the Non-Europeans by Europeans and removes the stigma of inferiority and belies the imperialist propaganda that Non-Europeans are inherently incapable of attaining the standards of 'Western' civilisation.
The reason for this feeling and attitude among the Non-Europeans towards Japan is that Japan is, so far, the only non-white power since the fall of the Egyptian and Asiatic powers many centuries ago, which is powerful enough to challenge the old-established world domination of the white races.
THE CAUSES OF RACE HATRED
As subject or dependent peoples, Non-Europeans everywhere are denied citizenship rights in their own country. They are denied elementary political

rights, are strangled economically, deprived of their land, starved educationally, socially colour-barred and segregated, paid miserably low wages, heavily taxed, not allowed to bear arms in defence of their country, insulted and looked down upon.

Apart from these facts the propagandists and spokesmen of the white ruling classes are very much to blame for the present sympathy of the Non-Europeans towards Japan. These spokesmen and propagandists continually pour out disgusting stuff about white 'superiority', the coloured 'menace', even where the questions involved have nothing to do with colour. In this regard South African politicians are often the chief culprits. This is what some of them say:

'The history of South Africa, as surely all of us read and understand it, screeches on almost every page the words: "This our forefathers and we ourselves have accomplished in order to remain a White people, in order to keep South Africa a White man's country".... For the Afrikaner nation this new development of the war is gravely threatening. "South Africa, a White man's country" -this vitally important Afrikaner ideal is now endangered. A mighty yellow nation has now, over our head, taken the hand of a Western nation which has thus far prided itself that it held the purity of race and the Colour Bar as holy principles. At least on one point we have always agreed: South Africa must remain a white man's country - our descendants must not become a bastard-race.'

(Major-General Marnie Botha, MP. ;Die Suiderstem', December 20, 1941).

'The second way in which I suggest our Defence Act should be amended is to let a share

of the burden of South Africa's defence fall upon our Coloured and Native population.

'They are just as much concerned in keeping South Africa for themselves, and in keeping out a horde of yellow races, as any white man in South Africa.'-(L. Blackwell, MP,

Assembly Debates, February 12, 1942).

RACIALISM HIDES THE TRUTH

Talk about 'the purity of race and the colour bar as holy principles', 'South Africa a White man's country', 'the yellow menace', 'a horde of yellow races', hides the truth from the man in the street. Instead of him seeing British Imperialism or German Imperialism, or Japanese Imperialism, he sees black, white and yellow. The injustices of capitalism and imperialism, ofsocial systems, are made to appear to him as evil deeds of white men or black men or yellow men. As long as social happenings such as oppression and exploitation are ascribed to racial characteristics and national divisions, then in any conflict between white and black, Non-Europeans will always be inclined to support Non-Europeans and the Europeans will take the side of the other Europeans. Because what they understand is not that something is wrong with a particular social system and ought to be changed but that their problems and difficulties arise because the other side happens to belong to a different race.

So, many Non-Europeans (leaders and ordinary people) seriously believe that if the Japanese were to come here, the worst that they (the Japanese) could do to us Africans, Coloured and Indians, would be to treat us as England treats the Afrikaners and other white races in her Dominions and Colonies. Rightly or wrongly, they believe that the main reason why India has not been given Dominion status is because she is a Non-European nation.
But is this true, will Japan give us democratic rights and do away with the colour

JAPAN'S RECORD IN CHINA

Not content with this exploitation oftheir own people, the Japanese rulers have for years been trying to get control over the people of China. For more than ten years the Japanese armies have been murdering, burning, robbing and destroying in China, in their attempt to' conquer the country. The Chinese people have united to throw out the invader. From the beginning they have received every possible help from Soviet Russia. More recently they have also got help from the British and Americans.
The industrial development of Japan, which began about 1853, has been directed by her ruling classes chiefly along the line of the war industry. Besides this, the next industry far in advance of other industries in Japan, is the textile, with its manufactures of silk and rayon fabrics. As an imperialist power interested in markets for the export of her manufactured goods and for obtaining raw materials for her industry, Japan had to conquer other people's lands and territories. She conquered Formosa, Korea and Manchuria. All the three were taken away from China. Formosa was taken in 1895, Korea was taken in 1907, and Manchuria (with a population of 16,000,000 people) was taken in 1932. Thus an additional population of 43 million people was brought into the Japanese Empire.
'Manchuria and Mongolia consist of the Provinces of Shenking, Kirin, Kolung-king, Inner and Outer Mongolia, a total of 74,000 square miles with 28 million inhabitants, The country attracts not only on account ofsparsity of its population; nowhere else in the world is there such a wealth of forest, mineral resources and agricultural products. In order to be able to exploit the wealth for the enhancement of our national 'glory, we formed the Southern Manchuria Railway Company.'-
(Quoted from the 1927
Memorandum of Tanaka who was then Prime Minister of Japan.)

WHY JAPAN FIGHTS CHINA

In the words of Tanaka, Japan has conquered Manchuria and is to conquer Mongolia not for the benefit of the Manchurians and the Mongolians, but to exploit the wealth of these countries for the 'enhancement' of Japan's 'National Glory'. Anyone with some understanding can see that Japan is certainly not out to improve the conditions of her workers and peasants at home and those of the peoples of Formosa, Korea and Manchuria.
If Japan has failed to give democratic rights to the people in her Empire and to improve their lot economically and socially, what right have we in this country to expect her to grant these rights and abolish the colour bar? The people of the East who have come in contact with the Japanese imperialists know how ruthless and

cruel they are. They know that unless these invaders are destroyed they can have no hope of winning their freedom.

JAPAN'S FRIENDS AND ALLIES

Japan is the friend of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. In this country her friends are the Pirows, the Malans, Hertzogs, the Nationalists and the Ossewa Brandwag. These people are the rabid advocates of the colour bar and segregation. 'Birds of a feather flock together.' A victory for Japan would be a victory for the Ossewa Brandwag and friends of Nazi Germany, who do not try to hide their hatred of the Non-European.

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

Our salvation lies in our own hands. It is only through our organisation and activities, our active participation in the politics and political life of South Africa that we will gain our demands one by one and eventually our freedom. No Messiah from heaven will come to free us. Out of ten million people in this country we NonEuropeans number eight million. Though we do not enjoy any political or civil rights we by our numbers nevertheless indirectly influence the politics of the country. Nothing of fundamental importance can be done without our aid, without our help the two million Europeans in this country are powerless. But because in the past we never organised ourselves, never stood together and acted unitedly, the Europeans have been able to do what they like with us. If the Africans, Coloureds and Indians were organised and stood together there would never have been any industrial and social colour bars, and all in this country would be enjoying democracy. We have begun to build unity through our organisations like the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, APO, AllAfrican Convention, Natal Indian Association, Non-European United Front, National Liberation League of South Africa, and the trades unions. But we are still very weak organisationally. This weakness is a great danger to ourselves and to South Africa as a whole. We must organise and unite without delay.

If the Government really means to fight and win this war then it has to bring us fully into it. To be able to bring us fully into the war, the Government has to be reasonable with us.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE NON-EUROPEANS

Now is the time for us to be up and doing. Our country is in danger of being invaded by the enemies. It is our duty to see that no enemy is allowed to come here. In doing so we shall be fighting for our own freedom. We must demand that NonEuropeans be properly trained in the use of arms and be armed to defend our country; that we be trained for and allowed to do skilled work; that all soldiers, irrespective of colour, be treated alike as regards pay, conditions and chances of promotion; that the Pass Law and Poll Tax, segregation and trading restrictions be abolished.

Some Non-Europeans say that as the white man and his children alone enjoy

everything in South Africa, the defence of the country is their own concern and not that of the black man. They say that there is no indication that the Government would be prepared to give us democratic rights, evcn if we helped in the present conflict, we would gain or lose nothing if the Japanese or anybody else came here. Others say that by supporting our undemocratic Government in this war, we would be strengthening the chains which hold in subjection the peoples of South Africa and of the whole British Empire.

These people who talk like that forget that BAD AS SOUTH AFRICA IS, SHE IS AS MUCH OUR HOME AS SHE IS THAT OF THE EUROPEANS. THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS WHAT WE NON-EUROPEANS ALLOWED HER TO BE AND THAT IN THE FUTURE SHE WILL BE WHAT WE OURSELVES MAKE OF HER.

Editorial Note:

On May 21, 1942, the Cape Provincial Council unanimously passed a motion introduced by the National Party which accused 'Communist agitators' of inciting NonEuropeans against the white population and asked the Smuts Government to put a stop to these 'irresponsible and subversive Communist activities.

DOCUMENT 73:

Extract from statement issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party on May 25, 1942.

The Nazis and their friends in the Union will welcome this motion and the speeches of the Provincial Council members. Zeesen (the Nazi wartime radio station - Ed.) will no doubt broadcast to the world that the Cape Provincial Council has unanimously called for the suppression of 'Communism', and in so doing has tacitly approved of Hitler's proclaimed 'crusade' against 'Bolshevism'. The debate did indeed provide grist for the Nazi propaganda machine. It is now widely recognised that exploitation of prejudice against the Soviet Union and Communism has been one of Hitler's most successful devices to divide his actual and potential enemies. It is a tragedy that his admirers in the Union should be able to use this well-worn weapon with success.

Our Party is out to secure victory over the Axis. Many of our members are on active service or are serving in part-time units. Members of our Party have been foremost in urging the adoption of measures to increase the production of war goods. We have been active in urging the adoption of adequate measures for the protection of the civilian population against air attack. We support the Government in all measures that promote the war effort.

We urge that Non-Europeans should be given the right to bear arms, that they should be allowed facilities to train as skilled workers, that their standards of living, health services, housing conditions, and educational facilities should be raised to the level of the European section of the population. These are not only

essentially democratic proposals, they are also of primary importance to South Africa's future and the immediate problem of achieving victory over the enemy. How can they be regarded as 'subversive' when Government spokesmen such as General Smuts and Colonel Reitz have in principle accepted the policy of arming

the Non-Europeans, and when numerous authorities have repeatedly emphasised the need to drastically improve the social and economic position of the NonEuropean peoples?

Suggestions that Non-Europeans, if trained to use arms, would turn them against Europeans emanate from people who wish to assist the enemy. They are the ones who create ill-will and provoke conflict between the races. Such propaganda can only aid the Nazis and their backers in the Union; it has no relation whatsoever to Communist theory and practice based on co-operation and equality of treatment between all races.

DOCUMENT 74:

'Defects in Party Education', by Moses M. Kotane, article published in Freedom.Vryheid, September 1942.

For some time we have been running study classes for the education of members. While these classes have done a lot in spreading Marxist and general knowledge among our Party membership, they seem to have been a failure as far as producing Non-European leaders is concerned.

It is difficult to say what is the cause of the failure. The question confronting us is: are Non-European workers inherently incapable of becoming leaders, or is there something wrong with our method of teaching? It seems to me that the fault lies with our method of teaching.

TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP

Among the sons of the ruling classes, ruling nations and independent peoples or communities, the tendency is to assume or arrogate to themselves the management, control and direction of 'national affairs'. Among those of the ruled, suppressed and dependent however, the tendency is to take things as they find them, to resign themselves to the existing state of affairs. They have been taught to believe that they were pre-ordained for a humble and lowly station in life.

In a Party like ours, where whites and blacks come together, the general tendency of Non-European members is to take back seats and leave the leadership to the Europeans. They feel themselves inferior to the European comrades. The reason for this is to be found in the political, economic and social structure of South Africa. Our aim should be to destroy this feeling of inferiority and to establish selfconfidence in our Non-European Party members. This can be done by the right kind of education. It is true that we tell them that the

Party is the leader of the working-class and oppressed people. But they never take this as meaning themselves personally, to them it means the Party as something apart from them.

THE AIMS OF EDUCATION

Proper education is a mirror in which man sees the world around him and learns to understand it-the right kind of education enables man to see what the world has been, what it is, and how it can be changed to suit him or his way of living. Education can be and has been used to befuddle the minds of the common people. But education can also be used as an important instrument in the struggle for freedom and human progress. It is this kind of education which we need.

We must learn geography to know the universe, that there are other countries besides our own and to know the people of different nationalities inhabiting those countries.
We must learn history to know and understand the story of man's development through the ages -the various forms of his social organisation and the causes of the rise and fall of those forms of human relationships.
We should know that at some time in the course of their history, peoples of other countries also suffered political, economic and social injustices just as we NonEuropeans do in South Africa. We should also know what they did in order to free themselves -their setbacks and the secret of their eventual successes.
POLITICAL EDUCATION
We must study political economy in order to understand our present day social system -what it is, how it is run and how it can be changed. Our teachers must bring home to the students the fact that when a social system fails to provide peace and happiness to the majority of its citizens, that system is no more good and must therefore be changed.
The aim and object of our study classes and schools must be:1. To establish firmly in the minds of the students the story of social changes, the causes of those changes and how they were brought about, and the political, economic and social conditions in South Africa and the necessity for changing them.
2. To create in the minds of Non-European students confidence in their ability to become capable administrators and to lead their own people to freedom and happiness.
3. To make it abundantly clear to these students the fact that they are being taught, not merely for the sake of possessing knowledge, but primarily that the knowledge that they are acquiring should enable them to take their rightful places in the leadership of the Party and the working class movement.

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Editorial Note:
During the war hundreds of thousands of Africans were drawn into the industrial labour force to meet the demand for increased production. Trade union organisation led to increased militancy on the shop-floor as the workers fought for higher wages and better conditions, and there were frequent strikes, confrontations and sometimes bloody clashes with the racist police force.
DOCUMENT 75:
'The Strike of African Workers and Compulsory Arbitration', statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, December 31, 1942.
The Central Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa has issued for publication the following statement on the question of the recent strikes of African workers and the Government War Measure prohibiting strikes and providing for compulsory arbitration.
The Government's War Measure No. 145 of 1942, published on 19th December, has far-reaching implications on the trade union movement and our national war effort. It prohibits African strikes and provides for compulsory arbitration in labour disputes. The Minister of Labour may appoint one or more arbitrators to

settle a dispute. The arbitrators must be either officers of the Public Service or members of the Wage Board. Such an Award may be applied to other employees other than African workers.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION UNACCEPTABLE Whilst we agree that every effort should be made to bring about the speedy settlement of disputes, we nevertheless are opposed to compulsory arbitration for the following reasons:

(a) The danger of strikes can only be minimised ifmachinery for direct negotiation between employers and employees is created. The fact that the employers know that they can resort to compulsory arbitration at any stage will make them more obstinate in refusing to grant the just demands of workers for wage increases and better conditions.

(b) It carries with it a general prohibition of strikes, which we consider to be a dangerous principle, even under present conditions.

(c) Compulsory arbitration would in practice affect only the lower paid and less well-organised workers. The others have industrial councils and the machinery of the Industrial Conciliation Act and do not need to resort to arbitration. There is therefore a serious possibility that compulsory arbitration, applied to only the weakest section of the working class, will not be subjected to the supervision of the trade union movement as a whole, and that it will be difficult in

practice to enforce safeguards on the workers' side.

(d) It would tend to sidetrack the question of recognising African trade unions under the Act. Such recognition would in itself do away to a large extent with the conditions that are giving rise to a demand for compulsory arbitration. The Government's action in outlawing all strikes of African workers will not solve the problem. Police action, gaols, heavy penalties cannot do away with the cause of strikes.

CAUSES OF STRIKES

The recent wave of strikes among African workers on the Rand is due to no desire on their part to sabotage the war effort. It is due to the shamelessly low wages that are paid to them.

Despite the fact that the African workers are engaged in essential war industries, such as food, cement works, iron and steel works, they are paid wages which in no way give them a chance to satisfy their bare needs-whilst the employers, the owners of the factories and machinery, make huge profits.

Various Government Commissions, including the Inter-departmental Commission on Urban Africans, have stated that no African family can exist on less than £Z16.6. per month. Yet the Wage Board, a Government body, fixed wages for African workers on the Rand at £1.4.0 per week, i.e. £4.16.0. a month.

DELAY IN APPLYING WAGE DETERMINATIONS

The trade union movement strongly protested against these Wage Board Recommendations and demanded a minimum of 2 per week, but the Government took no notice of the trade union's demands. Yet, when the rich Municipalities of the Rand, including the Johannesburg City Council, asked for the delaying of the Wage Determination, they were listened to by the Government, and only after a

strike of the Johannesburg Municipal workers, did the Wage Determination come into operation.
As far back as January 1940 the African Dairy workers were covered by the Distributive Trade Wage Determination, but 'bosses' pressure excluded the dairy workers from the operation of the Wage Determination for all these years. When, after a great deal of trouble, another Wage Board Recommendation with lower wages for dairy workers was published and after many months became a Determination -'bosses' pressure again postponed its coming into operation. After a strike of dairy workers, an arbitrator was.appointed.
We could mention many more cases of this kind.
RECOGNITION OF AFRICAN UNIONS
We consider that this war measure of the Government to prohibit strike action will be used by the employers of labour to force the workers to accept starvation wages.

It is the duty of the trade union and the labour movement as a whole to get the Government to withdraw this measure. It is not only oppressive, but is wholly against trade union principles, as it cuts out the right of collective bargaining between the workers' organisations -the trade unions and the employers; and forces upon the trade union movement acceptance of a Government nominee, a public servant or Wage Board member, to decide for the workers-not only African workers, but other employees too.
All sections of the trade union and labour movement, as well as all progressive people should demand from the Government full recognition of African Trade Unions and to assist the African and other low paid workers in their just demand for decent wages. In the interest of South Africa's well-being, particularly in these serious times, every effort should be made to avoid strikes.
REMEDY FOR STRIKES
We re-iterate the statement we made on October 2nd on the 'Remedy for Strikes', when we said:
'The Central Committee of the Communist Party believes the war situation calls for the full and uninterrupted mobilisation ofall labour resources, and that the working class as a whole is solid in its determination to take all the action necessary for the defeat of Hitlerism. Where sections of the working class resort to the strike weapon, it is because conditions are forcing them to obtain relief from the crushing burden imposed upon them
and no alternative means of gaining some improvement appears to be open to them'. The tragic events in Pretoria which resulted in the death of 17 African workers and the serious wounding of many more, show the disastrous consequences of the attitude adopted by the Government and employers oflabour towards the low paid workers. Unless steps are taken along the lines indicated in this Statement, South Africa will reap the bitter fruits of serious industrial upheavals in the future. We therefore appeal to the organised workers to press upon the Government and the employers of labour to:
1. GRANT WAGE INCREASES TO THE LOW PAID WORKERS;

2. EXTEND THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING TO AFRICAN WORKERS AND SO RECOGNISE THE AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS AND BRING THEM WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE CONCILIATION MACHINERY THAT IS APPLIED TO OTHER WORKERS; and
3. REPEAL WAR MEASURE 145 PROHIBITING STRIKES.

DOCUMENT 76:

Dissolution of the Comintern - resolution passed by the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on May 15, 1943.

The historic role of the Comintern, organised in 1919 as a result of the political collapse of the overwhelming majority of the old pre-1914 workers' parties,

consisted in preserving the teachings of Marxism from vulgarisation and distortion by opportunist elements in the working class movement. It helped to unite in a number of countries the vanguard of the advanced wokers into genuine working class parties; it helped them to mobilise the masses of the workers in defence of their economic and political interests for the struggle against Fascism and war, and for the support of the Soviet Union as the main bulwark against Fascism.

The Comintern from the first exposed the true significance of the 'AntiComintern' Pact, as a Hitlerite weapon in the preparation of the war. Long prior to the war the Comintern untiringly exposed the base, undermining activity engaged in with foreign States by the Hitlerites, who masked it with outcries about alleged 'interference' on the part of the Comintern in the internal affairs of such States.

INDIVIDUAL PROBLEMS

But long before the war it already became clearer that with the increasing complications of internal as well as international relations in various countries, any sort of international centre was bound to encounter insuperable obstacles in attempting to solve the problems facing the working class movement in each of the particular and individual countries of the world.

Differences in the historic paths of the development of the various countries of the world, differences ofcharacter and even contradictions in their social orders, in the level and tempo of their economic and political development, AND FINALLY DIFFERENCES IN THE DEGREE OF CONSCIOUSNESS AND ORGANISATION OF THEIR WORKERS, have conditioned the different problems which faced the working class in each particular country.

The entire course of events in the past quarter of a century, as well as the accumulated experience of the Comintern, has convincingly shown that the organisation for uniting the workers chosen by the First Congress of the Comintern, and which corresponded to the initial needs of the initial period of rebirth of the working class movement, has more and more been outgrown by the movement's development and the increasing complexity of its problems in separate countries. It has even become a hindrance to the further strengthening of the national working class parties.

The World War unleashed by the Hitlerites has still further sharpened the differences in the situation in various countries-drawing a deep dividing line between those countries which have become the bearers of Hitlerite tyranny and the freedom-loving peoples who are united in a mighty Anti-Hitlerite Coalition. In countries of the Hitlerite Bloc the basic task of all the workers and all honest people consists in contributing all help to defeat that bloc by sabotage of the Hitlerite war machine from within and helping to overthrow the governments guilty of the war. In the countries of the Anti-Hitlerite Coalition, it is the sacred duty of the broadest mases of the people and first and foremost of the progressive workers, to support in every way the war efforts of the governments of those

countries-aimed at the speediest destruction of the Hitlerite Bloc-and to ensure friendly collaboration between the nations on the basis of their equal rights. At the same time, it must not be overlooked that the individual countries which adhere to the Anti-Hitlerite Bloc also have their particular tasks. Thus, for instance, in countries occupied by the Hitlerites which have lost their State independence, the basic tasks of the progressive workers and broad masses of people is to promote armed struggle growing into the war for national liberation against Hitlerite Germany.

VANGUARD OF THE WORKERS

At the same time, the war of liberation of the freedom-loving people against Hitlerite tyranny which set into motion the broadest masses of people, uniting them in the ranks of a mighty anti-Hitlerite coalition irrespective of party or religion, made it still more evident that national upsurge and mobilisation for the speediest victory over the enemy can best and most fruitfully be realised by the vanguard of the working class movement in each country within the framework of its own State.

The Congress of the Comintern held in 1935, taking into account the changes which had taken place in the international situation, as well as in the working class movement, changes which demanded greater flexibility and independence in its sections in solving the problems facing them, already then emphasised the need for the Executive Committee of the Comintern in coming to a decision on the various problems of the working class movement 'to proceed from the concrete situation and specific conditions obtaining in each country, and as a rule to avoid direct intervention in the internal organisational affairs of the Communist Parties'. The Executive Committee of the Comintern was guided by these same considerations when it took note of and approved the decision of the Communist Party in the United States in November, 1940, to leave the ranks of the Comintern. Guided by the teachers and founders of Marxism-Leninism, Communists have never advocated the preservation of organisational forms which have become obsolete. They have always subordinated the forms of the working class movement and its methods to the basic political interests of the working class movement as a whole and to peculiarities given by historical conditions and problems. arising directly from these conditions. They remember the example of the great Marx, who united progressive workers into the ranks of the International

Working Men's Association. When the First International had fulfilled its historic task, having laid the basis for the development of the Workers' Parties in the countries of Europe and in America, he brought about the dissolution of the First International inasmuch as this form of organisation no longer corresponded to the needs of the situation. Proceeding from the above-stated consideration and taking into account the growth and political maturity of the Communist Parties and their leading cadres in the individual countries, also having in view the fact that during the present war

a number of sections have raised the question of the dissolution of the Comintern as a guiding centre of the international labour movement, the Presidium of the Executive Committee ofthe Comintern submits for approval by the sections ofthe Comintern the following proposal:
DISSOLVE THE COMINTERN AS A GUIDING CENTRE OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT, RELEASING SECTIONS OF THE COMINTERN FROM THE OBLIGATIONS ENSUING FROM THE CONSTITUTION AND DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESSES OF THE COMINTERN The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern calls upon all adherents of the Comintern to concentrate their forces on all-round support for the active participation in the war of liberation by the peoples and states of the AntiHitlerite Coalition, in order to hasten the destruction of the mortal enemy of the working people-German Fascism and its allies and vassals,
DOCUMENT 77:
Dissolution of the Comintern - Statement issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa, June 3, 1943.
The decision of the Governing Council of the Communist International to recommend its dissolution is in the first place inspired by a desire to bring about the maximum degree of unity between the United Nations in the struggle against Hitler and his allies.
In South Africa, as elsewhere, the friends of Hitlerism have attempted to use the existence of the Communist International as a means of dividing the ranks of the forces that are lined up against the Axis. They have not scrupled to resort to lies and misleading propaganda in their efforts to persuade the public that the Soviet Union is pursuing the aim of 'world revolution'. They have falsely accused the Communist Party of subordinating the interests of the people of South Africa to the 'dictates of Moscow'.
The dissolution of the Communist International exposes the real nature of this propaganda. It will help to defeat the ends ofthe Hitlerites and their supporters. It will strengthen the hands of those who work for the defeat of Hitlerism. The Communist Party remains, as it has always been, a product of the South African working class movement, defending the interests of the workers and oppressed nationalities in South Africa.
Our Party remains pledged to bring about one united working class movement in South Africa, co-operating with the labour organisations of other countries in a common struggle for a Socialist order of society.

DOCUMENT 78:
'Away with Passes' - report ofJohannesburg anti-pass conference published in Inkuluteko-Freedom, December 4, 1943.

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A spirit of determination to carry on the fight against passes to the bitter end, marked the great Anti-pass Conference called by the Communist Party in Johannesburg on November 2 1st. 153 enthusiastic delegates, and an audience of over 200 visitors were present throughout the day. Speaking from a platform decorated with banners-'Mayibuye i Afrika!' and a great portrait of Johannes Nkosi, the Communist leader who was killed by the police during the great antipass demonstration in Durban on Dingaans Day 1930, the chairman, Dr Y.M. Dadoo, opened the Conference.
'This Conference', he said, 'is one of the most important of recent times for the Non-European people. Today we realise that the basis of the brutal oppression of the African people is the pass laws. We have seen that during this war the war effort against Fascism has been hampered and hindered by the Government. There was only one way for a full war effort against Fascism, and that is by mobilising the entire population of the country. This can only be done properly and effectively if the oppression and exploitation of the Non-European people is removed. This is the only way of galvanising the Non-European people to rise in defence of their own country and in defence of freedom against the Axis. The Government has failed in this great task.
NEW DANGERS
As the danger of Fascism retreats from the shores of Africa, new dangers arise before the Non-European people. The time has come for the Non-European people to raise their voices, to carry on a campaign against the pass laws, the badge of slavery which humiliates them. You have come here determined to win the support of your organisations for a great anti-pass campaign as a step toward the liberation of our people. We who are here will not be alone. If we campaign properly we will win the support of the Indian and Coloured people; if we campaign properly we will win the support ofthe progressive Europeans. You are charged this morning with the responsibility of giving a lead to your people in the greatest of all fights for the fight for national liberation!'
N.A.D. DISTURBED
The first speaker, Mr E.T. Mofutsanyana, Chairman ofthe Johannesburg district of the Communist Party, said: 'As soon as we called this Conference we knew that some people would be disturbed. The industrialists, the Chamber of Mines and the Native Affairs Department, are already disturbed. They are disturbed because this conference will shake the roots of their exploitation and oppression. The notorious segregation laws that force our people to live miles away from working places were facilitated by the pass laws. The detested 'Section 17' under which the youth are being terrorised and sent to work in labour camps could not operate without the pass laws. Passes have penetrated even to our schools. Our monthly service contracts are used against the African workers whenever there is any

dispute between us and the bosses. Our trade unions cannot be recognised because we carry passes. There is not another nation under the sun which would tolerate such a state of affairs.
People talk about freedom. But if you talk about freedom and are still prepared to carry passes, then I don't care for your freedom. The time has come for us to fight the passes to the bitter end. (Applause) We have called on this Conference to make a start on the greatest campaign in the history of this country. After this Conference we must confront the leaders of our national organisations with the demand that they conduct this campaign and we will help in every way we can. We must use every channel that we have. We must petition the Government and tell them we can no longer tolerate their pass laws. (Applause) We must put before our representatives in Parliament that in the coming session they must move a Bill to abolish the pass laws. (Applause) The conference which takes place in December must tackle this issue. Practical decisions must be taken in Bloemfontein so that when delegates leave the conference they can go back to their areas determined to do something practical in the struggle for liberation. The pass laws have bound our hands too long! Away with passes!'
Many organisations took part. Mr J.B. Marks on behalf of the African Mineworkers Union, said: 'This Conference has passed sentence on the pass laws, a sentence of death. But we have given no date of execution. The pass laws are a national stigma and cannot be scrapped by one organisation but only by all the black people fighting together. Today we are trying to implement the terms of the Atlantic Charter. We want freedom from want and freedom from fear. Not until we are free from the pass laws will we be able to speak as free people. We must go to the leaders of the African National Congress and tell them what has been decided. We will tell them 'We have brought you something better than your squabbles for leadership. Carry our campaign further! To hell with the pass laws!'
Other speakers included Messrs Radebe, Mogomotsi, Keetse, Xaba, Ramohanoe, Mbeble, Makabeni, Moema, Pozwayo, Maswabi, Mnisi, Mabuse, Damane, Mosetlhi, Khan, Rammitloa, Khanou, Moeng, Motau and Msitshana and Misses Palmer and Junod.
Messages of support were given by delegates from the Progressive Asian Club, the African Youth League, the Federation of Progressive Students, and telegrams of support from the Communist Party Central Committee and the Communist Party of Pretoria.
RESOLUTIONS
After discussion the following were elected to the committee:Messrs Mofutsanyana, Bopape, Marks, Radebe, Moema, Pallay, Mafethe, Mabuse, Ramohanoe, Dadoo, Fish, Xaba, Mokoena, Monongoaha and Josie Palmer. The committee has been charged with jthe responsibility of setting up regional committees in all areas throughout South Africa as a preliminary to convening of a national anti-pass conference in Easter 1944 in co-operation with

the African National Congress. The following resolution has been sent to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Native Affairs:
This conference ofAfrican organisations on the Reef and Pretoria condemns the pass laws which are contrary to the promises of freedom contained in the Atlantic Charter, and calls for the immediate abolition of these laws which oppress and humiliate the African people.' This resolution has also been sent to members of the Native Representative Council with the request that they take this matter up strongly with the Government. A further resolution requests the Native Representatives in Parliament and the Senate to draft a Bill for the abolition of pass laws to be moved in Parliament during the coming session.
In closing the conference Dr Y.M. Dadoo, the Chairman, said, 'This has been an historic conference which will deliver a tremendous blow and will shiver the chains that hold the African people. Our task will not be easy.But like the generals of an army, we must plan our campaign to remedy the weaknesses of past struggles and avoid past mistakes. The stage is set for the great offensive, the offensive of the African people for their rights. We will not rest until we have reached our objective.'
Editorial Note:
The hard work of the Communist Party among all sections of the people, together with the magnificent achievements of the Soviet people and the Red Army in the war effort, brought about an encouraging change of atmosphere in South Africa. Between 1941 and 1943 the membership of the Communist Party grew fourfold, the circulation of The Guardian and inkululeko reached record levels and trade unions under the leadership of Communists like Ray Alexander, John Gomas, Issy Wolfson and others grew in number, size and militancy. The national movements were revitalised. Progressives led by Dr G.M. Naicker in Natal and Dr Yusuf Dadoo in the Transvaal swept away the old reactionary leadership of the Indian Congress. In 1943 Sam Kahn and Betty Radford were elected to the Cape Town City Council on a Communist platform, while in Johannesburg Hilda Watts won the Hillbrow seat for the Party. Communist candidates E. T. Mofutsanyana Alpheus Maliba andj. Lekhota won hundreds of thousands of votes in the elections for the Native Representative Council. Nine Communist candidates had stood in the 1943 general election. Because the franchise was restricted to whites only, none of them had been successful, but they had spread the Communist message in all parts of the country.
Meeting in Johannesburgfrom January 14 to 16, the Communist Party's national conference struck an optimistic note. A new programme and constitution were adopted, and remained in force until the dissolution of the Party in 1950.
DOCUMENT 79:
Extract from 'The Struggle for Freedom, Equality and Security', report of the Central Committee to the Communist Party conference in Johannesburg, published in Freedom, January 1944.

The Communist Party has a great part to play in the struggle of man for liberation from poverty, insecurity and oppression. We are moving in the direction of

history; we express the deep-seated needs of the people; and must therefore eventually obtain the support of the people.
Confidence in ourselves is fully justified by the record of our growth. We have succeeded in what to many seems an impossibility; we have brought together in our organisation men and women of all racial groups in South Africa, working together in comradeship for common ends on a basis of complete equality. We have done this in the teeth of bitter opposition and in the face of the dominant prejudices of society.
The last year saw the Party making further big advances. In the Parliamentary elections we took our policy into the homes of many thousands of European and Coloured voters. In the Native Representative Council elections of 1942, and again recently in the election to the Cape Provincial Council, our aims were explained to large numbers of Africans in rural and urban areas. We can claim that in these elections more was done to popularise Communist policy than in any previous five- or even ten-year period. It is in this fact, and in our ability to fight elections on such a scale, that their significance must be seen in judging the influence of the Party.
In reply to the sneers of our opponents at the results, we can point to the disenfranchisement of the great majority of the workers to whom our appeal is directed, to the nature of the atmosphere that prevailed at the time of the election, or to this and that factor. But, above all, we say that our participation in the elections of 1942 and 1943 is only a beginning of a new period in the history of the South African people. Our experience has shown that our Party can gain the goodwill and support of large sections. Our members who have been elected to the City Councils of Cape Town and East London are the first of the future body of Communists on parliamentary and other representative organs.
Our first task is to continue building the Party, to strengthen it so that we can play a decisive part in shaping the future of South Africa. We must draw in thousands of the members of each racial and national group, provide them with Socialist education, and organise them for work among their own people. We must establish closer contact with Afrikaners, who are once again being plunged into disillusionment and dismay by the course that the war is taking, and by the failure of their leaders to find a solution for the national problems of the Afrikaner. We must build the Party among the skilled workers, who are faced with the threat of a capitalist offensive. We must recruit Africans, Coloured and Indians, who are ready to enter upon a new phase of struggle for liberation from the oppression of the colour bar system. A strong Communist Party, working in close alliance with the rest of the Labour movement and the national organisations of the Non-Europeans, will create the social forces that are needed to enable South Africa to play her full part in the war, and to create the conditions for a free and full life for all her people.

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DOCUMENT 80:
Resolution headed 'The National Movements' adopted at the conference of the Communist Party held in Johannesburg in January 1944.

This Conference notes with serious concern the growth and intensification of measures against the Non-European people during the past year. In particular, Conference condemns the mass arrests of Africans in the Transvaal, the appointment of the Coloured Advisory Council and the passing of the Indian 'Pegging' Act as measures which are aimed at further strengthening the oppressive laws against the Non-European people.
Conference is of the opinion that the strengthening and uniting of the national organisations of the African, Coloured and Indian peoples is an indispensable step towards removing these restrictions and winning their further rights. Conference therefore:
(a) Welcomes all steps towards strengthening and uniting the various progressive national organisations of the African, Coloured and Indian people, and condemns the formation of new organisations which further divide and weaken the Non-European people.
(b) Calls upon Party members to take an active part in building these organisations, particularly by the establishment of strong local branches in every centre, and by securing the affiliation of trade unions.
(c) Conference instructs the CC to investigate the possibility of organising farm workers and African peasants in the reserves and to take the necessary steps to set up suitable kinds of organisation among them.
(d) Conference welcomes the establishment of the Anti-Pass Campaign Committee and the decision of the African National Congress to collaborate with the Committee, and pledges the Party's full support in this movement to abolish these oppressive laws.
(e) Actively supports a Charter of Rights for the Non-Europeans, framed in accordance with the above resolutions, around which the various sections can be organised and strengthened.
() Calls upon the national organisations of the Africans, Indians and Coloured people to collaborate on the basis of their common demands and for the removal of all restrictions that hamper their peoples' progress.
DOCUMENT 81:
Extracts from the constitution and rules of the Communist Party of South Africa adopted at the national conference in Johannesburg in January 1944.
1. NAME.
The name of the organisation shall be the Communist Party of South Africa.

2. AIMS.
The Communist Party is a political party of the working class. Its aims are:
(a) To establish working class rule and a Socialist republic based on the common ownership of the means of production.
(b) To prepare the way for Socialism and to defend and promote the interests of the workers and oppressed nationalities by organising, educating and leading them in political and industrial struggle.
(c) To strive for equal rights for all sections of the people of South Africa, to break down race barriers and to promote unity of the workers of South

Africa and throughoutthe world.
(d) To work for the extension to all adults, regardless of race, colour or sex, of the right to vote and be elected to parliamentary, provincial, municipal and other representative institutions.
3. MEMBERSHIP.
(a) Membership is open to all persons over the age of 18 who accept the programme and policy of the Party and undertake to carry out the decisions, pay dues regularly and work in a Party organisation. Members of other political parties may not be members of the Party without approval of the Central Committee.
(b) Application for membership shall be made on a prescribed form and may be accepted or rejected by a District Committee. Where an applicant resides in an area in which a branch of the Party is established, the applicant shall be accepted or rejected by the Branch Committee subject to confirmation of the District Committee.
4. RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERS.
(a) A member shall have the right and duty to take part in the discussion and formulation of Party policy and the election of Party committees.
(b) A member who disagrees with any Party decision, and a Party unit that disagrees with the decisions of a higher body, shall carry out such decisions unless and until they may have been reversed.
(c) A member must inform his branch or District Secretary before leaving his district and shall report to the Secretry of the district to which he removes.
(d) Every member has a right and duty to take an active part in the work of his or her unit of the Party, to strive constantly to improve his or her understanding of Communist theory, to be fully acquainted with Party policy, with decisions and documents issued by the Party, to read the Party press, and to explain Party policy among fellow workers and people generally.
(e) New membership cards shall be issued each year to all fully paid up members.

5. PARTY ORGANISATION.
(a) Party organisation is based on the application of the elective principle to all leading organs of the Party from the lowest to the highest.
(b) The highest leading body is in every instance the membership assembled in:
1 National Conference, which elects the Central Committee.
2 District Conference, which elects the District Committee.
3 Branch meeting, which elects the Branch Committee.
(c) Decisions of the majority are binding on all members and those of higher leading bodies on lower Party bodies; e.g., National Party Conference and Central Committee decisions are binding on all members and Party organisations.
(d) District Conference and District Committee decisions are binding on all members and Party organisations within the district.
(e) Branch decisions and Branch Committee decisions are binding on all members of the branch.

6. NATIONAL CONFERENCE.
(a) The highest authority of the Party shall be the National Conference, which shall be called annually by the Central Committee either in the month of December or January.
(b) The National Conference shall consist of delegates from districts and areas under Provisional District Committees, as described in sections 9 and 10, on the basis of one delegate for every thirty members or part thereof who are not more than three months in arrear with Party dues. No district whose dues to the Central Committee are more than three months in arrear at the date of the conference may send delegates to the conference, except with the permission of the Central Committee.
(c) Members of the Central Committee shall be entitled to attend the National Conference ex officio with the right to speak and vote.
(d) Delegates to National Conference shall be elected by District Conferences. Nominations for the delegates may, with the consent of the nominees, be made by branches, groups or delegates to the District Conference.
(e) Delegates to National Conference may not be held bound by a mandate on any question, but are free to vote as responsible members of conference.
(1) The National Conference shall discuss the reports of the Central Committee, examine and decide the policy of the Party, determine the site of the head office and, where necessary, revise the programme and constitution of the Party. At least two months prior to the conference, the Central Committee shall circulate reports and draft resolutions to districts. Motions and proposed amendments to the constitution may be submitted to the National Conference only by the Central Committee, District Committees and
Provisional Districts.
(g) The National Conference shall elect by ballot the National Chairman and

the General Secretary, together with the fifteen other members, who shall constitute the Central Committee and shall hold office until the next annual conference. They shall be eligible for re-election. Conference shall elect to the Central Committee at least eight (8) members residing within fifty (50) miles of the head office.
(h) A special National Conference may be called between annual conferences if the Central Committee so decides, or if after a request from one district all districts are circulated by the Central Committee with reasons for the request and the majority of districts supports such request.
DOCUMENT 82:
Programme of the Communist Party of South Africa adopted at the national conference in Johannesburg in January 1944.
The Communist Party is a political party of the working class based on the principle of scientific Socialism. Guided by the theory and experience of the international labour movement, the Communist Party of South Africa aims at the establishment of a Socialist Republic based on the common ownership of the

means of production and the rule of the working class and providing equal rights and opportunities for all racial and national groups.
In order to achieve this aim the Communist Party seeks to organise and unite all sections of the working class, intelligentsia, poor farmers and progressive elements of the middle class in the common struggle against capitalism.
South Africa has many problems. Millions of our people are poor and uneducated. They lack the means to lead a healthy, normal family life. They are forced to live on low wages because the mines, factories and farms are owned by a small minority which controls the State in their own interests. A large part of our wealth is under the control of foreign imperialist interests which annually take millions out of the sweat and toil of the people of this country. This backward economy is maintained by a political structure which keeps millions of people in subjection, denying them the most elementary political and social rights.
We must fight to remove all these disabilities which hamper the full development of our people. We must undertake the daily struggle for higher wages, freedom from imperialist control and democratic rights for all. In the course ofthis struggle the unity of all workers will be forged. The advance towards Socialism demands class-conscious and militant leadership. The Communist Party, which has no other interests but that of the working class, puts forward the following programme:
A. POLITICAL RIGHTS
1. The establishment of an independent, democratic Republic in which all adults, regardless of race, colour or sex, shall have the right to vote for and be

elected to Parliamentary, Provincial, Municipal and other representative bodies. 2. The guarantee to all citizens of freedom of religion, speech, Press, assembly and organisation. The repeal of such repressive laws as the Riotous Assemblies Act, the anti-strike laws and the Native Administration Act.
3. Freedom of movement for all citizens, including the right to live where they please.
4, The opening of the army and police force to all sections of the people on equal terms.
B. EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE RIGHTS
1. The recognition of the right of all national groups to the use of their language in all spheres of public life.
2, Free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 16 years, and provision for adult education.
3. Equality of pay and privileges for all teachers of all races and both sexes.
4. The provision of grants and bursaries by the State to enable the children of workers to receive technical and university training.
C. ECONOMIC RIGHTS
1. Public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.
2. The provision for the industrial development of the African reserves.
3. Taxation of land values and expropriation by the State of land which is held for speculative purposes.

4. The right of any person, irrespective of race or colour, to engage in any trade, profession or occupation. The Party fights for the repeal of the colour bar in industry.
5. Taxation of the rich and abolition of taxes which impose unfair burdens on the workers, such as personal tax, poll tax and hut tax.

D. WORKERS' RIGHTS

1. The right of all workers, irrespective of race, colour or sex, to organise into trade unions, as well as the right of collective bargaining.
2. The extension of such laws as the Factories Act and Workmen's Compensation to all sections of the workers, including agricultural workers.
3. The introduction of an 8-hour day and a 40-hour week in all occupations except in dangerous occupations, where the working day shall be limited to 6 hours.
4. The prohibition of payment in kind and the abolition of the tot system.
5. The prohibition of recruiting of labour in any sphere of employment and the compound system.
6. The payment of a minimum wage of 10s. a day for unskilled labour.
7. The revision of industrial laws so as to ensure to workers the right to strike

and the establishment of labour inspection under the control of the trade unions.
8. The repeal of the Masters and Servants Act.
9. The removal of all colour barriers in industrial legislation.

E. AGRICULTURAL

1. Redivision of the land so as to ensure equitable distribution among poor farmers and landless agricultural labourers.
2. The fullest utilisation of the land so as to increase the food supply of the people. The prevention of the system of allowing large tracts of land to lie idle for speculative purposes.
3. A plan -financed by the State -to combat- soil erosion.
4. The right of all sections of the population to purchase land.
5. Relief of small farmers from the burden of debt.
6. The introduction of collective farming into the reserves and the extension of transport, marketing facilities and irrigation schemes.
7. The ending of monopolies which control the marketing of food. The ending of export subsidies and the distribution of cheap food to the people.

F. SOCIAL SERVICES

1. The guarantee by the State to all citizens of the right to work and a full and comprehensive system of State social insurance to apply to all workers against sickness, injury, old age, childbirth and unemployment.
2. A State medical service for all.
3. Housing for all. Expropriation where vested interests stand in the way of slum clearance.

In putting forward the above programme the Communist Party emphasises the need for the workers of South Africa to realise their unity of interests with the workers of all races and countries in the struggle towards freedom and democracy,

DOCUMENT 83:
V-Day Message published in The Guardian's undated V-Day Special Issue after the Nazi surrender in Europe, May 1945.
The Central Committee ofthe Communist Party of South Africa rejoices together with millions of freedom loving peoples of the world on this historic day of victory over the forces of reaction. The Communist Party salutes the victorious armies and workers of the United Nations whose sacrifices, arms and valour on the battle field, and determination and selfless effort in factories and fields are responsible for the destruction of the main enemy of progress -Nazism and Fascism.
While we celebrate the defeat of the Nazi-Fascist military power and the

eradication of the 'festering sore ofthat infectious and poisonous Nazi ideology, let us not forget that the battle for the home front has still to be won; that we still have Fascists in our midst, and that in South Africa racial oppression is still the order of the day; that the noble ideals for which many gallant sons of South Africa made the supreme sacrifice - Freedom, Peace, Progress and Security - have not yet been realised.
Our heroes will have sacrificed in vain if the lofty and righteous aims for which the war has been fought are not fulfilled. They have done their duty, and it is now for us to complete the job that they began. It is our duty to see that on demobilisation every soldier has a decent job to return to, and that every worker is guaranteed a job at adequate rates of pay; that Soutlt Africa adopts political, economic and social measures essential to her own development, and measures which are in harmony with the world progress for which our men have shed their blood.
Editorial Note:
Meeting shortly after the end of the war in Europe, the Communist Party Central Committee drew attention to article 1 of the United Nations Charter adopted at San Francisco which called for international co-operation 'in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights andforfundamental freedomsfor all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. General Smuts hinself had been one of the signatories of the Charter, and indeed was reputed to have been its main drafter, but, said the Central Committee: 'These rights and freedoms are denied to the great majority of South Africans'. Warning that 'there can be no solution of our economic and racial problems while the majority are refused the opportunity to make full use of their abilities in building a prosperous and united South African nation', the Central Committee said:
'South Africa cannot stand still. Either we follow the road to progress, or we sink to increasing poverty and racial bitterness. These are the conditions which Malan, Pirow and Van Rensburg, the worst enemies of the working class, will seize upon to force on us the kind of fascist dictatorship which has been defeated overseas. The ultimate result of failure to raise the living standards of the poorest section and to extend democracy will be
wage cuts and loss of democracy for all.'

Prophetic words. In the years following the end of the war, the South African white electorate moved steadily to the right. Under pressure from the Nationalist Party as well as its own right wing, the Smuts Government resorted to the tactic of antiCommunism. Dominating the political stage were issues like the attempt to incorporate the mandated territory of South West Africa, General Smuts' 'Ghetto Act' to peg Indian land ownership, the 1946 strike of the African m ineworkers for a wage of 10s. a day. The Communist Party entered the post-war era at a peak in its development and influence. More members had entered its ranks and its newspapers enjoyed a greater readership than ever before. In the Cape Town City Council, where the black vote was an important factor, Communist Party representation had doubled to four. Communist Party members were active in all the extra-parliamentary campaigns, at

the heart of the struggle of the peoplefor a better life and an end to white domination. It was no coincidence that in the very year that the white electorate returned to power the party of apartheid under the leadership of Dr Malan, the African voters of the Western Cape gave Parliament its first Communist MP, Sam Kahn, followed a year later by the victory of Fred Carneson in the Cape Provincial Council election. The response of the Nationalist Government was the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950.

DOCUMENT 84:

Cable from the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party to United Nations Organisation on the future of South West Africa, January 1946.

On behalf of the great majority of South Africans, the Communist Party protests against the proposal to incorporate South West Africa in the Union of South Africa on the grounds ofthe Union Government's failure to fulfil obligations oftrusteeship towards the non-white peoples and its undemocratic and oppressive treatment of its own African population. Strongly urge South West Africa be placed under the Trusteeship Council as first step towards democratic independence.

DOCUMENT 85:

'May Day 1946', statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party published in The Guardian, April 25, 1946.

After six years of war, workers throughout the world will comc together on this first of May to celebrate our first peace-time May Day.

Nazism and Fascism, the cruel and relentless enemies of the working class and of progress and democracy, have been defeated. The Socialist Movement in spite of the many setbacks it suffered in Europe, has emerged stronger than ever. The Soviet Union, the Socialist bastion of workers throughout the world, has shown its strength in war as well as in peace. It has for all time vindicated the ideals and aspirations for which socialists have always stood. In every country, as a result of the defeat of Nazism, the movements for democracy and social progress are pressing forward to see that aims for which the war was fought shall be achieved. But there are still powerful forces in capitalism which are desperately trying to preserve the old order of exploitation, colonies and imperialism. These forces of

reaction are prepared to plunge the world once more into a terrible war rather than surrender their position of privilege and domination.
In South Africa, also, the forces of reactionary capitalism and their allied fascist groups are trying to prevent the fulfilment of the democratic aims for which the war was fought. Poverty, bread queues, slums, illiteracy, unbridled exploitation of the working masses, intensified colour bars -these are the dominant features of South Africa's political and economic life today.

Now, more than ever before, must the people of South Africa face up to the great tasks which lie ahead - the achievement of full democratic rights for all our people, and the elimination of poverty and want.
A great responsibility rests on the working class movement of South Africa in leading the struggle for these fundamental human rights. Let May Day, 1946, be a day of re-dedication to the greatest of all causes -the great Socialist movement which unites the workers and peoples of all lands. The Communist Party of South Africa calls upon all workers and democrats to unite in the common struggle for liberty, equality and peace.
DOCUMENT 86:
'Bill Andrews Writes to Jan Smuts', The Guardian, July 11, 1946.
Sir,
I am instructed by the Central Committee ofmy Party to write to you as head of the Government about the situation which has arisen as a result of the passing of the Indian Bill by Parliament this year.
When the Bill was being introduced, it was universally condemned by responsible Indians and progressive Europeans and Non-Europeans as a measure which is designed to perpetuate the system ofdiscrimination and position of inferiority of an important section of our population. The Bill was rightly described as the Indian Ghetto Bill, and it has earned the hatred of all decent-minded people in the country. You, sir, and your Government were warned that to proceed with this iniquitous measure would further lower the prestige of our country in international councils and would result in unrest and determined opposition by the Indian people. Yet you, as sponsor of the Bill in Parliament, were determined to put this odious law on the Statute Book.
Today the Indian people are taking the only course open to them to show their opposition to the Ghetto Bill. They have embarked on a campaign of passive resistance. The honour of our country and of its people is being defiled by the savage sentences which the magistrates of Durban are imposing on honourable and selfrespecting South Africans for doing nothing more than what you and many other South Africans did half a century ago-defence of your inalienable rights of nationhood.
The whole attitude of your Government and of the courts towards the Passive Resistance Movement is devoid of any moral basis, and is based on a determination to maintain and preserve the undemocratic structure of this country. There is only one way in which the shameful blot which was perpetrated during the past session of Parliament can be removed - the release of the passive

resisters, the repeal of the Indian Ghetto Act and the extension to the Indians of full rights of citizenship. Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) W.H. Andrews,

P.O. Box 2098 National Chairman,

Cape Town. Communist Party of South Africa

Editorial Note:

When 100,000 African mineworkers went on strike in August, 1946, in support of a demand for a wage of lOs. a day, the Smuts Government responded with repression on lines indistinguishable from those later associated with the Nationalist Government. The workers were beaten back to work at the point of police bayonets and many were killed in clashes all over the Reef. The offices of the African Mineworkers' Union and the Communist Party and the homes of members and supporters were raided by the police and cases of documents removed. In Johannesburg the leaders of the African Mineworkers' Union and members of the Johannesburg District Committee of the Party were among 52 accused in a mass conspiracy trial under the Riotous Assemblies Act. The main charges were later dropped and the accused were fined after pleading guilty to assisting the strike after it had broken out, in line with a resolution of the Central Committee declaring 'full support for the action of the African mineworkers in striking for a minimum wage of ten shillings a day and decent working conditions'and calling on all sections of the labour movement for solidarity with the miners.

Giving evidence in court, Communist leader Bram Fischer, a member of the Johannesburg District Committee, explained that it was the policy of the Communist Party to help workers obtain better conditions. One way of doing this was through the trade union movement, but it was not Communist Party policy to 'manipulate' or 'control' trade unions, which should stand on their own feet.

'This is our approach to all working class movements. It is entirely against our principles to take over the function of any trade union, including the African Mineworkers' Union.

It is wrong to impose a decision on a trade union. We lend a trade union our support and assistance when we are satisfied as to the correctness of its policy- as we usually are',

Comrade Fischer said the Communist Party not only claimed to represent the workers, it actually did so, and when the workers were in trouble there was nothing a Communist could do but help them.

The Smuts Government was not content to let the matter rest there, and after further country-wide police raids the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party were arrested on a charge of sedition -a curtain-raiser to the notorious treason trial launched 10 years later by the Nationalist Government against the organisers of the Congress of the People which adopted the Freedom Charter. The Crown tried several times to frame a charge of sedition which was acceptable to the courts, but each time the indictment was rejected by the judges.

The charge was finally dropped after the Nationalist Government came to power in 1948.

DOCUMENT 87:

Statement on sedition case issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, The Guardian, November 28, 1946.

A charge of sedition is being brought against the eight members of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa. Whilst comment

on the merits of the case is not possible, the Communist Party nevertheless feel it necessary to draw attention to one aspect of the attitude adopted by the State Authorities to the Party.

In taking this action the Authorities are seeking to put the Communist Party and its policy on trial. This action is in marked contrast with the official attitude displayed towards various organisations which were notoriously engaged in disrupting and weakening the war effort at a time when the safety ofall South Africa was at stake.

These people made speeches welcoming Nazi victories, or calling upon people to disobey the order to hand in fire-arms; railway and telegraph lines were cut and blown up; public buildings were dynamited; weapons were stolen and concealed. Yet the Government took no action against the organisations responsible. Their offices were not raided, their documents were not seized, and no charge of sedition was brought against the leading members of organisations responsible for these outrages.

Nevertheless, the Government has instituted proceedings against the Communist Party. In the interests of the Party and of the public generally the Central Committee feels that the aims of the Party should be restated. Throughout the twenty-six years of its existence, the Party has consistently worked for a more democratic and progressive South Africa. It has attempted to bring about an extension of civil liberties to all sections ofthe people, to secure the removal of undemocratic and discriminatory legislation, and to eliminate the factors responsible for poverty and cultural backwardness. For these purposes the Communist Party has relied upon the constitutional methods common to all democratic parties. Its outstanding feature has been the measure of co-operation it has achieved between persons of different racial groups for a free South African society.

In contrast to the organisations that worked for a Nazi victory, and that resorted to violence and terrorism to achieve their ends, the Communist Party has opposed Fascism, oppression, and race hatred.

The Party's aims are those that have the approval of world opinion. They are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations Organisation. They are accepted and applied by some of the most important countries represented on the UNO. The criticism directed against South Africa's official policy in the UNO is a vindication of Communist aims. The Party marches in step with progressive world opinion towards a more generous, united and happier South Africa. This policy of the Communist Party has encountered the opposition of vested interests which as

in Fascist countries are launching an attack on the Communist Party as a prelude to attacks on trade unions, labour parties, liberals, churches and other organisations standing outside the Fascist movement. In this hour of trial the Communist Party calls upon all who oppose racialism and dictatorial minority rule, all who wish to restore South Africa's reputation in international relations to rally around the Communist Party. The defence of the Communist Party is the defence of democratic liberties of all.

The Communist Party appeals to all members, friends and supporters, and those who love liberty to assist to the utmost in the defence of the members of the Executive who have been put on trial.
Funds are urgently needed and all contributions will be welcome.

DOCUMENT 88:

Resolution on 'The Struggle for Democracy' adopted at the national conference of the Communist Party held in Johannes. burg on January 2, 3 and 4, 1948.

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

(a) Parliamentary Elections: Recognising that as long as the vote is denied to the African, Coloured and Indian peoples, Parliament will not be representative of the great majority of people, but must perpetuate the present backward and oppressive form of society, Conference regards the primary task of the working class organisation in the forthcoming General Election as that ofadvancing the struggle for the universal franchise and a socialist democracy, and of rallying the people against imperialism. In pursuance of these aims, Conference resolves:
(i) To enter as many Communist candidates as possible in the elections;
(ii) To support a campaign, conducted if possible by a national convention for the extension of equal citizenship rights to all South Africans; and
(iii) To work for the defeat of the extreme reactionary and pro-fascist forces represented in the Nationalist Party.
(b) NRC Elections: During the past ten years of its operation, the Representation of Natives Act of 1936 has been recognised by the African people as a vicious measure of racial discrimination, designed to defeat their demand for direct representation in Parliament, and to cloak the undemocratic structure of South Africa. Conference recognises that the stand taken by the NR Councillors in the boycott campaign has forced the Government to make concessions but denounces these concessions as useless and a further attempt to deceive the African people as to the real character of the segregation system. The NRC cannot achieve any useful purpose, and the African peoples' efforts must be directed towards its abolition. In the forthcoming election to the Council, Conference resolves to work for the election of a bloc of candidates pledged to repeal of the Act, the introduction of a universal franchise, and recognition of the right of all South Africans to sit in Parliament.
(c) Advisory Board Elections: In the sphere of local government, the location Advisory Boards have proved even more ineffective and powerless than the NRC in national affairs. The large and growing Urban African population are denied

any effective say in municipal government, and consequently suffer from neglect of their housing, health and other social needs, as well as from a great mass of

oppressive restrictions at the hands of the local authorities. Conference calls upon all Districts to intensify the campaign for the extension ofthe municipal franchise to all Urban residents, irrespective of race or colour. It condemns the failure of the Cape Provincial Council to restore the municipal franchise to those residents who have been unjustly deprived of it as a result of a judicial interpretation of the relevant statutes. It resolves to support candidates in election to the location Advisory Boards who are pledged to work for the abolition of this fraudulent system of deception and for the abolition of race discrimination in the municipal franchise laws.

DOCUMENT 89:

'The Lesson of the Election Result', statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party published in The Guardian, June 3, 1948.

The victory of the Nationalist Party in the general election is a most serious blow to the democratic and progressive movement in South Africa. It gives power to a group of men who have consistently threatened to abolish the basis of democracy in South Africa. Their policy is to abolish the Coloured vote, to deport the Indian population, to prevent the growth of Non-European trade unions, to control the activities even of European trade unions, to prevent the immigration of Jews or the extension of civic rights to 'non-National' elements, to liquidate the influence of 'Communist elements' and to prevent through a system of apartheid, the development of the Non-European liberatory movement. Power has been given to the most reactionary section of the European population. Such a situation is full of danger to the people in South Africa.

The defeat of the United Party is the result of widespread dissatisfaction with a government, which failed to oppose the programme and policy of the reactionary Nationalist Party and its allies with a bold, positive and progressive programme.

PAVED THE WAY

It was the defeat of a government which had failed during its tenure of office to deal adequately with the fundamental economic, social and political issues facing the mass of people of our country. It was a defeat of this policy of appeasement of the most reactionary elements in the political life of South Africa. This was shown in the government's attacks on the rights of the Indian, African and Coloured people and their trade union organisations. There can be no doubt that the United Party itself paved the way for the victory of their Nationalist opponents.

The Communist Party has always stressed that only the extension of the franchise to all sections of the people can guarantee the future of democratic government in South Africa; and that, on the other hand, so long as the franchise is restricted largely to the European population it will be impossible to prevent the

growth of reactionary forces in our political life, based on the exploitation of the voteless Non-European majority. The defeat of the United Party and the victory of

the Nationalists flows directly from the fact that the majority of South Africans were prevented from taking any part in the struggle against reaction which was waged at the polls last Wednesday.

THE TASK AHEAD

All democratic elements must henceforth devote themselves to the task ofdeveloping a broad democratic front to resist any attempt to attack the present rights of any section of the people, and which will fight for the extension of Democracy. The opposition to the present Government is large enough, if united to safeguard the rights of the people.

The Communist Party pledges itself to defend against attack from any quarter the political rights of all sections of the people. It calls upon the trade unions, the progressive movement and the Non-European liberatory movement, and all who value democracy to close their ranks and remain vigilant in defence of their rights and to pursue the struggle for the extension of full political and citizenship rights to every man and woman in South Africa which is the only final guarantee that freedom will survive and flourish in our country.

DOCUMENT 90:

'Bar the Road to Fascism! A Call to the People of South Africa', issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, June 23, 1948.

Stop the Nationalist Government's attacks upon the people's rights and liberties! This must now be the first and most important aim of all South Africans who want freedom and security and good relations between all races.

The Government can be checked. It does not represent even a majority of the voters. It has aroused the fear and hostility of the great bulk of the population. If organised and united, the opponents of the Government will prove to be an irresistible force.

SUSPICIONS CONFIRMED

Already, after only three weeks of being in power, the Nationalist Party has confirmed the suspicions aroused by its war record of support for Nazi Germany, its adoption of fascist theories, its persistent attacks upon democracy and upon the Non-European peoples.

During these three weeks, the Government has threatened the trade union movement, released the fascists convicted of treason, and removed the ban on the Ossewa Brandwag and the Broederbond. It has announced its intention of stopping the training of African artisans, and of abolishing the representation of Indians in Parliament.

All its actions and decisions have been negative and anti-democratic, a restriction upon individual liberties and group rights. Instead of dealing with the burning issue of high prices and low wages it has increased the prices of meat and of milk. It has made no attempt to deal with the real problems of housing shortage, or the inadequacy of health, education and social services.

APPEAL TO RACE PREJUDICES

Representing only a small section of the population, and determined to prevent the growth of a free democratic society, the Nationalists hope to remain in power

by appealing to race prejudices, by setting Afrikaans speaking against English speaking South Africans, European against Non-European.
Unless prevented, the Government will pass on to further excesses, to more attacks on the people's liberties, until it throws aside the constitution itself, and emerges as a fascist dictatorship.
Imitating the example of fascism elsewhere, the Government threatens the existence of the Communist Party, because it is the chief spokesman of the people against fascism, race oppression, poverty and war. If permitted, this attack will be followed by attacks on the trade unions, the Labour Party, liberals, the NonEuropean democratic organisations, and finally, on all opponents of the Government.

THE ALTERNATIVE

There is another road which South Africa can choose, the road of expanding economy and wider democracy, of greater opportunities for all races and an extension of political rights to all citizens.
The Communist Party calls on the people to make this choice in favour of a free and progressive Society, in which people of all races can work together, without fear of oppression and in security against poverty, unemployment and want. The trade unions, the working class political parties, the national movements of the Non-European peoples, must unite now, together with all democrats and enemies of oppression, in a common struggle for the defence and extension of existing rights.

STRENGTHEN THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Let no repressive action of the Government pass unchallenged, no matter how and against whom it is aimed. Put aside prejudices and dissensions that, by weakening the democratic front, strengthen the Government and the reactionary forces behind it. Arouse in the people an unbreakable determination to claim and use the full rights of citizenship. Build up the will and the organised strength to resist and defeat oppression.
These are the tasks which face the democratic forces of South Africa:

To build and improve the trade unions and all working class organisations;
To strengthen the national liberatory movements and make them effective weapons in the fight for equal rights and opportunities; and
To create a wide democratic front which will put an end to nationalist tyranny, race oppression, and the menace of Fascism.

Moses M. Kotane
GeneralSecretary

Editorial Note.

The last conference of the Communist Party of South Africa before its dissolution took place in Johannesburg on January 6, 7 and 8, 1950. The report presented to the conference by the Central Committee was perhaps the most wide-ranging and comprehensive ever drawn up by the Party, covering the international situation, the political scene in South Africa, party organisational problems, and the relationship between nationalism and the class struggle. With a membership of

between 2 and 3,000 the Party could look back on decades of struggle and achievement, if not with satisfaction and complacency, at least with all the benefit of experience gained on the field of battle.

'We have not made the progress we should have made during the lastfewyears' said the Central Committee report. 'It is therefore necessary to take stock of the position realistically. We cannot bluff ourselves:

'Properly functioning District organisations exist in only three centres - Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. At Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, East London and East Rand, the District organisations are weak, For practical purposes they have shrunk to the status of groups calling themselves District Committees. The chief reason for this decline has
been the lack of a sufficient number of cadres in the areas mentioned above.

'It must also be remembered that the Party has been subjected to tremendous pressure
from reaction since the end of the war and particularly since the Nationalists came to power. In spite of this pressure, however, the Party organisation has remained intact and we have succeeded in making contact with wider and wider circles. Our prestige has grown. The people are turning to the Party in ever increasing numbers ... In some Districts our Party has succeeded in gaining a big influence amongst the African workers, with the result that the African membership is increasing by leaps and bounds, far
outstripping the rate of recruitment amongst other sections.'

The fruit of the Party's ever-increasing involvement in the struggles of the black majority was incorporated in that section of the report devoted to the relationship between the Party and the national movements. This reflected the advance in the Party's thinking since the time of its foundation, and also strikingly foreshadowed the developments which were to take place in the ensuing decades.

DOCUMENT 91:

'Nationalism and the Class Struggle', extract from Central Committee report to the National Conference of the Communist Party in Johannesburg on January 6, 7 and 8, 1950.

CONFLICTING NATIONALISMS

South Africa is entering a period of bitter national conflict. An intensive racial oppression, an aggressive and virulent Afrikaner nationalism, are provoking an exclusive nationalist consciousness among the Indians, Africans and Coloured, and even among the English-speaking Whites, whose former unchallenged preeminence is now being threatened. On all sides the national and racial differences are being emphasised, and the realities of the class divisions are being obscured. All but a small minority of class conscious South Africans view the clash of interests, not as one between worker and employer, but as a clash between White and Black, or between English and Afrikaner.

Under these conditions the Party should exercise great care in defining the relationship between the working class and the national liberatory organisations. While making full use of the wide experience that the international labour

movement has acquired ofmulti-national societies in other countries, we must avoid any facile adoption of phrases and objectives worked out elsewhere in circumstances very different from those existing in South Africa. We have to examine critically the objectives of the national liberatory organisations and evaluate them in the light of the actual class relations existing in South Africa. In applying Communist theory to this, as to any other question, scrupulous care must be taken to take into consideration all the specific peculiarities that distinguish the country and the period in which the problem has its setting. Not only South Africa, but also the age in which we live, has its special features. The attitude adopted by the working class movement towards national movements in Eastern Europe during the last century is not necessarily the correct one to be adopted now, when socialism has become an established fact in a large part of the world, and when the whole structure of imperialism and colonial oppression is being shaken to its foundations.

THE COLONIAL SYSTEM

The distinguishing feature of South Africa is that it combines the characteristics of both an imperialist state and a colony within a single, indivisible, geographical, political and economic entity. To the British, French, Belgian and Dutch imperialists, the colony is a territory some thousands of miles away, inhabited by an alien, non-white people of a different culture, who can be subjected to a system of exploitation and governed by autocratic methods that would not be tolerated in the home countries. In South Africa, the Non-European population, while reduced to the status of a colonial people, has no territory of its own, no independent existence, but is almost wholly integrated in the political and economic institutions of the ruling class. It is well known that imperialism plays a contradictory role in the colonies. On the one hand, it stimulates their development through the investment of capital, the immigration of technicians, and the establishment of modern types of

administration, health services, education, and economic organisation. On the other hand, it attempts to restrict this development to limits and channels compatible with the maintenance of imperialist domination. Where a white settler population of significant size is established, as in parts of Eastern and Central Africa, the restriction takes the form of the colour bar, erected to protect the European against African or Indian competition for land, labour, employment, markets, education and other social services. In other colonies, such as those in West Africa, the whites consist of officials, traders, technicians and missionaries, who are temporary residents constituting, not the actual ruling class, but the instruments of the ruling class in the imperialist states. In these colonies European capitalist enterprise, except where it takes the form of a plantation economy, concentrates on stimulating production by the indigenous population (cotton in Uganda, cocoa and palm oil in Nigeria and the Gold Coast) and on the development of a local market for imported European merchandise.

In colonies of the second type, the colour bar is less conspicuous than in the settler colonies because ofthe minute proportion ofthe Europeans to the whole

population and because of the relatively small number of Africans in European employment. The African is exploited as a peasant producer and consumer, rather than as a wageearner. He receives for his product a price less than the market value; monopolistic prices are charged for imported goods sold to him; costly European staffs are employedon work that could be done by Africans; external costs inthe colonial trade are piled up by charging exorbitant shipping freights, head office costs and overseas processing costs; and, because oftheunder-development ofeconomic resources, the African is forced to accept low prices for his products and low wages for his labour. In addition, the colonial population is compelled to pay the high salaries, pensions and travelling allowances of an expensive European administrative personnel, while the profits of the foreign companies and the incomes of their European employees are either not taxed or only lightly taxed in the colony, the major share of the tax revenue from these sources going to the metropolitan country.

These restrictions on the development of resources and of the colonial population, retard but do not prevent the growth of an indigenous upper class. In the administration, whether, as in the British and Dutch territories, use is made of the traditional chiefs and princes, or whether an educated elite is employed, as in the French colonies, the effect is to create an indigenous ruling class. So also, in commerce, agriculture and the professions, there is scope, because of the small size of the white population and its specialized functions of administrators and middlemen, for the emergence of a body of native lawyers, doctors, traders, farmers and employers. Though differing widely in standards of edudation and income, the chiefs, administrative officers, professional men, traders, money-lenders, etc., form the nucleus of a native bourgeoisie.

SOUTH AFRICA'S RACIAL PATTERN

In South Africa, and, to a smaller extent because of the insignificant size of the

white population, also in the East and Central African colonies, a different pattern of race relations has evolved. Here the ruling class is 'on the spot', it occupies all the key positions in the political and economic system, and it reserves most of the other desirable jobs to members of its own racial group. Since the capitalist economy is based on the employment of the African, Coloured and Indian people, and on the exploitation of land originally occupied by the African and Coloured, the Non-European peoples have been forcibly integrated into a common society with the Europeans. To the extent that integration has been brought about, however, measures are adopted by the ruling class to pin the Non-Europeans down in a position of inferiority; to prevent, in other words, the emergence of a NonEuropean bourgeoisie.

To describe this process in detail would involve writing the history of South Africa. In the first and longer period, marked by inter-racial wars, the invasion of tribal lands, the imposition of taxes and the establishment of recruiting systems, the major effort of the capitalists is directed to the destruction of tribal independence and the incorporation of the indigenous population in the capitalist economy. In the latter period, an elaborate structure of race discrimination is

erected to obstruct the progress of the African, Indian and Coloured people. They are prevented from investing in land, except in small, unimportant areas, from trading freely, and from acquiring the education and skill necessary for the development of their own industrial and commercial enterprises. Where, as in the case of the Indians, they have succeeded, in spite of the discrimination, in competing successfully with the white bourgeoisie, laws are passed to deprive them of vested rights and to force them out of the capitalist arena. Similarly, by monopolistic practice and the restriction of education facilities, the NonEuropeans are virtually excluded from the professions, managerial positions and white-collar occupations, and from all but the most inferior posts in the civil service, police and armed forces. Even in the 'reserves', although the fiction of 'preserving'tribalism is maintained, the traditional chiefs and headmen are reduced to nonentities, functioning under and by grace of the white administration.

To assess the importance of this difference between the position of the nonwhite population in South Africa and in a colony of the West African type, it will be necessary to examine the background and nature of the nationalism that appeared as a 19th century phenomenon.

THE BASIS OF BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

It is generally agreed, by both Marxist and bourgeois writers, that the modern national state, distinguished by a centralised political authority, a single and indivisible economic structure and a national consciousness, emerged in Europe between the 16th and 19th centuries, and became the dominant form of political organisation after the French Revolution and the succeeding imperialistic wars of the Napoleonic period. The rise of the national state therefore coincides with the rise of the capitalist class and the abolition of feudalism. The revolutionary

bourgeoisie in their struggle against feudalism, rallied the workers and peasants behind 'national' demands, i.e. demands such as those for the supremacy of parliament over the monarchy, freedom of the press and of speech, and an 'independent' judiciary, that obtained support from all the classes suffering under feudal oppression and misrule. As the big European powers-first Britain, then France, followed by Germany and Italy threw off feudalism and achieved national unity, they developed imperialisms, dominating smaller or weaker peoples in Europe, Asia, America and Africa.

In some parts of Europe, however, particularly in the Central and Eastern regions, the uneven development of the different peoples and wide differences in cultural standards enabled the more advanced groups to form multi-national states. Typical of these were Austria, Hungary and Russia. In each, the better organised and economically more advanced nationality dominated and suppressed the weaker national groups. As capitalism spread, breaking the stranglehold of the feudal aristocracy, consolidating economic systems, and producing a new and dynamic class of industrialists, merchants and bankers, nationalist aspirations developed also in the oppressed nationalities. The period of national struggles began.

The nature of this struggle has been analysed at length by Marxist writers, especially by Stalin in the essays published under the title 'Marxism and the National and Colonial Question'. Briefly stated, this analysis leads to the conclusion that however much the national struggle assumes the character of a mass movement, drawing the working class and the peasantry into the fight, it is essentially a struggle of the capitalist classes among themselves, one that is chiefly of advantage to the bourgeoisie and under its leadership. 'The chief problem for the young bourgeoisie', wrote Stalin, 'is the problem of the market. Its aim is to sell its goods and to emerge victorious from competition with the bourgeoisie of another nationality. Hence the desire to secure its 'own', its 'home' market. The market is the first school in which the bourgeoisie learns its nationalism.'

But the struggle involves more than the issue of a free market. The dominant bourgeoisie, to protect its privileged position against the threatening competition, applies a series of restrictive measures to the oppressed nationality. 'Limitation of freedom of movement, repression of language, limitation of franchise, restriction of schools, religious limitations and so on are piled on the head of the "competitor".' These restrictions affect the workers of the national minority even more than the bourgeoisie. They hold back the development of the intellectual forces of the subject proletariat, and, by diverting attention from the class struggle, retards its emergence as an independent political force. The Communist, therefore, fights national oppression in all its forms, firstly, because it is oppression, secondly, because it is contrary to the interests of the mass of the people of the oppressed nationality, and thirdly, because it obstructs the growth of class consciousness in the workers.

But, added Stalin, 'the class-conscious proletariat cannot rally under the "national" flag of the bourgeoisie.' For, in the first place, there is the fundamental

difference between their ultimate aims: the bourgeois leaders striving for the 'freedom of the market' under capitalism, the class-conscious workers fighting for the overthrow of capitalism itself. More immediately, the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nationality develop an interest in the perpetuation of national differences, even while fighting against the discrimination imposed on their national group; their policy is 'to aggravate and fan the national struggle and to prolong and sharpen the national movement.' On the other hand, the class-conscious workers, who wish to remove the grounds of hostility between the national groups, must strive to bring about unity between the workers of the oppressing nation and the oppressed people, and put an end to conflicting nationalisms. At most, the classconscious workers can enter into a united national front with the national bourgeoisie against imperialism.

NATIONAL LIBERATION IN THE COLONIES Unlike'the Social Democrats, who denied that their principle of 'national selfdetermination' was applicable to the peoples ofAsia and Africa, Communists have always regarded the colonial system as a special form of national oppression. 'The national question, as a part', wrote Stalin in 1921, 'has become merged with the general question of the

emancipation of the colonies, as a whole.' 'The proletariat', declared Lenin, 'must demand the right of political secession for the colonies and for the nations that "its own" nation oppresses.' (S.W., v, 272). Indeed, excepting the differences of time, place and stage of development, the national liberatory movements in the colonies is the same social phenomenon as the national movements in Europe.

The growth of a national movement in the colonies is assured by, firstly, the discrimination against and the exploitation of the whole colonial population, and secondly, the existence of a native bourgeois class seeking opportunities for expansion and wishing to share the privileges enjoyed by the agents of the imperialist state. Beginning with a demand for wider opportunities for the better educated section (admission to government jobs, official recognition of the native language, removal of colour discrimination in fixing salary scales), the leaders of the nationalist movement go on to demand scope for economic development (preference for local manufactures, protection against competitive imports) and a greater measure of political rights. At a later stage they aim at 'self-government', and, eventually, 'independence' or the right of secession from the empire.

Unlike the national movements in Europe which came into existence during the last century in countries where the working class was weak and where there was no question of making the transition to socialism, the colonial national movements are taking shape in a different historical period, the outstanding feature of which is the spread of socialism and the pending defeat of capitalism as a world-wide order. Except in the most undeveloped colonies, the national movement operates alongside, sometimes in conjunction and sometimes in conflict with, a conscious working class movement. While the class conscious workers support the national

demands raised by the bourgeoisie of the colonial people, they at the same time put forward their own, independent demands, which are not acceptable to the national bourgeoisie and which may lead to a struggle within.the national groups. Experience during recent years in Asia (India, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Malaya), has shown that the imperialists and the colonial bourgeoisie are prepared to come to terms and unite theirforces against their common enemy, the working class. This betrayal of the mass of the people by the capitalist and middle class section is a repetition of the history of past national movements. When, for instance, the national bourgeoisie of the Russian border regions (Finland, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidjan) were defeated by the workers and peasants, fighting for socialism in alliance with the workers and peasants of Russia, they invited the imperialists of Western Europe to intervene. 'This began the period of foreign intefference and the occupation of the border regions -a period which once more revealed the counter-revolutionary nature of the 'national' and regional 'governments'. Now at last it has become obvious to all that the national bourgeoisie is striving not for the liberation of 'its own people' from national oppression, but for the liberty of squeezing profits out of them, for the liberty of preserving its own privileges and capital.' (Stalin: 'Marxism and the National and Colonial Question' p. 73). Today we see the national bourgeoisie in the former

colonies and semicolonies, now nominally independent, accept the direction and indirect domination of the imperialist states; they enter the camp of aggressive, war-mongering imperialism against the Soviet Union and the forces of'peace; and they carry on a ruthless war against the class-conscious workers and peasants in their own countries.

In those colonies-embracing the greater part of Africa-where the process of industrialisation has just begun and the working class is small and poorly organised, the national struggle will embrace the whole of the colonial people and the objectives will be those set by the national bourgeoisie. Under these conditions, Stalin has said, 'the task of the Communist elements is to do everything to create a united national front against imperialism. The separation of the Communist elements into a single Communist Party can take place in these countries only in the course of the struggle against imperialism, especially after a successful revolutionary war against imperialism.' A different prospect is opened up in the countries that are developed capitalistically, and that have a large working class. In discussing these countries, Stalin, in 1925, described the national bourgeoisie as being split into a revolutionary party and a compromising party. The Communists, he said, were called upon to expose the compromising section, and form a revolutionary bloc of the workers and petty bourgeoisie. Where, as in India, the compromising section had come to terms with the imperialists, the proletariat must be prepared 'for the role of leader in the liberation movement, and of dislodging step by step, the bourgeoisie and its spokesmen from this honourable position. The task is to create a revolutionary anti-imperialist bloc and to ensure the hegemony of the proletariat within this bloc.' If we adopt this approach, we clearly need to evaluate the prospects for the Non-European bourgeoisie in South

Africa, and estimate the part that it plays in relation to the Communist Party within the liberation movement.

THE PROSPECTS FOR THE NON-EUROPEAN BOURGEOISIE

It would, of course, be misleading to consider our internal problems in isolation from world trends. We cannot, for instance, afford to ignore the general decline of capitalism as contrasted with the growing ascendancy of socialism. Nor should we overlook the universal tendency of capitalism towards monopoly and away from a freely competitive system. South African capitalism as a whole, and therefore the Non-European capitalists as a part of the whole, can have no future brighter than that of capitalism in Europe and America. A prolonged crisis, chronic stagnation or serious decline in capitalist expansion, an extension of State control in the economy, a closer identification between the State and big capitalist units, are all disadvantageous to the emergence or survival of new capitalist elements. These conditions, which exist in South Africa as elsewhere, are not therefore favourable for the growth of a Non-European capitalist class.

A more direct, and far more serious obstacle, is the determination of the white bourgeoisie to retain their monopoly of capitalist enterprise. The whole purpose of Csegregation' is to prevent the Non-European from competing with the white

ruling class -the element that reduces to absurdity, if not rank hypocrisy, theclaim that segregation allows him to 'develop along his own lines'. There are capitalists who would like to lift the industrial colour bar. But their aim is to intensify the degree of exploitation, by increasing the supply of skilled workers and therefore depressing skilled wages. No group of capitalists is prepared to remove the barriers that protect them against Non-European competition-to allow, that is to say, the Non-Europeans to buy land, to trade anywhere, to become manufacturers or to enter the professions. Even those capitalists who have no reason to fear direct competition, such as the gold mining interests and the farmers, will oppose the advance of the Non-European because of their dependence on an abundant supply of low-paid workers.

To be sure, the restrictive measures adopted against the Non-Europeans can never be wholly successful. There will always be individuals who, no matter what the obstacles are, obtain the education, experience and capital required to become members of the bourgeois class. Is there not an Indian bourgeoisie? Are there not African traders in the locations? Yes, indeed, and their number will probably grow, as it has grown up to now in spite of race discrimination. But, with every advance made by the Non-European, the rutling class will attempt to raise the barriers still more. That, in reality, is the process reflected in the substitution of 'apartheid' for segregation. The outstanding case in point is, of course, the determined effort being made to repress, to destroy, the Indian bourgeoisie. It is this rigidity of the race-class divisions, the feudalistic organisation into 'estates' with all Non-Europeans relegated into groups of inferior status, that distinguishes South Africa from 'free' capitalist countries on the one hand, and from colonies on

the other hand. Here capitalism has developed on the basis of, by means of, race discrimination; it is inextricably geared to the colour bar; it exists only by maintaining the colour bar. If a Non-European bourgeoisie were to develop, the colour bar would be destroyed, but the destruction ofthe colour bar, leading in turn to the large-scale unity between the workers of all races, would produce conditions highly favourable to the overthrow of capitalism itself. Consequently, the ruling class fights for the retention of the colour bar as vigorously as it fights for the preservation of capitalism.

DEFICIENCIES IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION ORGANISATIONS

Historically, as we have seen, and in Communist literature, 'national movements' have been identified with an actual and rising bourgeois class. Even when full consideration is given to the relatively superior position of the Indians, this description cannot be accurately applied to the Non-European bourgeoisie. It is small, fragmentary, pinned down in the poorest areas, forced to use subterfuge and illegalities to evade discriminating laws, starved ofcapital, and exposed to constant insecurity. It is not a class that could provide effective, militant leadership. The Indian bourgeoisie, in conjunction with the Indian workers, have been able to conduct a mass struggle of limited dimensions. But the irresolute and timid character of the African and-insofar as it exists - the Coloured national movements reflects the absence of an established, independent bourgeoisie.

Another effect is that the leaders of the national organisations, with few exceptions, are not a bourgeoisie, but teachers, church ministers and professional men. Most of them, being employed in State or European-dominated institutions, are handicapped by their dependent economic status. In the sense that they cannot stimulate, organise and lead mass movements against the ruling class, they represent what might best be described as an intellectual revolt.

In keeping with the petty bourgeois character of the leadership, the aims of the national organisations are usually vague, often contradictory, and at times conciliatory, as when the demand is raised for a 'weighted' Non-European franchise, i.e. a franchise limited to persons with prescribed educational and property qualifications. Dr Xuma calls for 'no surrender or yielding in the determination of the people to achieve National freedom' (Inkundla Ya Bantu: 10/9/49); Mr Mda, President of the Congress Youth League, states that 'we are inflexibly opposed to national oppression and to foreign white domination', and that 'in the course of our forward advance to National Freedom there will be created the democratic forces which will ensure the establishment of a true democracy and a just social order' (Inkundla Ya Bantu: 27/8/49). But the people are not told what kind of 'freedom' they are to struggle for, or what is to be the content of the 'true democracy and just social order'. Presumably, the objective is to be complete equality with the Europeans. But the 'equality' envisaged is not the equality of socialism; it is the kind of equality that exists in a freely competitive capitalism, the 'equality before the law'. This, also, is the aim of the European 'liberals', whom the leaders

of the national movements abuse and accuse of 'misleading' the people. These leaders, in reality, are 'liberal capitalists' and the 'freedom' they want is the liberty of squeezing profits out of their people.

Whenever an attempt is made to formulate specific aims (other than immediate demands such as the abolition of the pass laws, wider educational facilities, or the franchise), the leaders of the national liberatory organisations show a tremendous capacity for evasiveness and ambiguity. Take, for instance, the 'National Programme of Action', published in Inkundla Ya Bantu (30/7/49) over the signatures of Messrs. James Calata, Pitje, Sobukwe, Secenywa and Mda. It defines 'national freedom' as 'freedom from the white domination and the attainment of political independence... like all other people the African people claim the right of selfdetermination.' Here is the familiar objective of nationalist movements. But what meaning must be ascribed to it in South Africa? The 'right of self-determination' can mean only the 'right of political secession', i.e. to set up a separate state. To be politically 'independent', to 'secede', would mean the dividing of South Africa into a 'black' and a 'white' state-would mean apartheid. Is that to be the aim, or must one understand the programme to mean that the whites should be expelled from South Africa? Then the signatories 'claim the right of direct representation in all the governing bodies of the country'. But on what basis? Are the Africans to demand a universal or a limited franchise? Are they to press for a common or communal roll? The meagreness and crudity of the

programme, however, are most apparent in the section on 'economic' demands, which consists of two paragraphs, one calling for the 'establishment of people's co-operatives', the other for the 'consolidation of the industrial organisation of the workers as a wing of the National liberation movement'. Nothing here about the need of more land and the abolition of the Natives Land Act, nothing about the colour bar in industry, commerce and the professions, nothing about the host of discriminatory laws and practices that obstruct the economic progress of the African.

Because of its petty bourgeois character, its economic dependence on the white ruling class, and its isolation from the workers, the leadership of the national organisations tend to take refuge in negative and defeatist tactics which, for mass consumption, are wrapped up in fierce-sounding revolutionary phrases. At the moment, for instance, a policy of 'non-co-operation' or boycott is being urged as the only 'salvation' possible for the Non-European peoples. But a refusal to 'cooperate' can be effective only when the ruling class wants, must have co-operation, as in war, or in order to forestall a revolutionary situation. institutions can be effectively boycotted-effective in the sense of forcing concessions out of the ruling class. An obvious, organic weakness in the boycott tactic, therefore, is that the ruling class itself wants to abolish the institutions concerned, the NRC, the Advisory Boards, the African parliamentary franchise. Even so, the boycott movement has not been used to arouse the people against oppression. Instead, it has been turned into an onslaught on those Africans who do carry on active struggle in the Advisory Boards, the Bunga or NRC. There are, to be sure, many men in these bodies who appease and conciliate, but instead of exposing them, and forcing them

to carry out a militant line of action, (touring their constituencies, developing a political consciousness in the people, taking up grievances and putting forward demands), the boycotters shout to all, militant fighters and appeasers alike, Withdraw! The essence of the campaign, in fact, is that the Non-European should turn their backs on political struggle, isolate themselves from the Europeans, and, in short, accept segregation. If continued, in its present undiscriminating and naive form, the boycott movement will achieve nothing more than to strengthen incipient tendencies already existing among Non-European people to accept 'apartheid' as a despairing alternative to equality. For apartheid (the humiliating substitute for the 'right of self determination') does afford a protected field for a small number of non-Europeans (traders in locations, teachers, ministers of religion, politicians, even trade union organisers) who will use national sentiment as a weapon against European competition.

Behind the spirit of isolation, the tendency to turn the back on the European, can be detected the beginnings of a Non-European racialism, matching the racialism ofthe Europeans. Directed, in the first place, against the whites, its basic assumption is that all Europeans are the enemies of the Non-Europeans, that no European can be trusted to fight whole-heartedly all the time for the liberation of the Non-Europeans, and that their liberation can be achieved only through

exclusively Non-European organisations. But the growth of racialism affects also the relations between the Non-European groups themselves - in this case, being carefully nourished by the white ruling class -so that Africans, Coloured and Indians regard one another with suspicion, fear one another as competitors, despise one another as inferiors. Nationalism need not be synonymous with racialism, but it can avoid being so only if it recognises the class alignments that cut across racial divisions.

Added to these weaknesses, is the fatal absence of discipline and organisation. The leaders of the national movements hold conferences, pass resolutions, draw up programmes, issue statements, wrangle over 'unity'- all of which is an essential process, but important only if the decisions can be translated into action. Yet - once again excepting the Indian national movement -action is all too rarely the outcome ofthe spate of words, the stream ofdocuments, the incessant confabulations. Whether on the issue of pass laws, or of segregation in the trains, or of the African and Coloured franchise, the brave words, the heroic pledges, disappear into thin air leaving behind no record of deeds to inspire and guide the people. There are no consolidated membership, no firmly organised branches, no financial resources, no resolute leaders, to rally the people. This organisational weakness is not due to inexperience or want of ability; it is a direct result of the basic weakness-the nature of the leadership, the vacillations, the lack ofclarity-ofthe petty bourgeoisie.

THE PARTY AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

From the analysis here presented, the conclusion must be drawn that the national

organisations can develop into powerful, mass movements only to the extent that their content and aims are determined by the interests of the workers and peasants. To be sure, no clear line can be drawn between the bougeois and working class demands: pass laws, residential segregation, prohibition of buying land, the exclusion from employment, the whole range of colour bars, affect every section of the Non-Europeans, and therefore constitute national issues. Moreover, since the Non-European bourgeoisie is weak, no serious divergencies can develop between it and the Non-European working class. The orientation of the national movements on the basis of the workers and peasants is to be brought about by relating the struggle against racial discrimination to the struggle against capitalism, by showing that the colour bar is primarily a technique of exploitation for private profit, by emphasising the unity of interests that exists between the workers of all races, and by ensuring the dominant role of the class conscious workers in the national organisations.

The national organisations, to be effective, must be transformed into a revolutionary party of workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, linked together in a firm organisation, subject to a strict discipline, and guided by a definite programme of struggle against all forms of racial discrimination in alliance with the class conscious European workers and intellectuals. Such a party would be distinguished from the Communist Party in that its objective is national liberation, that is, the abolition of race discrimination, but it would cooperate

closely with the Communist Party. In this party the class-conscious workers and peasants of the national group concerned would constitute the main leadership. It would be their task to develop an adequate organisational apparatus, to conduct mass struggles against race discrimination, to combat chauvinism and racialism in the national movement, to develop class consciousness in the people, and to forge unity in action between the oppressed peoples and between them and the European working class.

Our Party must give much more attention to the ideological struggle in the national movements than it has been receiving. In particular, we must make a practice of issuing immediate and critical comment on the statements of the bourgeois leaders, draw attention to vague and inconsistent formulations, and expose those that betray a tendency to conciliate. We must no longer allow the bourgeois elements in the national movements to attack without challenge the working class movement, to slander the Party, and to adopt a negative or hostile attitude to the international working class forces. We must set the pace for the national movements, by taking positive action on concrete instances of race discrimination, such as the industrial colour bar, or the denial of the right to buy land.

Above all, it is for us to develop in the workers of all races a positive class consciousness, based on the unity of the African, Indian, European and Coloured proletariat against capitalism and for Socialism.

DOCUMENT 92:

'Fight for Freedom', a Declaration to the People of South Africa from the National Conference of the Communist Party, January 1950.

APARTHEID LEADS TO FASCISM

Race relations in South Africa are heading for a crisis. Under the Nationalist Government, race oppression is becoming intolerable. Nationalist 'apartheid' is being carried to the point where human dignity is outraged beyond endurance and where every semblance of democratic principle is abandoned.

Let there be no mistake. The Non-European people are not going to accept apartheid. They are resisting it now and will resist it with more and more determination.

Apartheid can lead only to more intensive conflict between the State and the people, to increasing inter-racial antagonism, and to an end between peaceful relations between the white and non-white peoples.

If allowed to continue its present course, the Government's policy must inevitably result in the persecution of any person, white or non-white, who defends democracy, advocates equality, and fights to preserve human dignity.

If the Government is not checked, the country will become an armed camp, in which the great majority of the population will be kept in subjection by ministerial decrees that ban opposition parties and individual opponents, by press censorship, police raids and a civil service filled with Government supporters, by incitements to race riots, by concentration camps and all the other trappings of the NaziFascist State.

THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE

There is an alternative. That alternative is not a return to the policies of and conditions under the United Party Government. Those conditions paved the way to Fascism.

European domination must end. Civilisation, democracy and inter-racial peace can only survive by removing the artificial barriers which colour-discrimination places in the way of human progress.

For the Non-European people, there can be no illusion about their responsibility for defeating apartheid. It is they who must carry the main burden of the fight. Mass, disciplined organisation, a militant policy of active participation in struggle, determined resistance to every new assault on their rights and, above all, a fearless attack on the whole system of race discrimination-this is the road to the conquest of freedom.

End the pass laws!

Stop police terrorism and forced farm-labour! Down with colour-bars in trams, trains, post offices, railway stations!

Repeal the Ghetto Acts!

No colour-bar in industry, trade, government service and the professions!

Votes for all!

Away with apartheid!

These things will be gained not by retreat and withdrawal from political activity, but by active, organised, mass struggle for positive demands, for the defeat of apartheid and for the attainment of democratic rights.

THE DUTY OF THE EUROPEAN

The Non-European struggle for equality must eventually succeed.

It rests largely with the Europeans, because they have a monopoly of political rights, to decide whether the struggle is to be peaceful, or whether it will involve all South Africa in bitter, costly and violent conflict.

It is the responsibility of every European to rid South Africa of the reckless, place-seeking and unscrupulous politicians now in power, to stop apartheid, and to give the country the opportunity for peaceful, harmonious development.

European and Non-European alike, all South Africans who love our country and value its future have come to the point where we must either go through a period of reaction and tyranny that will leave its bitter mark for generations to come, or stand up and fight against the dark flood of Nationalist savagery.

Courage and unity can turn the tide and bring us to the happy and progressive South Africa which our peoples of all races, together, can build.

FORWARD TO FREEDOM!

Editorial Note:

At the beginning of May, 1950, the Government introduced the Unlawful Organisations Bill aimed at outlawing the Communist Party and giving the Minister of Justice arbitrary powers of banning and banishment by administrative action with the victims having no right of access to the courts. Because the Bill did not specifically mention the Communist Party and could bring within its ambit

all organisations opposed to the Government's apartheid policy, it aroused a storm of opposition and was later amended to the Suppression of Communism Act, more narrow in its definition but, as time proved, equally dangerous because of the blanket administrative powers it conferred on the Minister and his security police.
The Central Committee of the Communist Party was called together immediately to consider the implications of the Unlawful Organisations Bill.
DOCUMENT 93:
Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa passed on May 7, 1950.
In view ofthe terms of the Unlawful Organisations Bill, the Central Committee of

the Communist Party resolves:
1. That should this Bill pass the third reading in the House of Assembly the Communist Party shall as from the date of such reading be dissolved.
2. That members of the Central Executive Committee shall take all necessary steps to see that such dissolution is properly carried out and that all District and Branch Committees and groups thereupon cease to function.
3. That members of the Central Executive Committee shall have the power to take such steps as are necessary to wind up the affairs of the Party.
DOCUMENT 94:
Central Committee statement read out in the House of Assembly, Cape Town, on June 20, 1950, by Communist MP Sam Kahn.
Recognising that the day the Suppression of Communism Bill becomes law every one of our members, merely by virtue of their membership, may be liable to be imprisoned without the option of a fine for a maximum period of ten years, the Central Committee of the Communist Party has decided to dissolve the Party as from today.
This decision has been forced upon us in the name of'Democracy' by a Government that commands a majority of only seven in the House of Assembly and one in the Senate, a Government that received a minority of the votes at the General Elections, a Government that represents at most 1,250,000 out of a total population of 11,000,000.
We are confident that if the issue of our continued existence were submitted to a national referendum in which not just one section of the people, but all sections, were allowed to participate, an overwhelming majority would record their vote in favour of our Party's right to exist.
FASCIST TECHNIQUES
Adopting the technique characteristic of all Fascists, the Government destroys what it claims to defend.
Such vestiges of Democratic rights as have been left in South Africa are being extinguished in the present Parliament by a clique in its efforts to impose a dictatorship, suppress all opposition, and remove every obstacle to a Fascist republic. COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM HAVE STOOD THE TEST OF TIME. FOR MORE THAN 100 YEARS, IN ONE COUNTRY AFTER

ANOTHER, THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE HAVE RUTHLESSLY, INHUMANLY, SOUGHT TO CRUSH THE MOVEMENT FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC LIBERATION, FOR THE END OF THE CLASS WAR, FOR PEACE AND SOCIALISM. All those attempts have failed. Communism lives on, gaining in strength and stature. Rooted in the history of the working class, expressing their deepest

aspirations and needs, Communism cannot be destroyed as long as society is divided into two worlds: rich and poor, oppressed and oppressed.
Fascism cannot kill the will of the people for the good life. Nothing can stop the people of South Africa in their struggle for full Democracy, for the removal of colour bars, for justice and for Socialism.
Editorial Note:
In its 1962 Programme, the South African Communist Party declared:
'Despite its great achievements and struggles, the Communist Party of South Africa proved incapable of surviving under illegal conditions. Legalistic illusions had penetrated into the ranks of the Party, including its leading personnel. The Party was unprepared and unable to work underground. These errors culminated in the dissolution of the
Party'.
The 1962 Programme is printed in full in Section Four of this volume.

SECTION 4
Resistance and
Armed Struggle
INTRODUCTION
After the dissolution of the Communist Party of South Africa in June 1950, the great majority of Marxist-Leninists in its ranks took steps to reconstitute the Party in conditions of illegality. Within a short while new groups were formed in the various centres and in 1953 the first underground conference of the Party under its new name the South African Communist Party was held. The overwhelming majority of the activists of the former Communist Party remained at their posts in the national movements, trade unions, peace committees and other bodies through which the aspirations of the people could be voiced, but the Government, using its administrative powers under the Suppression of Communism Act, began to pick them off one by one and ban them from membership of their organisations and from all forms of political activity. Although unable to speak as Communists or to propagate the principles of Marxism-Leninism through normal legal channels, they could still publish their views on a wide variety of issues within the limits of the law in the press, and journals like The Guardian, Fighting Talk and Liberation continued throughout the fifties and early sixties to provide political guidance to the extent that was possible.
In this way, although between June 20, 1950, andJuly 14, 1960, no public statement was issued in the name of the Communist Party, most former Party

leaders were still able to make their voice heard, and leadership continued to be given on all the main issues of the day. The Party leadership and groups met regularly, and Party documents and directives were circulated and discussed by Party members in all parts of the country. Reports and analyses were presented to Party conferences, resolutions adopted and implemented. From time to time statements in the name of one or other known Party leader were published openly in the press, and it was understood by everybody that these statements represented the 'Party line' on the issue under discussion. Nevertheless, the restrictions imposed by the law were irksome, and the Party worked steadily towards the point where its level of organisation and ideological

development would make it possible once more to address the people in the 'limpid, unequivocal' language of Marxism-Leninism. The African Communist commenced publication as a quarterly in October 1959, at first anonymously but from its third issue in September 1960 announcing that it was the organ of the South African Communist Party. It was on July 14, 1960, however, in the midst of the state of emergency declared by the Government after the police massacres at Sharpeville and Langa, that the Party first declared its existence by issuing in its own name a leaflet calling on the people to intensify thdir resistance to the repression of the apartheid regime.

The decade of the fifties witnessed the greatest upsurge of the South African liberation movement since the formation of Union in 1910. The Defiance Campaign of 1952, the Congress of the People in 1955, the bus and potato boycotts, the formation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the treason trial, the rural revolts, the campaign against the extension of passes to womeneverywhere the people were on the march, in their tens and hundreds of thousands. And in the vanguard of the mass resistance to apartheid tyranny were to be found the leaders of the Congress movement and the Communist Party, working together more closely and effectively than ever before.

Symbolically the decade had opened with the calling of a Day of Protest on June 26, 1950, by the African National Congress with the support of the Communist Party, the Indian Congress, the African People's Organisation and the ANC Youth League. The Day of Protest took the form of a strike in protest against the Suppression of Communism Act which, the ANC Executive said, 'is primarily directed against the Africans and other oppressed people, and is designed to frustrate all their attempts to work for the fulfilment of their legitimate demands and aspirations'. That Day of Protest led to June 26 being celebrated thereafter as South African Freedom Day, and the unity of Communists and non-Communists in the liberation movement which was displayed on that day has become ever deeper and more profound in the ensuing decades.

DOCUMENT 95:

'Our Policy', editorial in The Guardian, June 29, 1950.

With the passing of the Suppression of Communism Bill, it becomes unlawful 'to perform any act which is calculated to further the achievement of any of the objects of Communism' or 'to advocate, advise, defend or encourage the

achievement of any such object or any act or omission which is calculated to further the achievement of any such object'.
Guardian readers are no doubt acquainted with the definition of Communism contained in the Act. But how does one judge what is 'calculated' to further the achievement of any of the objects of Communism? The definition is framed so widely, and political terminology is in any case so unprecise, that one is left in doubt as to exactly what would and what would not constitute an offence under

 the Act. Fear of making a mistake will no doubt persuade many not to hold or express opinions which are unpopular with the Government in power, however far they may be from Communism, however uncalculated to further the achievement of Communism. In this way the Nationalists undoubtedly hope to intimidate all sections of the political opposition, even though they may not at present contemplate taking action against them under the Bill.

FIGHT FOR JUSTICE

However much we may regret and condemn the censorship of human thought in this way, the fact remains the Suppression of Communism Bill is now law; and The Guardian intends to publish nothing in contravention of the law. Within the limits of the Act, we feel it is still open to The Guardian to further its main task - to give publicity to the wrongs and injustices which are daily perpetrated in this country, to fight against the tyranny of the colour bar, to give expression to the grievances and aspirations of the oppressed people of this country, to press for social reforms, and to continue the struggle for the achievement of equal rights for all South Africans, irrespective of race, creed or colour.
Above all we intend to carry on with the utmost vigour and determination the struggle against the Nationalist Government and its apartheid policy. We remain convinced that the longer this Government is in power, the nearer we shall be driven towards the excesses of open fascism.
The Nationalist road leads to increasing tension and bitterness between one race and another, to the debasement of all truth and morality, to the degradation of all our peoples. So long as the Nationalists remain in power, there is no prospect of peace and progress in our country, only of an increasing burden of poverty and hardship for all, resulting in ever-sharpening race and class con flict.

REPEAL GESTAPO ACT

We intend also to continue to protest against the Suppression of Communism Act and to use every lawful means to work for its repeal. The basic task before all democrats is to restore freedom of speech, Press and organisation in our country, to restore to the individual his right to think and speak as he pleases without the restraint of fear.
Such a policy, we are convinced, will be supported by the majority of people in South Africa, who want an end to race-hatred and Nationalist tyranny, who long for peace and the opportunity to live out their lives in dignity and freedom. In this conviction we are confident that our readers will continue to give us their moral and material backing, without which our task is impossible.

Editorial Note:
The Guardian, although never an official Communist Party organ, was in fact banned by the Government under the Suppression of Communism Act in 1952, to be replaced a week later by The Clarion and subsequently The People's World, Advance, New Age and Spark until the line was finally extinguished at the end of March 1963-a run of almost 13yearsfrom the time the Suppression Act was passed in June 1950.
DOCUMENT 96:
'End Apartheid in 1951', New Year message from Dr Yusuf Dadoo, President of the S A Indian Congress, published in The Guardian, January 11, 1951.
Grave problems of life and death face us and the peoples of the world in the coming year. In the international field the imperialist warmongers headed by the United States are engaged in feverish activities to mobilise war materials and manpower to drown the world in the blood and destruction of war.
But the people of the world say otherwise. They want peace, they want freedom and independence, they declare that subjection of every form, of one country by another, of one nation by another, of one race by another, leads to human conflict and disaster, and must be wiped out.
There is no reason why the peoples of the Socialist countries should not live side by side and in peace and harmony with the peoples of the Capitalist countries. There is no reason why atomic energy, the greatest invention of mankind, should not be used for the betterment of humanity unprecedented in written history, instead of being used as a most satanic weapon of destruction as hoped for by the warmongers of the world.
It is, therefore, the sacred duty of the peoples of all countries to fight for peace, for the outlawing of the atom bomb, for the elimination of racialism and for the recognition to every country of the right to self-determination.
APARTHEID
In order to fulfil this grave and sacred duty it is necessary for every South African to oppose every aspect of the policy of apartheid pursued by the Nationalist Party Government of Dr Malan. During the last two years this government has enacted many pieces of legislation repugnant to democratic ways of life. During the next session of Parliament which opens this month, the Coloured people, and indeed all the peoples of South Africa, face the gravest threat to their liberties. The Malan-Havenga pact which threatens the Coloured franchise, is not merely a threat to the franchise rights of the Coloured people who have the right to vote, but it is also a most sinister attack on democracy as such.

The 48,000 Coloured voters in the Cape may lose the right of the common franchise, but it also paves the way for a fascist state in South Africa.
END OF DEMOCRACY
To allow the Cape Coloured franchise to go would not only mean an end to the era of liberalism in the Cape; it would mean an end to democracy as we know it in South Africa. It would mean not only one Witzieshoek, but hundreds of

Witzieshoeks, where the legitimate demands of the African people for land and living space would be drowned in blood.
It would mean more and more forcible expulsion of the urban Africans to work as serfs and slaves on the farms of the Afrikaner herrenvolk. It would not only mean the greater oppression of the Non-White peoples, but the slow but sure whittling away of the rights of vast sections of the European population. The rise in the cost of living not only affects the Non-European people, but the vast majority of the Europeans.

OUR TASKS

And so our tasks for the coming year are clear.
1. In common with hundreds of millions of people throughout the world we must fight for peace, for the outlawing of the atomic bomb and all bacteriological methods of warfare, for the ending of all war propaganda, for the meeting of the big powers for a peaceful settlement of all disputes.
2. The elimination of racialism and the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination in South Africa.
3. The abolition of the pass laws, police raids in locations, the granting of land for those who need it, the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the National Population Registration Act, the Citizenship Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts.
4. An end to apartheid tyranny, which includes discrimination of languages, citizenship rights and the establishment of a broederbond republic.

A CONVENTION

To end apartheid tryanny in 1951 it is fundamentally necessary that a clarion call should go out from the African National Congress, representing vast sections of the South African population, for the calling of a National Convention in the immediate future; to bring together at a central conference representatives of all sections of the South African population both white and non-white, in order to resolve on a programme which would oppose apartheid in every form, and work for the recognition of the human dignity and the basic human rights of all social groups of people in consonance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights.

This is a question which merits the attention and consideration of all South Africans, and on this, in spite of the efforts of political parties and national movements, will depend the future of South Africa.
1951 must see an end to apartheid tyranny. We fight for peace, democracy, and an end to exploitation of man by man on earth.

Editorial Note:

During 1951 the liquidator appointed by the Minister of Justice C R Swart to windup the affairs of the Communist Party in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act sent letters to former members of the Party (as well as to many non-members who he alleged had been members) inviting them to make representations why their names should not be placed on a list of former members of the Party being compiled by him. Once their names appeared on the list, they

would be liable to a number of disabilities and restrictions at the discretion of the Minister, as provided for in the Act.

DOCUMENT 97:

Letter from Sam Kahn MP, Fred Carneson, MPC, Dr Y M Dadoo and others to the Minister of Justice, September 1951.

The Hon Minister of Justice

Sir,

We have received letters from the Liquidator appointed by you inviting us to make representations to him why our names should not be placed on a list of members and supporters of the now dissolved Communist Party in terms of Act 44 of 1950.

We decline to make such representations.

The nature of the amendments to the Suppression of Communism Act leave no doubt that the original appointment of a liquidator was invalid. The Government by making the Act retrospective has now legalised what was formerly illegal, and pushed South Africa a long way towards a fascist dictatorship.

The Suppression of Communism Act was forced through Parliament by the Nationalist Party, despite the protest of every important political, religious, professional and trade union body in the country. It was rightly condemned as a gross violation of every principle of civil liberties and citizenship rights.

It deprives the most outspoken opponents of your Government of their freedom of speech and organisation, and of any legal remedy against persecution by the State.

Your Government, incapable of solving the fundamental social and economic problems of South Africa, has passed this legislation in order to preserve a narrow, backward and primitive social system, based on race and class oppression.

You are attempting to silence first us, but ultimately all critics of your regime. We are now to be blacklisted because we resisted your oppressive policies, and amongst other things demanded equality of opportunity, equal political rights

and social justice for all South Africans, black, brown and white.

Your Government, having the power of state in its hands, may outlaw its opponents, but it cannot outlaw principles, nor uproot ideas that have guided men down the ages, and which today inspire democratic minded people throughout the world. History has shown that such attempts to arrest human progress cannot succeed.

The overwhelming majority of South Africans oppose your policy because it destroys their rights as free human beings. Your tyranny will not survive the judgement of the people.

DOCUMENT 98:

Statement by Dr Y M Dadoo published in The Guardian of May 22, 1952, protesting against first bannings under Suppression of Communism Act and calling for defiance of unjust laws.

It is against every concept of the rule of law and the principles of democracy and an act of sheer impudence for the Minister to call upon office bearers and leaders of democratic and lawful organisations to resign from office.
We have been elected in accordance with democratic procedure by the membership of our organisations and we are indeed proud and privileged to hold office in order to carry out the mandate of the people in a proper constitutional manner, very unlike the Government which is subverting the rule of law for the purpose of imposing an open dictatorship on the people.
It is extremely foolhardy for Mr Swart to imagine that by removing some leaders from official posts in their organisations, he will manage to strangle the activities of these organisations. The Minister, with all the weapons of suppression at his command, cannot and will not suppress the activities of the masses of the people against injustice and oppression.
WARNING
The warning is clear for the people to see- both white and non-white! Today, the whip of dictatorship is cracked down on the heads of the leaders of the NonEuropean people, tomorrow it will be the turn of the leaders of the trade union movement, and then all and sundry who do not see eye to eye with the policy of Dr Malan's Government will find themselves the victims of the law of the jungle.
The first and fundamental task before the South African people, European and Non-European alike, is to stop the Government before it is too late, and oust it from office. Firm and resolute action must be taken by the people now. Intra-parliamentary struggle is played out, it is now for the masses of the people everywhere to act and express in tangible form their opposition to the anti-democratic actions of the Government. It is not too late - it can and must be done. From the factories and workshops, from the homes and the farms the voice of the people must be raised.

The Nationalist Government has made a farce of the rule of law and laws are no longer. made for the maintenance of law and order and the good government of the country. Laws are now framed to impose the will of the fascist clique in power. Civil liberty, freedom of speech and movement and every principle of democracy are being ruthlessly crushed.
NO ALTERNATIVE
It is clearly the duty of every citizen to obey the laws of the State but when certain laws are made in defiance of the rule of law and contrary to the cherished principles of civil liberty, then these laws are bad, unjust and immoral and cannot be tolerated by the people. When all normal constitutional avenues for voicing the opposition of the people against unjust laws are brutally closed by the Government, then the people have no alternative but to defy these laws.
It is in this context that the plan for the Defiance of Unjust Laws undertaken by the African National Congress and supported by the South African Indian Congress should be viewed and understood. If the United Party, the Labour Party and the Torch Commando are in right earnest to save South Africa from Fascism

then there is only one way - that of building a firm alliance with the national organisations of the Non-European people on the basis of full democratic rights for all, in an all-out struggle to stop the Nationalist fascists. Any hesitation on their part to build this alliance will be a great and unforgivable betrayal of the future of South Africa.

The Non-European people are pledged through the decisions of the conferences of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress and the countrywide demonstrations of April 6th to implement the plan for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. The joint meeting of the executives of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress which meets at Port Elizabeth on May 31 is called upon to meet the new situation fairly and squarely.

Stop Swart! Rid South Africa of Fascist Tyranny! ACT AND RESIST NOW! BLACK AND WHITE UNITE TO OUST THE NATS! JOIN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEFIANCE OF UNJUST LAWS!

DOCUMENT 99:

Statement issued by Moses Kotane, executive member of the African National Congress, just before his arrest at the beginning of the Defiance Campaign in June 1952.

After four years in office the Nationalist Government faces the most far-reaching crisis. The £ has declined in purchasing power to about 7s. Working people are forced to go without essentials. At to-day's prices thousands go hungry. Even the higher-salaried groups find their living standards declining from month to month. Short time and unemployment are making conditions desperate for more and

more workers. More retrenchment means still less demand for goods, less business and further unemployment. The country sinks deeper into bankruptcy and depression.

The civil service is grinding to a standstill. Fantastic apartheid schemes, political favouritism and a rigid 'white labour' policy have reduced the Railways, the posts and other State services to a chronic level of chaos and inefficiency, still further accelerating the general economic decline.

The traditional legal rights of the individual are being uprooted. With Government toleration and even encouragement, lawless assaults on individuals by civilians, petty officials and police have become daily commonplaces. Nationalist rowdies break up one opposition meeting after another, Ministers browbeat and try to intimidate the Courts of Law. The police are being turned into a Nationalist Party army of stormtroopers. In African townships they tolerate gangsters and oppose the Civil Guards.

Non-European resentment and frustration is reaching breaking point. Humiliating and insulting apartheid measures pile up. Plans are made to expropriate people's property and to drive tens of thousands of families from their homes into group ghettos. The pass laws are mercilessly applied to fill farm gaols. The Nationalist platforms and newspapers are a never-ending source of dangerous racial propaganda, inciting colour prejudice. The coloured men are robbed of their vote.

The crisis into which the Government has plunged South Africa affects every section of the people, every aspect of our lives.

THE MASK IS OFF

In this crisis the Nationalist Party has dropped the mask with which they have attempted to deceive the public during their first four years of office, the mask of respect for law and democratic institutions. Faced with the mounting hatred and opposition of the people against their ruinous policies, they have embarked upon one act after another of reckless tyranny. They are obsessed with a desire to retain state power at all costs. They want this power so that they can establish a so-called republic, ruled by the Broederbond. In the interests of a section ofAfrikaans financiers and big farmers they seek to lower the standard of all workers, including large sections of the Afrikaans people, and to reduce the status of the Non-European labourer still further. They envisage an imperialist policy of territorial expansion designed to impose apartheid and Nationalist domination over Southern and ultimately Central Africa.

Two years ago the Nationalist Government, taking advantage of the international anti-Communist war-hysteria whipped up by American reaction forced the Suppression of Communism Act through parliament. To-day they are making use of the unlimited despotic powers placed in their hands by this evil law to destroy one liberty after another. Their aim is to stifle all opposition and to maintain their rule indefinitely by force and terror.

They have started with The Guardian; with elected representatives Kahn and Carneson; with national leaders like Dadoo, Marks and Kotane; with trade unionists like Sachs, Wolfson and Du Plessis; with peace workers like Harmel. They have attempted to present these attacks on civil liberties as though they were moves against Communism alone. But their attempt has failed. The people have been roused by these actions to vigorous resistance.

OPPOSITION RISING

On every front vocal and determined opposition is rising. Proscribed leaders are refusing to submit to Swart's arbitrary orders. Backed by their members and by public opinion, their defiance fans the flames of this opposition.

It is widely understood that though it is The Guardian which is suppressed today, to-morrow it will be the Rand Daily Mail, the Cape Argus or the Natal Mercury; that if Malan can disregard the electorate and expel Kahn from Parlia. ment, he can expel other opposition members; that the Government's objective is not the removal of individuals but the destruction of the national and trade union movements themselves and the freedom to organise.

The fact is that the Nationalist Government is out to attain complete and unrestricted power. They will not be checked by any legal or moral considerations. They will smash down any and every obstacle in their path to dictatorship unless the people's opposition prevents them.

They were solemnly pledged to uphold the entrenched clauses of the constitution. They violated their pledge. They scrapped the Coloured vote. They repudiatedthe

verdict of the Courts and declared the Nationalist Party caucus to be the highest Court in the land. Such men do not tolerate any limitation to their authority.

ELECTIONS IN 1953?

Many opponents of the Government are pinning their hopes on a Nationalist defeat in the 1953 General Election. They do not perceive the vital point. While they are perfecting their election machinery for 1953, the Government is making preparations for a coup d'etat to ensure that it will not be shifted by the democratic process. Unless the combined opposition of the people is able now to defeat the first steps to dictatorship, the Government, fearing the outcome of a straight election, will use its sweeping powers to frustrate the people's will.

It will manipulate constituencies and voting rights and debar candidates. Or it will stage a Nazi 'Ja-election', with a background of hysteria and monstrous lies, where it is called treason to vote against the Nationalists and armed police supervise the voting. Or, declaring a 'national emergency' and with the 'legal' sanction of their majority, they will suspend the election indefinitely.

This is not far-fetched. These are the men who have loaded the South West African German vote to increase their majority. They have sacked an elected MP. They have guillotined every important debate. They have passed law after law

giving despotic powers to the Ministers to issue regulations, orders and notices and to rule by decree. They have demonstrated their contempt for Parliament, law and democratic institutions.

NO APPEASEMENT

These men are fascists. They will not be deterred by the timid and compromising policy which Mr Strauss set forth in his recent Paarl speech. The United Party leader praised some of Malan's most hateful and reactionary apartheid legislation; he accepted in principle the vicious anti-Communist law; he undertook only to repeal portions of the Citizenship Act affecting British settlers in South Africa. Such a policy can serve only to buttress the Nationalist Government and bitterly to disappoint and dishearten millions of democrats, both Europeans and NonEuropeans. This policy cannot even succeed in its apparent purpose of enticing prejudiced plattelanders from the Nationalists. The Strydoms can always outdo the Strausses at racial propaganda.

The country wanted to hear from Mr Strauss a fighting democratic programme designed to rouse to action the masses of the workers, the struggling farmers and the middle classes. Appeasement and timidity will not avail.

Another factor which weakens the people's resistance to Nationalist tyranny is the acceptance by the Parliamentary opposition leaders of the Government's foreign policy. The Nationalists need a war atmosphere, just as Hitler used German war-fever to consolidate large sections of the German nation behind him. The Nationalist Government is one of the most enthusiastic followers of the adventurous American war-policy.

The same Nationalist Party which in the last war wished to remain neutral and opposed the sending of troops outside the Union, now hastens to send airmen to a faraway corner of the earth to drop napalm bombs on Korea peasants who have

done us no injury whatsoever. The Nationalist Party which claims to be the heir to the Boer tradition of independence has committed South Africa in advance to the Middle East Pact-a weapon against Arab independence. The fight for democracy in South Africa cannot be divorced from the struggle for world peace.

The Nationalists can only be stopped and defeated by the determined, active resistance of all the people- all the people-on every front, against every attack, on every issue.

NON-EUROPEAN RESISTANCE

It is a fundemental error to imagine that the basic political problems of South Africa can be solved without the participation of the great Non-European majority of our people. When the Torch Commando says that the constitutional issue is a matter for Europeans only, they overlook not merely the simple fact that the issue arises from the Coloured people's franchise, but also that the constitutional future of South Africa is of equal concern to every citizen, white

and black. It is because the vote was confined almost exclusively to Europeans that the Malan government is to-day in office and that democracy is imperilled. The fruits of the 1948 General Election prove that democracy can only survive in South Africa if the great mass of Non-Europeans are brought actively into the struggle against fascism.

Already the African and Indian Congresses have embarked upon a major campaign for the defiance of unjust laws, for the defeat of the Government's plan to enslave South Africa. Malan tries to depict this campaign as a menace to law and order and to the European people.

Far from it. The campaign, vigorously and militantly pursued, can be a major contribution to defeating Government lawlessness and establishing peaceful and harmonious relations among the people of South Africa.

The Congress leaders are not anti-white. They have repeatedly declared their willingness to work in friendship and co-operation with all democratic Europeans, against fascism and for the building of a free and happy South Africa. Such co-operation, however, can only be based on the recognition of the NonEuropeans' vital interests as citizens in all matters affecting the country's wellbeing, not upon the Nationalist concept of the master race and Non-European servitude. Seen in their true perspective the Congresses are major constituents of that broad democratic alliance of all anti-fascist South Africans which must be brought into being if the Nazi menace is to be met and defeated.

THE WORKERS' NEEDS

Another essential factor in such a people's front of resistance is an active, live trade union movement, campaigning with fearless determination in defence of the living standards and liberties of the workers. The task is not predominantly one of attaining a formal 'unity' of registered trade unions from above but also one of creating a practical unity of workers in every industry, based on their common need for jobs, higher wages and security.

A new spirit is needed. There is a lesson to be learnt by all trade union, Congress and democratic leaders and organisations from the promptitude, drive and

imagination displayed by the Garment Workers' Union in answer to the Government's attack on Mr Sachs.
Imbued with such a spirit the trade union movement can rally thousands of workers in the vanguard of the anti-fascist struggle.
The true united democratic front of the South African people should not be envisaged solely as a formal coalition or electoral alliance, but as a common front arising out of the practical, effective campaigns and struggles, whether conducted separately or in combination, of all the diverse elements opposed to the Government. The United Party must play its part in the common struggle. But, to be of real value, it must rid itself of the policy of appeasement, and measure up to the needs of the present crisis.
The Labour Party, too, can fulfil a vital need if, following in the tradition of the

world labour movement, it ceases to restrict itselfto parliamentary debate and sets out to mobilise the mass of the European workers for resistance to tyranny.
There are the ex-servicemen's organisations, such as the Torch Commando and the Springbok Legion, consisting of men and women who not long ago took up arms to defeat a Nazi attack from abroad. There are the churches, business and professional organisations, women's associations, the multifarious local vigilance, tenants, civic, educational, patriotic and sectional bodies.
All must be drawn into the broad alliance of the people of South Africa against the Malanazi menace, every section of the population, every democratic group. This struggle is not merely a party dispute or a petty political wrangle. It is the fundamental question of the future of our country, whether we are to live in freedom or in slavery. Every organisation and every individual is affected by this crisis and must be won for active participation in the people's front. No one dare stand aside.

PEOPLE'S POLICY

It is possible-indeed essential-for these diverse elements to combat the Nationalists with all their strength. In the course of this common struggle will develop mutual understanding and a common policy acceptable to all sections and arousing the enthusiasm of the overwhelming majority of the people. The great weakness of the so-called 'United Democratic Front' of the United Party, Labour and Torch Commando, are its narrow, exclusively electoral basis and its tack of a fighting policy. To-day's fight is not merely of canvassing voters and bringing them to the ballot box; it is also a struggle to preserve the institution of the ballot box against Government by stormtroopers and lawlessness. Such a struggle calls for courage, sacrifice and endurance. The people of South Africa are not lacking in these qualities. But they will not be mobilised for the hardships and dangers, nor inspired for the struggle by the policies of the United Party administration, dominated by the vested interests and characterised by a disregard for the needs of the common people. South Africa needs a people's policy, acceptable to the widest section of the population, serving to fire their minds and hearts with the vision of that better South Africa which is in our grasp.

Such a policy, common to all sections of the anti-Nationalist front, is not to be attained by the academic drafting of paper Utopias; it can only emerge in the course of the practical struggles before us. But, assuredly, it must envisage something more positive than the pre-1948 administration, which paved the way for the accession of the Nationalists at the last election.

It must envisage the replacement ofthe Nationalist Government by a truly popular coalition of all democratic forces in our country; a government of democratic reform capable of ensuring political and economic advancement and forever abolishing the conditions of oppression, ignorance and poverty which have bred Malanism.

The iniquitous apartheid legislation of the past four years must be swept away, together with the structure of despotism built up by the Malanites and founded on the Suppression of Communism and High Court of Parliament Acts. Freedom of speech, of the press, of organisation and movement must be proclaimed and secured. The repression of the African, Coloured and Indian people-which poisons race relations, hampers the country's development and blackens South Africa's reputation throughout the world-must be ended. Pass laws, ghettos, farm gaols must go. Non-Europeans must get the opportunities to acquire education, skill and professional training, land-ownership rights and commercial facilities. Their exercise of such opportunities can vastly advance the prosperity of the country as a whole.

Democracy in South Africa can never be secure until its basis is broadened and extended to Non-Europeans. Franchise rights must be extended. The loading of constituencies in rural areas and South West Africa must be abolished.

Democratic South Africa must repudiate the aggressive foreign policy of the Nationalists which has set most of the world against them. We have no right to interfere with the Protectorates. We must seek peace with our neighbours and throughout the world; the settlement of international disputes through negotiation; a break with American aggression.

Above all, the simple economic needs of the people must receive urgent attention. Wages must be raised; the crazy rise in prices firmly curbed. Food, homes, land and jobs for all are the cornerstone of a stable democracy.

THE URGENT TASKS

These are the goals which can inspire and arouse the people for the arduous days ahead. Immediately there is the urgent and vital task before all of us to resist the onslaughts which are being daily made upon the people's rights.

It is the solemn duty of every consistent democrat in these stormy days to join wholeheartedly in these battles.

The ban on The Guardian must be lifted. Mr Swart's attempt to silence trade unionists, Congressmen, workers for peace, must be stopped. Sam Kahn and Fred Carneson must be restored to the positions to which they were elected.

It is the solemn duty of every consistent democrat to join wholeheartedly in the fight to save South Africa. Everyone, whatever his or her nationality, has a task to perform; organisations to work in; an example to set. Whether it be in the

vanguard ofCongress volunteers, in the trade union movement, the people's organisations for peace or democracy, the truly advanced and democratic South African will prove himself in times like these by his energy and devotion, his refusal to submit to despotism, his readiness to sacrifice personal interests, his efforts to raise the spirit and the level of political understanding of those about him. Given enough men and women, the defeat of the Nationalists is certain. Their savage acts of tyranny and revenge are signs not of stength, but of fear and desperation. Their days are numbered; the victory of the forces of freedom in our times is assured. The people are on the march.

Editorial Note:

In July, 1953, a memorial to Johannes Nkosi, South Africa's first revolutionary martyr, was unveiled in a simple but moving ceremony at Stellawood cemetery, Durban. Nhosi's mother, Mrs Jacobina Nhosi, over 80 years old, was amongst those present. Many messages were received from all parts of the Union, including the following:

DOCUMENT 100:

Message from Moses M Kotane, Walter Sisulu, J B Marks and Y M Dadoo read at the unveiling of a memorial to Johannes Nkosi in Durban on July 18, 1953.

'To freedom-loving people in South Africa this day is of great significance. Twenty-three years ago, late in December, Johannes Nkosi, one of the most gallant sons of South Africa, lost his life in the thick of the struggle for the freedom of his people.

'The huge mass demonstration that was then organised against the vicious pass laws was indeed a tribute to this great people's leader, who, by his courage, showed the down-trodden people of South Africa that liberation can only be achieved through courageous leadership and unity of the masses.

'We, who are following in this hero's footsteps, call upon all freedom-loving people in our country to renew their hopes in our great struggle to make South Africa a happy country for all, and to continue in every possible way to help the march towards liberation.'

DOCUMENT 101:

'South Africa's Way Forward', statement by Moses Kotane, published in Advance (successor to the banned Guardian) on May 6 and 13, 1954.

The policy of the Nationalist Government is opposed by most of the people of South Africa and condemned by democratic people throughout the world. Nevertheless, the Government is going ahead at ever-increasing speed to implement that policy.

To supply more cheap labour to farms and mines it intensifies to an unendurable extent the pass system and police terror amongst African industrial workers. It legislates to uproot tens of thousands of Non-Europeans in town and country and to destroy the fabric of their lives.

The Schoeman labour laws seek to smash free trade unionism among workers of all races. Verwoerd's measures aim at slamming the door against Africans seeking enlightened education and at conditioning their children to a serf mentality. With

each new session of Parliament Swart demands new powers to ban, proscribe and intimidate all the opponents of the Nationalists; to destroy every legal and judicial safeguard against despotic government.
The Nationalists have not been halted by the feeble and half-hearted opposition they have met in Parliament. Nor, as yet, have the mass activities of the people outside Parliament reached the level where they are united and formidable enough to deter the Government from proceeding with its evil designs. These facts have led to despondency and defeatism among some of those who are opposed to the Government. They see Dr Malan and his lieutenants moving steadily towards an absolute and permanent dictatorship. They see the United Party paying the penalty for its desertion of democratic principle-visibly disintegrating. Viewing only these elements of the political scene, they begin to feel hopeless and to abandon resistance against Fascism.
In order to overcome these tendencies it is important to gain a clear understanding of the real issues involved in the people's struggle to defeat the Nationalists and to find a way forward in South Africa.
THE BASIC STRUCTURE
We cannot gain such a clear understanding if we ascribe the policy of the Government merely to a particular backward and reactionary ideology of the Nationalist leaders. It is true that they have such an ideology which, rejecting all humanitarian and progressive ideals, aims at imposing by brute force a crude system of White supremacy and Non-White inferiority.
If this ideology of the Nationalists has found support from a section of the voters and become enthroned as the official State doctrine, it is largely because it is rooted in the basic structure of South Africa, having originated long before the Malanites won the 1948 election.
A brief analysis of this structure shows that it is characterised by:
1. The predominance of financial and gold-mining groups in alliance with the big farming interests and closely linked with British and American imperialism;
2. The amassing by these interests of vast super-profits derived from the exploitation ofthe Non-White masses, who are regarded purely as sources ofcheap labour. They are deprived of land and democratic rights, held in a state of colonial subjection and terror and deliberately denied access to education and the benefits of civilisation;
3. The granting of numerous concessions and monopolies (e.g., of political representation, commercial opportunities, skilled trades and professions) to the European middle and working classes with a view to buying their support and maintaining some stability for this top-heavy structure.
All the basic foundations of this evil system of oppression and exploitation were laid by the successive Governments of Botha, Smuts, Hertzog, and, indeed, in the glaringly undemocratic Constitution of South Africa, the Act of Union itself. Only under such a Constitution could so unpopular a party as that of Dr Malan, which is hated by nine-tenths of the people, become the Government of the

country. Only in such a soil could the vile doctrines of apartheid and race superiority take root and flourish.
The Nationalists differ from their predecessors in the Union Government chiefly in that they are carrying the infamous system to its extreme of barbarity and ruthlessness, destroying the last vestiges of democratic rights won by the people in former days and fanning to the utmost the ugly passions of race hatred.

THE TRUE ALTERNATIVES

The choice before South Africa is not one between various methods of maintaining White supremacy: the true choice lies between suffering an increasingly brutal Fascist dictatorship on the one hand, and, on the other, emancipating the majority of the people from oppression and serfdom in a multi-racial democracy affording equal rights and opportunities to all men and women.
During the post-war years the ruling class of South Africa has been faced with mounting difficulties. These arise from the general international crisis of capitalism in which this country is involved, and also from the marked advance in the leadership and effectiveness of the Non-European liberation movements, which have evoked keen interest and warm sympathy throughout the world. In these circumstances the capitalists turn more and more to the use of terror and force in order to maintain the colour bar system; and the Nationalist Party has proved a useful instrument for the implementation of such methods.
The one major force which has stood up to the Government as a serious opponent of Fascism and as the defender of the rights of the South African people of all races has proved to be the national liberation movement of the Non-European peoples. Throughout the time when the liberals and the reformist trade unions have been on the retreat, abandoning one after the other the principles which they claimed to uphold, it has been the fraternal alliance of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress which held the fort for democracy and rallied the people to resistance.
The Defiance Campaign of 1952 was the biggest and most important mass action ever carried out by the oppressed people of South Africa. It was this campaign which showed up the General Election of 1953 as a hollow sham fight between rival oppressors. It brought the attention of all sections of the population- indeed of the whole world -to bear on the basic problems of our country, and it established the Congresses as the true spokesmen of the aims of the majority of the people of our country. As a result of this campaign the Congress movement is stronger than it has ever been.
The African and Indian organisations have been joined by an organised body of Europeans, the Congress of Democrats, which stands with them on the basis of equal rights for all. Recent events inspire the hope that the million-strong Coloured community will come forward to join in the people's alliance which is being built up.

DISRUPTERS

It would be wrong, however, to overlook the weaknesses which are apparent in the ranks of the democratic people's movements, especially in the field of organisation. The Government's attempts to cripple and behead the democratic organisations have not sufficiently been countered by timely steps to select and train new leaders to replace those forced out of the struggle.

Taking advantage of the lull in general activity which occurred during 1953, all sorts of disruptive and harmful groupings made their appearance and threatened to confuse and divide the people. Here reference must be made not only to the well-known wrecking activities of such bodies as the 'Non-European Unity Movement' and the 'All African Convention', which have long been known to the people as turncoats, but also to new groupings within the Congresses themselves, who from self-seeking motives spread dissension in the ranks, using the methods of slander, racialism and even terrorism against the leaders. Such elements are being exposed and isolated.

Groupings like this are only able to form and to show themselves because of internal shortcomings and weaknesses. A greater measure of participation in the leadership by workers and peasants, the most numerous and militant sections, would do much to eliminate these weaknesses. It must, however, be borne in mind that the Congresses are not, and should not, be homogeneous bodies of people who all belong to the same class and share the same outlook, but are essentially united fronts of all sections of an oppressed nationality who seek liberation and democracy.

A movement which fails to go forward will go back. The absence of a great central political task, common to all democrats, has been a retarding factor during the past year. Such a task is the proposed Congress of the People of South Africa to draw up a Freedom Charter, The preparations for this convention, if properly carried out, will call on every democratic South African to render his utmost effort to the cause of freedom. These efforts will be well spent, for the work of calling the Congress and framing the Freedom Charter is an essential step towards mobilising and uniting the great majority of the people of this country against Fascism and opening the way forward for a democratic South Africa.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

It would be of incalculable advantage to the democratic movement of South Africa if the workers, and particularly the African workers, were properly organised into vigorous and effective trade unions. Tribute must be paid to the unwearying efforts of those trade unionists who for many years have battled to keep their organisations going in the face of the hostility not only of the employers and the Government but even, in many cases, of the registered trade unions. However, the blunt fact must be faced that these efforts have not always resulted to any great extent in the establishment of big, stable and effective African trade unions.

This comparative failure is not only due to the objective difficulties and the opposition of the employers and the Government. It is also due to a mistaken approach to the problem of organising African trade unions; an approach which

aims at unions identical in character to those recognised under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

The 'recognised' trade union movement has, thus far, failed lamentably to respond vigorously and effectively to the deep inroads which the Nationalist Government has made and is making into traditional working class rights and standards, Dozens of elected trade union officials have been summarily banned from their posts by the Minister of Justice with little more than formal protest: The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act was not seriously challenged. The Schoeman revised IC Bill threatens to destroy the fruits of decades of trade union struggle and to replace united workers' organisations with numerous small and ineffective racial unions.

The reaction of the leaders of the Trades and Labour Council and the breakaway unions of the Federation is to plan a so-called 'all-in' trade union conference with a colour bar against Africans and to prepare a constitution for a trade union 'federation of federations' which has room for the subservient Nationalist 'Koordineerende Raad' but no room for the Council of Non-European trade unions. The glaring weaknesses which these events reveal are not accidental. South African industrial legislation has fostered a type of bureaucratic, spineless organisation whose leaders have become isolated from the workers and their problems, absorbed in office routine, bounded in their horizons by the industrial councils and the Labour Department, and whose rank and file lack knowledge ofand interest in trade unionism. This degeneration of former militant organisations of working class struggle has been the price paid for the illusion of security and legal status.

But African unions have never enjoyed even the illusion of recognition and a legal security. Even before the vicious Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act oflast year, designed by Mr Schoeman in his own words to 'bleed Native unions to death', our African unions enjoyed no legal status at all, no access to the Industrial Councils and their negotiating machinery or to the employers.

It is vain, therefore, for African organisations to seek for their strength in elaborate office routines and administrative machinery. Their strength lies, and can only lie, in the building of militant rank and file bodies, with active committees ceaselessly attending to daily complaints in every factory and workshop; sustained not by Government departments, which in fact assist employers, but by the consciousness, unity and determination of the workers themselves. To build such trade unions requires a searching review of their present methods by all trade unionists. It requires discarding unsuitable methods and the adoption of new methods which will bring them close to the workers.

It is a task which will require the full and continuous co-operation of the liberation movement and of all progressive people. But if this task is properly carried out it must result in the creation of powerful and indestructible trade unions which will not only succeed in raising the living standards of their members but which

will be an integral part of the people's movement for freedom, greatly strengthening it and reinforcing it.

THE RURAL AREAS

The majority of the people of South Africa live on the land, but as yet the democratic movement for liberation has barely begun the task of arousing and mobilising the tremendous potential forces for progress among the landless millions in the countryside.

The desperate position in which the people of the rural areas find themselves is well known. We know of the starvation wages, harsh treatment and bitter life of the agricultural labourer on European-owned farms. We know how on the reserves and Crown lands and in the villages Non-Europeans are struggling against hunger, ignorance and disease.

The peasants are crying out for land, freedom and a better life. It is the duty of the national liberation movements, which are centred mainly in the bigger towns, to reach out a brotherly hand of assistance to these millions of people and to help them to organise themselves into peasant associations and agricultural workers' unions to struggle for more land and higher farm wages, for the right to security and freedom from pass laws, forced labour and other forms of oppression.

In this, as in every other field of South African life, unity and organisation is the key to resistance to Fascism and to the advance to democracy.

YOUTH MOVEMENTS

The same lesson is to be learnt from the efforts of the young people of South Africa in developing the African National Congress Youth League and other youth organisations. The inspiring youth festivals, with their splendid message of peace, unity and racial harmony; the vigorous resistance of students to the imposition by the Government of apartheid in the universities; the ties of friendship which our young people are forging with the youth of other countries - all these activities deserve the utmost encouragement of all democratic people, for they provide the surest guarantee of the future People's South Africa that is arising.

All the same, our progressive youth movements have, as yet, made only a small beginning in the formidable task of uniting the young people of all races for a better future. Youth movements must not be regarded as preserves for a small group of intelligentsia with their own separate ideas and theories. Such an attitude would repel the millions of young people who can be attracted by broad, allembracing youth movements offering cultural and recreational opportunities as well as political guidance in the accepted principles of the senior organisations.

WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS

A great need also exists for the democratic women of South Africa, African, Coloured, Indian and European, to come together in common struggle for their

common needs; peace, democracy and equality of status. Many women's organisations are already in existence: women's leagues of the Congress, trade unions predominantly of womenfolk, and special organisations such as the Daughters of Africa and the National Council of African Women, It is to be

hoped that the recent national conference has laid a basis for uniting all these bodies in a powerful democratic women's federation. Non-European working women in particular suffer from a three-fold subjection of race, class and sex; they must receive the full co-operation and assistance of every progressive in organising themselves for emancipation.

FOR WORLD PEACE

All the historic strivings of the South African people to achieve liberty, equality and fraternity are interlinked with and related to the world-wide movement of the peoples to avert the horrors of new wars and to compel the Great Powers to negotiate a lasting peace.

The aggressive forces in the USA and its satellites, which seek to profit from war preparations and from war itself, can and must be compelled to give way to the insistent and organised demand of the ordinary people of all countries, including America itself, to end the cold war and conclude a pact of peace between the five Great Powers. Already the influence of the peace movement has made itself powerfully felt. It is true that the Korean peace is unstable and subject to constant new inflammatory provocations from Syngman Rhee, directed by remote control from Washington. It is true that the insistence of Mr Dulles and his British and .French clients at Berlin on the participation of Germany in the obviously antiSoviet 'European Defence Community' precluded any agreement on the future of Germany.

Yet there has been a ceasefire in Korea. There was a conference at Berlin. The US-dictated embargo on East-West trade is obviously breaking down. At the Geneva Conference the People's Republic of China is participating for the first time in a Big Power conference. All these things are fruits largely of the patient, determined work of the peace movement throughout the world, and proof that a negotiated peace is possible. Differences in social systems do not inevitably mean war.

Both the possibility and the urgent need are now present for the organised partisans of peace to intensify their activities and to extend them to broad new sections of the people. The very survival of the human race is at stake in this crucial struggle between the overwhelming majority of the people of the world and a handful of money-mad warmongers.

The world has been shocked by the frightful repercussions of the American hydrogen bomb experiments in the Pacific and by the arrogant refusal of the US authorities either to discontinue these dangerous experiments or to modify their reckless policy of 'cold war'. Professor Joliot-Curie, one of the world's greatest physicists, stated last year that the hydrogen bomb was a weapon of unlimited frightfulness and that its development and use 'might risk making the survival of

all forms of life impossible on this planet.' Since then his warning has been endorsed by eminent physicists all over the world.

No sane man or woman dare ignore these weighty warnings. The days are past when we in South Africa could comfort ourselves with the thought that this is a farflung outpost, remote from the fields of battle and carnage. Indeed, South

Africa's position as a uranium producer for the American bloc makes our defenceless towns particularly vulnerable in the event of a third world war, in which we would become an inevitable target. More than a quarter of the population of our country is concentrated in the vast mining and industrial complex of towns of the Witwatersrand and its environs and in our big, strategic seaports of Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and East London. If these centres suffered attack by atomic bombing their entire populations could be obliterated. The rest of the country would face maiming and radiation poisoning, ruin and starvation.

In the face of these grim facts, to which we may not blind ourselves, the apathy of many South Africans towards the major questions of peace and war cannot be justified. Throughout the world millions of people are raising their voices for the total prohibition, under strict international control, of all atomic and other weapons of mass destruction. They are demanding the immediate coming together of the Great Powers to conclude a lasting pact ofpeace and to remove the shadow of a war of mutual annihilation which hangs over our lives.

It is for us in South Africa to contribute our share to this great movement for peace which is sweeping the world. No one who values the future of South Africa and the world can stand aside. It is significant and proper that members of the national liberation and trade union movements should, thus far, have been the mainstay ofthe peace movement, for they, representing the common people, have the greatest stake in the future of our country and the highest degree of political consciousness. But the peace movement remains too small, too inactive and too restricted to the major urban centres to make its proper impact on the country. It must sweep forward to draw in new sections of the broad masses of the people, in all provinces, in town and country. It must bring its message closer to the people by linking up the main issues of international policy with events nearer home. Opposition to the cruel butchery of the Africans in Kenya by British imperialism is a part of the fight for peace. So is the struggle of the people against the policy of the Malan Government, which threatens the peace by its ambitions to swallow the Protectorates and by its naked chauvinism which insults that great majority of humanity whose skins are darker than others.

'WHITE' SOUTH AFRICA

The majority of the European middle-class and working-class are opposed to the Nationalist Government. They look to the future with anxiety. They fear the economic stagnation and deterioration which apartheid must bring in its train. They fear the effects of mounting racial tension and hostility created by the Government's merciless persecution of the Non-European peoples. Trade unionists,

ex-servicemen, democratic Afrikaners, English-speaking people, Jews, Catholics -all feel in one way or another threatened by Malanism, with its crude threats and unconcealed bigotry.

Yet these widespread feelings of hostility and opposition towards the Nationalists find no expression, no leadership and no inspiration in the United Party or its

newspapers. These representatives of finance-capitalism, big business and the mine-owners fear democracy more than they fear an outright dictatorship by their fellow-capitalists of the Nationalist Party. They are not concerned with protecting the vital interests of the people. Instead, they are busy trying to achieve a political compromise with the Nationalists to give an impression of stability and harmony, to protect capital investments and to encourage overseas financiers to invest more capital in South Africa.

The contemptible cowardice and lack of principle shown by the United Party has resulted in widespread disillusionment and disgust among anti-Nationalist Europeans. The uncompromising, anti-colour bar Congress ofDemocrats is as yet small in numbers. It would be an exaggeration to claim that any substantial section ofthe White population has yet grasped the vital truths that the real alternative to a Fascist republic is a genuine all-embracing democracy; that any real struggle against the autocratic Swart-Malan State is only possible by allying themselves with the great Non-White democratic majority. It is an important fact of our times that the Europeans are realising more and more that a more advanced and enlightened attitude towards the Non-European population must be taken and that the field of race relations is precisely the field in which the Nationalists must be met and defeated if any sort of harmonious political and economic development is to take place.

Even the United Party leadership has begun to react, in its usual hesitant, compromising manner, to this widespread feeling. Though the United Party's vague talk of 'political integration' and qualified insubstantial 'concessions' is not acceptable to any Non-European, it is, all the same, significant, Equally significant is the fact that the UP has been obliged to condemn the hateful Western Areas scheme, and the position of its Johannesburg City Councillors who are accomplices in the scheme is daily becoming more untenable.

Still more indicative of this anti-Fascist trend among the European population are the appearance of the Liberal Party and the new policy statement on the NonEuropean franchise issued by the South African Labour Party. Here again the policies of the two parties are by no means free from concealed racial prejudice. The suggestion that a democratic constitution should provide for an educational qualification for voters (the Labour Party stipulates Standard V, the Liberals Standard VI) will not satisfy any politically-conscious Non-European - or any real democrat for that matter; for such proposals would, of course, have the effect of excluding the majority of the adult population and leaving effective political power in the hands of the same European minority which has demonstrated its unfitness for a monopoly of franchise rights by electing the Malanites to office in two successive elections.

The burning need, however, which cannot be evaded any longer, is to bring about immediate unity ofaction between European and Non-European democrats to check the Government's Fascist plans and policies and to quell the rampant racialism, among both Whites and Non-Whites, which those plans and policies are daily evoking. The myth that 'politics is the White man's business' must be

abandoned. European opposition to the ruinous Western Areas plan, to the vicious Schoeman IC Bill, to the threatened police state of Swart can only be effective if it is openly and determinedly allied to the great democratic movement of the African, Indian and Coloured people.

It is the great merit of the Congress of Democrats that it has grasped this essential fact of South African affairs and aligned itself as part of the Congress movement. The alliance of the Congresses is not a 'racial' movement seeking domination and privileges for one section of the population at the expense of the others. It is a movement of people who are bound together by common ties, not of colour or language but of principle: the common belief in a future for our country freed from the curse ofracial arrogance, bigotry and hatred which has stained our history with blood and conquest and which to-day disfigures the lives of our people.

Such'a future can only be won by the mass action of the common people ofSouth Africa, and in the first place by the oppressed masses, who are the main victims and chief opponents of the system of colour bars and dictatorship.

Whether they have sufficient political consciousness and democratic spirit to accept and act upon this big central reality of the present situation - that is the acid test for the Labour and Liberal Parties and for the leaders of the registered trade unions alike. They may preserve their freedom or their unscientific, worthless prejudices, but they cannot preserve both.

CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

The decision by the leaders ofthe main democratic organisations to embark upon a great Congress of the People of South Africa opens the way for a great advance towards a democratic future. For the first time millions of ordinary men and women will elect their representatives to a real assembly of the people. For the first time they will have the opportunity to discuss their own people's solution to the problems of our country, the problems of the workers, farmers, housewives, miners, teachers and others who make up our multi-national community. How South Africa should be governed, who should elect the men and women who make the laws of our country, how these laws should be adminis-tered - these and other questions will be discussed not only in the Congress of the People but in hundreds and thousands of discussions and meetings, great and small, throughout the land.

It is these true expressions of the voice of the people of this country which should find their faithful expression in the People's Freedom Charter.

And the Charter can become a historic document, guiding the way forward to a new and better life for all who live and work in this land.

TOWARDS A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

The Freedom Charter will be a charter of the people, and it is not the purpose of this survey to attempt to draft it. Yet it must be clear to every thinking democrat that the Charter will, if it is to be the true voice of the people, do more than express pious hopes in words which will mean all things to all men. The people must write into this Charter their claim to equality of rights and equality of

opportunity, political, social and economic, for all men and women. The people must proclaim through the Freedom Charter their demands: That freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of association and freedom of assembly be guaranteed:
That the rich farmlands of South Africa be shared among their rightful owners those who plough them and water them with their sweat: That the big mining and other monopoly-owned industries of our country become the property of the people:
That the working people be guaranteed by law their rights to free, recognised trade unions, wages sufficient for a civilised life, leisure and social security in sickness, unemployment and old age:
That urgent steps be taken to provide houses for the homeless, schools for the children and hospitals for the sick, without discrimination. All these demands, of course, will not be attained just by drafting a Charter, They must be fpught for. They will be realised only when the basic colour bar structure of South Africa has been abolished and replaced by a people's democratic state.
But the Freedom Charter, embodying the people's aspirations and pinpointing the way forward, can mark a major advance towards a new South Africa, offering a fuller and happier life to all her people.
WE SHALL WIN!
The people of South Africa will prevail over their oppressors. We have a long tradition of resistance to oppression. Provided we take up every issue, big and small, with courage, efficiency and unity, we need not fear the future.
We must see to it that a united and uncompromising opposition makes the Western Areas battle the Waterloo of the Nationalist Party. We must strive for a united trade union movement, based on the sound and universally accepted trade union principle of internationalism, rooted in an alert and educated rank and file, free from legalistic illusions and capable of surviving and defeating the disruptive intentions of the Nationalists. We must build and improve all national liberation and other progressive movements.
Independent organs of democratic opinion such as ADVANCE must receive powerful support from all progressive people: we must see to strengthening their finances and increasing their circulation, for they are invaluable awakeners, educators and organisers of the people.

To carry out all these tasks, and many others which demand immediate attention, the fighters for democracy in South Africa must consciously strive to improve their own qualities and characters so that they may be still more useful to the people's cause. They must find time to study all the events of the day at home and abroad and learn from theexperience of others. They must exercise unceasing vigiLance against Government agents and disrupters within the democratic camp. They must pledge themselves at all times to set an example of loyalty, energy and courage to all who strive for freedom.

EVERYNEW ACT OFTYRANNY AND SUPPRESSION MERELY BETRAYS THE WEAKNESS OF THE GOVERNMENT, ITS FEAR OF THE PEOPLE. THE FUTURE BELONGS TO US.

Editorial Note:

The twentieth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956 was chiefly remarkable for the denunciation of the 'cult of the personality' contained in the report of the Central Committee presented by Party Secretary N.S. Kruschov. Coming barely three years after the death of Stalin in 1953, the report created afurore in the international Communist movement.

DOCUMENT 102:

'Collective Leadership in the Soviet Union', by Michael Harmel, published in New Age (successor to the banned Advance and The Guardian) on April 5, 1956.

What are the Soviet leaders saying about Stalin? Have they 'turned against him?' What is the significance of the widespread discussions about collective leadership? Many people are asking these questions, following on reports of the recent Communist Party Congress held a month ago in Moscow. In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to consider them against the background of the Congress itself.

The twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was an historic event of a significance extending far beyond the borders of the USSR, as is shown by the continuing discussion of it in every country, and by the Press, both friendly and hostile, all over the world. No serious student of international affairs can afford to be ignorant of what the leaders of so great a world power as the USSR are thinking and saying. And in our times, as never before, it is the duty of every citizen to become a serious student of world affairs.

It is a thousand pities therefore that the 'corrugated iron curtain' which the Nationalist Government's censorship has erected about South Africa, as well as the stifling and hateful suppressive legislation preventing free advocacy and debate of opinions, have thus far prevented widespread knowledge of and debate about the Congress and its decisions. The reports that have appeared in the daily

newspapers, in which facts and 'quotations' from speeches were inextricably mingled with the obviously biased comments of the battery of anti-Soviet 'experts', have done more to create confusion than to spread information.

WIDE RANGE

The reports placed before the Congress, and its decisions, cover a wide, comprehensive area of international and Soviet affairs. The main report of the Central Committee, presented by Mr N.S.Krushchov,is a remarkable document, containing some 50,000 words, and covering an extraordinarily wide range of subjects.

The report declares that socialism has spread beyond the borders ofthe USSR to a vast area embracing 900 million people, a world system ofsocialism existing side by side with the world system of capitalism; that the two systems can and should continue to exist side by side in peace; and that war is neither inevitable nor desirable. It discusses the 'infamous' system of imperialist colonialism, which it

says is doomed- nearly half the human race has won freedom from colonial rule in the past decade; the final abolition ofcolonialism is now an urgent question on the agenda of history. The varied forms oftransition to socialism in different countries; the need for rapprochement and collaboration between the wings of the labour movement which have parted company politically for so long; the long-term foreign policy of the USSR -all these matters were passed in review by the Congress.

Another momentous section of its deliberations dealt with sweeping advanqes in the development of the USSR, where overall industrial output has been multiplied by more than 20 times since 1929. And much time was spent in discussion of the next Five-Year Plan, terminating in 1960, in which further extraordinary increases of production are scheduled, and provision is made for a general increase of wages by an average of 30 per cent and a seven-hour day for all workers (six hours for miners).

SELF-CRITICISM

The report and discussions were informed throughout by a spirit ofsearching selfcriticism of weaknesses and omissions, errors and failure, in a wide variety of field of activity. The work of the Party at every level, and not least of the Central Committee itself, was subjected to penetrating analysis: industry, agriculture, cultural activity, research, education: none were spared from criticism.

I have mentioned all these weighty problems tackled by the Congress, not in order to elucidate them, but merely to convey some conception of the broad scope and perspectives of the Congress. Without such a conception it is impossible to evaluate properly the significance of the dicussions on collective leadership and the cult of the individual.

STALIN'S ROLE

It is difficult and painful for the Soviet people and their leaders -and this,

perhaps, is one of the reasons why it was done in a closed, private session of the Congress-to re-evaluate objectively and critically the role of the late Joseph Stalin. For Stalin rendered services of incalculable value to the cause to which he devoted his life. He was foremost in the stern struggle against the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and other traitors and saboteurs, who sought to undermine the country and to divert it from the course charted for it by Lenin. His name is inseparably linked with the heroic struggles of the Soviet people to achieve the rapid development of industry and the collectivisation of agriculture-the indispensable economic base without which the USSR would surely have been defenceless against Hitler's mechanised divisions.

No one can detract from these and other great accomplishments and achievements of Stalin, whose place in history remains secure. But at the same time, it became essential to correct the false picture that, in his later years, was built up of Stalin as an infallible miracle-worker, standing above and separate from his Party and his colleagues. This idealisation, in which he acquiesced, led gradually to a position where the democratic procedures laid down in the rules of the Party were

neglected, and where the principles of collective leadership were violated and replaced often by personal leadership.

Decisions taken by an individual, no matter how brilliant and talented he may be, are invariably more prone to be at fault than decisions hammered out in collective discussion. Stalin, inevitably, made mistakes. He erred, in the opinion of his comrades, in disregarding specific warnings ofthe impending Nazi attack in 1941, in his handling of post-war relations with Yugoslavia, and in other matters detailed by Krushchov at the special session. Why, it may be asked, was it necessary three years after his death to draw attention to these mistakes? Apart from the requirements of historical accuracy, it seems incontestable that the myth of an 'infallible' leader can be extirpated only by frankly revealing the errors that he made.

One does not, however, have the impression that the sole responsibility for the undesirable cult of the individual is now being laid at the door of one man alone. On the contrary, the present condemnation of the trend seems to be in the nature of frank self-criticism, in line with the general tone of the Congress.

SERIOUS RESULTS

Violations ofcollective leadership have had other serious consequences. Once arbitrary decisions are tolerated at any level, it is impossible to avert the spreading ofthe infection throughout the organism. It is said that Stalin developed an exaggerated and incorrect theory of the intensification of the class struggle after the defeat of capitalism andthat this led to an overemphasis on the role ofthe Security services, in which they became a law unto themselves, above the Party and Government alike. This enabled elements like the Beria gang, having gained control of the Security services, to defy socialist law and procedure and to frame up innocent people on false charges, for motives of their own. Again, attempts were made, as in Beria's Party history of the Caucasus, to manipulate and tamper with historical facts.

Steps have now been taken to set right injustices and to establish safeguards to preclude further violations of the legal rights of citizens. Departures from accuracy and objectivity in the study and teaching of history are being rectified. But, the Congress declared, it is even more important to extirpate the unscientific and harmful cult which gave rise to these aberrations, and thus to ensure that it shall never happen again.

The Soviet leaders boldly faced the difficult and far from pleasant task ofuprooting the myth of the miracle-working hero, which is alien to the spirit of scientific socialism. The real heroes and makers of history are the masses of the people, led by their vanguard organisation. The hero myth obscures this truth. In elevating an individual on a pedestal, all others are cast into the shadow. This can only discourage and suffocate the development of creative thought and endeavour.

The Soviet leaders must have known that their bold acts of self-criticism would be seized upon by the capitalist newspapers, the Voice of America radio and other ill-wishers, and that what they said would be blown up and distorted out of all

recognition. The grotesque and wildly exaggerated versions of Krushchov's speech in special session issued by Reuter is typical of what was to be expected. It is, I think, an extraordinary mark of their own strength and self-confidence, no less than of their firmness of principle, that Mr Krushchov and his colleagues should have ignored such considerations. If they are correct in their diagnosis, we can look forward to a great upsurge of creative activity in every sphere of Soviet life.

DOCUMENT 103:

'The Workers' History is Written in Blood - The Story of May Day in South Africa', by E.R. Braverman, published in New Age, April 26, 1956.

The first May Day demonstration in South Africa was held as far back as 1895. It was organised by the Johannesburg District Trades Council.

It gradually extended to other centres. Cape Town held its first May Day celebration in 1906. From this time onwards the history of May Day is a record of the labour movement and reflects the many great events that form part of our tradition.

MANN AND ANDREWS

In 1910, the demonstration was led by Tom Mann, the great English dockers' leader and international labour figure. -le marched ahead of the procession with Bill Andrews followed by a united gathering of trade unionists and scientists. The unity established on that day brought about a united demonstration of 1 st of May. Four years later when the Botha-Smuts government had moved into action against the rising tide of working class indignation, the Social Democratic Federation called the workers out on the streets in Cape Town on May 1st to protest

against the Riotous Assemblies Bill, the first of the many laws the ruling class used to trample the rights of the working class and to crush its organisations. That year the first world war broke out. The Labour Movement here, as in other countries, was split in an anti-war and pro-war group. The Social Democratic Federation, headed by stalwart socialists like McManus, Harrison and others remained true to the principles of working-class solidarity.

At its May Day demonstration in 1915 it resolved to 'fight for the unity of all peoples and the abolition of capitalist exploitation, brutality and bloodshed.'

'It was a grand meeting', reads the report of the Social Democratic Federation. 'The audience of all colours showed a deep interest in the speeches.'

SOVIET POWER

With the end of the war and the achievement of working-class power in the Soviet Union, a new spirit of revolt spread to the workers. This was recognised by the International organ of the International Socialist League in its special number of May Day 1919,

The message expressed the confidence that has been aroused in all true socialists and progressive trade unionists by the victories of the Russian workers and peasants over their exploiters: 'International Labour Day-each year its import expands... Today the working class is at work on the liberation of all the exploited masses and oppressed races -for oppression is but a weapon of exploitation of

every continent, every colour and race... This May Day is a day of greater rejoicing than ever before, since history and current events alike promise to the workingclass movement a victory in our time -.a victory when all men shall labour for the common good and poverty, profit and oppression be unknown for evermore.'
South African workers too were on the march. Mineworkers, White and Black, were preparing for strike action. There were strikes in municipal services and amongst other workers.
MEMORABLE MAY DAY
May Day demonstration in Johannesburg was therefore a memorable affair. At 9 o'clock May Day morning (Thursday) workers all along the Rand defied their masters, downed tools and marched section by section behind their Union banners to the Union grounds where trade unionists had joined hands with the International Socialist League in one of the greatest rallies held in that city. Bill Andrews chaired the meeting.
The Star, the Chamber of Mines (organ), pleaded against 'striking'. But on Tuesday, 29th April, a conference of all shop stewards with representatives of unions on the Witwatersrand was held and arranged the details of the stoppage. This was the awakening of the White workers to the significance of International May Day. The great weakness in the demonstration of 1919 was the exclusion of African, Coloured and Indian workers.

AFRICAN UNIONS
The painstaking efforts and sacrifices entailed in laying the basis for trade unionism among Africans began to bear fruit in the late 1920s, when the Non-European Trade Union Federation could claim 10,000 members on the Witwatersrand.
The results were seen on May Day 1928 in the form of a great demonstration of Africans together with the comparatively small number of White and Coloured workers who accepted the principle: 'Workers of all races, unite'.
Elsewhere in Johannesburg the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress held the usual apartheid meeting attended by a miserable audience of 300 Whites.
This position was dramatically changed, however, two years later when economic depression hit White as well as Black workers. For the first time, as Pirow, then Minister of Justice pointed out in warning to the rulers, Black and White marched together shouting the slogan, 'WE WANT BREAD', and clashed with police outside the Carlton Hotel and the Rand Club.
The demonstration's leader, I. Diamond, was sent to jail for a year as a result of the clash.
Since then, there have always been joint demonstrations of workers ofall races in all the big industrial centres, even though White bureaucrats in the trade union movement have preferred, like the reformists in Europe, to pay lip-service to the glorious traditions of May Day in socials for Europeans only.
LIBERATORY MOVEMENT

May Day has been written into the history of both the national and working-class liberatory movement. It was on May 1 st, 1951, that African, Indian and Coloured workers observed their freedom day and brought the factories to a standstill in the big cities, but, above all, on the Witwatersrand. It was here that the police ran amok, stabbing with fixed bayonets, in Benoni, Alexandra and Sophiatown.

THIS YEAR

This year we celebrate May Day in the midst ofthe greatest attack any South African government has yet ever carried out on the workers' and progressive movement. We shall mourn and protest furiously against the enslavement ofour trade unions by the new Industrial Conciliation Act and the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act. We shall condemn the hateful Suppression of Communism Act, Riotous Assemblies Act, Public Safety Act and other tyrannical laws passed to take away our right to speak freely, to organise freely and struggle for citizenship rights. We shall demand with all the strength we have the right to govern ourselves, knowing that the workers cannot achieve economic security until they have gained political freedom.

TIME AND THE WORLD ARE WITH US AND AGAINST THE OPPRESSORS! THAT IS OUR MESSAGE FOR MAY DAY 1956.

DOCUMENT 104:

'This Magazine', announcing the first issue of The African Communist, October 1959.

Communism has become the vital social and political belief of our times. Already one third of mankind has chosen the road to socialism under the leading banners of the Marxist parties. Everywhere else, millions of men and women press forward to their own liberation, inspired by the parties of Communism. In this, as in so much else, Africa lags behind the world. The forces of imperialism, which have made Africa the 'dark continent', have also kept the people curtained off from the liberating spirit of Communism. This magazine 'The African Communist', has been started by a group of Marxist-Leninists in Africa, to defend and spread the inspiring and liberating ideas of Communism to our great Continent, and to apply the brilliant scientific method of Marxism to the solution of its problems.

It is being produced in conditions of great difficulty and danger. Nevertheless we mean to go on publishing it, because we know that Africa needs Communist thought, as dry and thirsty soil needs rain.

To you, the reader, we say, comrade and fellow-worker, wherever you may be, read and study this magazine. Pass it on to your fellow-workers and form study groups to discuss it. These groups may become foundation stones of great and important Communist Parties in many lands that will bring salvation to your country.

DOCUMENT 105:

'The New Africa - Capitalist or Socialist?', editorial in The African Communist, No.1, October 1959.

Africa is in revolt. From East to West, from North to South, the peoples of this great Continent are arising to claim their birthright that has been stolen. The imperialist Powers and the White minorities are being forced to give up the land and the natural resources. Africans are uniting in powerful national liberation movements and trade unions. The imperialists are trying to prolong their rule. they send soldiers to shoot down the people. They try to bribe the people's leaders. When that does not work they arrest and deport them on framed-up charges. They invent faked 'treason' charges and 'massacre' plots. They promise half independence, or self-government on the instalment plan. These methods cannot succeed. Africa is on the march for freedom, her people are awake, and nothing can stop them from reaching their goal: government of Africa by Africans, for Africans. The imperialist powers must quit Africa. The White minorities must accept the condition of equality and give up their ill-gotten privileges.

What shape will the new Africa take? Will it be capitalist, like Western Europe

and America? Or socialist, like Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and China? That is something the peoples of this Continent will have to answer for themselves. It is a big question. The future happiness and well-being of our people and our children depend upon it. It is important that we should choose wisely.

Let us look at the two systems.

TWO SYSTEMS

We know capitalism in Africa. We have seen it and suffered under it.

Under capitalism, the land, the natural resources and the industries, built up by the hands of the workers, belong to private owners or companies. Each owner is producing not for the public good but for his private profit. He pays as little wages as he can and wants to take as much as possible for himself.

Take a capitalist who is making shoes in a factory. He is not worried about the people who are barefoot. He wants to make a lot of money and get rich. All the profit he makes comes out of the exploitation of the workers, for all value comes from labour. Capitalism means the exploitation of man by man.

Socialism is different. All the means of production-the land, the mines, factories and so on-belong to the people as a whole. Production is planned. The aim is to see that everyone gets good food to eat, clothes to wear, houses to live in. The aim of production and of society, is to see that people are happy and comfortable, that they are highly educated and cultured. The worker knows that no capitalist profits from his labour. The country goes ahead quickly because development is properly planned. Socialism means the abolition of exploitation.

OVERCOMING BACKWARDNESS

Centuries of imperialist domination and robbery have left Africa backward and undeveloped. The European powers, Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium, have only been interested in taking as much wealth out of the country as quickly as possible. At one time they captured millions of our people, and deported them to Europe and America as slaves. Afterwards they enslaved Africans in their own

continent, through forced labour on European-owned plantations, farms and mines, at starvation wages.

As a result of alien oppression and exploitation, Africa is the most backward part of the world. The great masses of her people live in terrible poverty, ignorance and disease. The first task of every African patriot is to liberate our continent from alien domination, for without this there can be no progress. But to win and keep true freedom we must also liberate Africa from backwardness. Her countries must be able to stand on their own feet economically, her people's living, health and cultural standards must be rapidly advanced.

Experience has proved that socialism is the most suitable method of quickly developing countries which are economically backward. Russia was formerly the most backward of the big European countries. Under socialism she has shot

forward in forty years to become the most advanced, although many of those years were taken up in wars against imperialist intervention. In the last war, the Soviet Union was the only country on the mainland of Europe which successfully withstood Hitler's brutal armies and thus saved the world from Nazi domination. It was socialism which gave Soviet industry the strength and her people the fighting spirit to resist and conquer. The Sputniks and the man-made planet prove that Soviet science and industry are today second to none.

In ten short years, socialism and Communist leadership have transformed China from a land of terrible backwardness, illiteracy and poverty, to a land of flourishing industry and agriculture, of advanced education and progress. India and China won freedom from imperialist rule at about the same time. But India chose the capitalist road; China the socialist road. Today China has far outstripped India in economic progress.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF SOCIALISM

Some people try to tell you there are different kinds of socialism. They like socialism, they say, but not the kind they have in the Soviet Union and China. The British Labour Party says it is in favour of socialism. So does the French Socialist Party. But if one studies these parties one will find that their socialism is only in words, not in deeds. Though the Labour Party was once in the government in England, the real power was still held by the big capitalists and imperialists. Private companies still own the big banks, industries and so on. The Labour Government continues to oppress the colonial people in the British Empire, in the interests of big business. The French so-called 'Socialist' Party did the same. They support dictator De Gaulle in his 'dirty war' against the people of Algeria.

Others talk of a specific sort of 'African' socialism. Some African leaders of independent countries also claim to be socialists, although they do not practise socialism and even suppress socialist and Communist literature and leaders.

There is only one kind of genuine Socialism in the world. That is revolutionary Marxism, Communism. The so-called 'different kinds' of socialism have been proved not to be socialism at all, but just different kinds of capitalism, wearing a socialist mask to try to bluff the workers.

WHY THEY HATE COMMUNISM

Nothing is so much hated and feared by the imperialists and their agents as Communism and the Communists. American officials are running all over the Continent of Africa offering dollars -if only the people will help them against Communism. But we notice that the people who shout so loudly against Communism are often people who are most bitterly opposed to African freedom. Look at the Union of South Africa. Everybody knows that the Nationalist Government of that country, with its policy of apartheid, is a savage and ruthless enemy of African progress. That is where Africans are hunted for passes, flogged

and murdered, sent to forced labour on farms and mines, insulted and persecuted, simply because they are dark-skinned.

It is no accident that the first thing the Nationalist Government did, when it took power in 1948, was to outlaw Communism. They banned the Communist Party, which for thirty years had led the people in struggles for freedom and equality. Hundreds of Communists have been banned and banished, driven out of their jobs, forbidden on pain of jail to go to meetings or take part in political and trade union movements.

Yet, belief in Communism lives on in South Africa. It is spreading througout the Continent, although every day it is denounced and attacked by agents of United States, British, French, Portuguese and Belgian imperialism.

They hate Communism because they know that the Communists are the bravest, most clear-headed and incorruptible leaders in the people's struggle against imperialism, for freedom and equality. They know that once the African workers and peasants have mastered the great ideas of Communism, nothing will stop them in their onward march to freedom, independence and socialism.

THEY TELL LIES

The imperialists and White supremacists pass laws to make it illegal to defend Communism. They try to shut the mouths of the Communists. They tell lies about Communism to deceive the people. They hope that, as they have silenced the Communists, there will be no-one to answer their lies. But the truth is stronger than lies. Communism is today a great and victorious world movement, embracing more than a third of the human race. You cannot shut Africans out from the outside world or prevent their learning what is going on elsewhere. Nor can you succeed in silencing the voice of Communism in Africa, for the Communists are part and parcel of the people of Africa. The African Communists will answer the lies of the imperialists.

Here are some of the lies:

1. 'That capitalism is democratic, and Communism means dictatorship'.

Africans are not likely to be bluffed by this lie. They have seen 'Western democrcy' in action for too long. They have seen it answer the demands of the Africans for real democracy and self-government with bullets, terror and mass arrests, Certainly Communism means to suppress the imperialist agents, and the institutions of backwardness and slavery which they have encouraged and tolerated. Call that dictatorship if you like. But it is a people's dictatorship, used by the workers and peasants against their enemies. For the masses it means.much

greater freedom and democracy than is possible in any other form of society. It means people's control of the wealth and resources of their own country. Under capitalism, even where people have the vote, the rich are always the real rulers. Those who control the wealth are the real controllers of the State.

2. 'That Communism is out to suppress religion'.

That is not true, either. Marxism is not a religious philosophy. It believes that

everything can be explained rationally, and that all religions are forms of superstition. At the same time, Communists respect people's religious beliefs and the rights of all to propagate all religious, or anti-religious, views. Certainly, if the imperialists use religion as a cloak for oppression and the master-race cult, they must be vigorously opposed. But no genuine church or religious group has any need to fear a Communist or socialist society.

3. 'That Communists are out to replace Western imperialism with 'Soviet imperialism'.'

Another straight lie. There is no such thing as 'Soviet imperialism'. There is no capitalist class in the Soviet Union to profit by exploiting colonies. Communists believe in self-determinatiori: that all people have the right to govern themselves, in the interests of their own people. They reject all theories of 'master races' and 'inferior races', and fight to end race discrimination. The Soviet Union is giving generous aid in the development of African countries, to establish their national independence on a sound basis. Even where these countries are led by antiCommunists, like Nasser and the Emperor of Abyssinia, the Soviet Union is helping them as much as possible, without any strings or conditions. Those who talk nonsense about so-called 'Soviet imperialism' should remember that under Communist leadership and with Soviet assistance, China's 600 million people have, achieved a greater measure of freedom, independence and unity than ever before in its long history.

Communists in Africa are out to win full freedom and independence for African countries.

IS AFRICA DIFFERENT?

Some people say: 'Communism may be all very well and good in Europe, or Asia, but Africa is different, There are no classes or class struggle in this continent; all Africans are the same; and they have only one task-to get rid of imperialism'.

Let us answer these points one by one.

First of all, Africa is only 'different' because, as a result of imperialism, it is economically backward. As soon as industries develop, and private property in land, the people will be divided more and more into capitalists, workers and peasants.

Already there are classes and class struggles. There are rich and poor. There are Africans who own property and exploit the labour of others; and there are Africans who have nothing to sell except their labour power. There are the workers, the proletariat, as Marx called them: the landless and propertyless.

The proletariat is the most advanced class, the bravest and most clear-sighted fighters against imperialism. They have nothing to lose but their chains, and they

will fight to the end against imperialism, even when the middle classes would like to compromise and accept minor concessions which will leave the masses little better off than before.
It is true that our first task in Africa is to get rid of imperialism. Communist

ideas are weapons in this struggle. The policy of Communists in countries suffering from national oppression is to unite all classes in the common struggle for freedom. This struggle will be won quicker and more completely if it is led by the working class, guided by the scientific understanding of Marxism. After imperialism has been defeated, the struggle will not be over. The countries of Africa will still be faced with the tasks of overcoming poverty, exploitation, disease and ignorance. These battles can only be won by marching towards a Communist Africa.
KARL MARX AND THE SCIENCE OF SOCIALISM There were Socialists in the world before the time of the great German revolutionary, Karl Marx, who died in 1883, but these pioneers had merely seen that it would be more reasonable to organise production in a socialist way, rather than in a capitalist one. To them, socialism was a beautiful dream ofwhat the world could be like. Marx changed socialism from a dream into a science. He discovered the laws which determine change in human society. Marx showed how society develops from lower to higher forms-tribalism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism -according to the development of the productive forces at each stage.
The Marxist philosophy, dialectical materialism, enables us to understand these laws. It gives us the key to understanding the world as it really is -and how to change it.
All progress comes through conflicts and contradictions. There is a conflict between what is new and struggling to be born, and what is old and dying. Great leaders, like Lenin and Mao Tse Tung have shown how these laws can be used to transform society. They saw that the main force in modern society which is struggling for a better life is the working class. Under the banner of Marxism, the working class in one country after another is triumphing over capitalism.
THE DUTIES OF AN AFRICAN COMMUNIST
The imperialists are trying to keep the knowledge of Communism from the African people. But they cannot succeed. More and more working people in the Continent are striving to learn more about Marxism. The duty of a Communist is to study Marxism and the conditions in his own country, wherever he may be, and to teach others.
In Africa Communists have also other duties, if they are not merely parloursocialists. They have to take an active part in the struggles of their people, as oppressed people, for national liberation. National liberation is a task for the whole nation, not just for the working class. Therefore the Communists, everywhere in our Continent, will work to

build a United Front of National Liberation, of all classes, workers, peasants, intellectuals and businessmen.
Within this United Front they will also work to see that the working class plays an independent and leading part. The workers should be organised, economically and politically. They should be organised in trade unions to get better wages and conditions. The workers also need their own political party. Starting with Marxist study classes, they should aim at building a powerful Communist Party in each region of Africa, a Party that will be an essential and vital partner in the United Front, the pride of the workers and oppressed people.
Only by building a true Communist Party will the workers of Africa be able to play their leading part in the emancipation of their great continent. A Party which is a true leading section of the proletariat and the people as a whole, which fights in the front line of every people's struggle for freedom, big and small; a Party which earns its right to leadership, not by engaging in petty quarrels for positions, but by playing a brave and worthy role in the fight for bread, land and freedom; for the overthrow of imperialism and White domination, for the advance of Africa to a glorious socialist future.
DOCUMENT 106:
'How Foreign is Communism?', article by 'Toussaint' in The African Communist, issue No. 2, April 1960.
In its founding debates of the All-African Trade Union Federation, a resolution was proposed opposing 'all foreign ideologies'. The resolution, which was amended, appears to have been aimed at Communism. It is a familiar line of attack. Outside of the socialist countries themselves, the warning that Communism is 'foreign' is made over and over again. Communism, it is suggested, is somehow at home in Russia but 'foreign' everywhere else. This most persistent antiCommunist device is now being peddled in Africa, not only by the imperialist agents, but even by others who should know better.
Hostility to foreign domination is now the mainstream of African thinking. It is perhaps understandable that, in an atmosphere of such hostility, unthinking people turn easily to hostility towards everything foreign -customs, ideas, and cultural standards. The good and the valuable is rejected together with the bad. In this fashion, it is hoped, Africa can be persuaded to throw out Communism along with imperialist domination; both, so it is said, are 'foreign'. And it is hoped that having once so labelled Communism, it will be forgotten that the Communists have everywhere been the first to raise the slogans of national self-determination, the first to demand the complete independence of the colonies, the first to reveal to the world the real inner nature of imperialism, and the first to struggle resolutely against it even in the imperial countries themselves.
To understand instinctive African suspicions of all things foreign is not to accept or condone them. Unthinking, unreasoning anti-foreign attitudes are not far from

the racial thinking and outlooks with which imperialist rule has covered Africa, and are often learnt from and taken over from imperialism. South Africa - as in all things racial -provides a good example.

At the start of the second world war, when there was a real need for the struggle against the Nazi ideas of Aryan supremacy, blood-and-soil and the fuehrerprinzip, patriotic mobs in the streets of Johannesburg ignored the steady spreading of these ideas through openly pro-Nazi, Afrikaner Nationalist newspapers, but systematically burned to ashes every German-made car they could find in the streets. In taking over the essential racialistic basis of Nazism, these patriotic, supposedly anti-Nazi, mobs only paved the way for the victory of neo-Nazi ideas in the Union of South Africa, and the final victory of a Nazi orientated government under Dr Malan.

THE GROWTH OF IDEAS

Racialism is one of the worst offshoots of imperialism in the field of ideas. It would be a sad day for Africa were this racialism to be taken over by the opponents of imperialism, turned on its head to become anti-European where present racialism is anti-African, and used once again as a device by the enemies of African progress to cut our people off from the vast stream of social, political and economic theory which is the common heritage of mankind. In some ways, every ideology of the twentieth century is partly 'foreign' to Africa. None of the great social, religious or political codes of our time have arisen independently on this continent as the native product of our own people and our own special thinking. Nor, for that matter, have they arisen exclusively in any other distinct portion of the globe. Protestantism, from its beginnings in Western Europe, borrowed from and adapted itselfto Catholicism, which in turn borrowed from and based itself upon Judaism whose beginnings were in the Middle East. Mohammedanism contains elements of both Judaism and Christianity.The influences of North Africa and of Egypt, at a still earlier date, gave birth to Judaism. Which country or continent can lay claim to have founded the concepts of democracy, without having in turn to acknowledge that it was borrowed from, extended from and derived from others?

'Our whole Western way bf life is descended from civilisations which once flourished in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Central Asia and the islands of the Aegean', writes Ivar Lissner

(The Living Past.)

Only the research worker, the historian and the archaeologist can today separate out each national influence which contributed its part to the overall development of the ideas which are current. It has been fashionable, for a long time, to discount the contribution of Africa to the mainstream of man's ideas, to declare Africa to be the dark and backward continent which contributed nothing. The myth has served the purposes of imperialism well; it has justified the need for foreign rule over this 'backward', 'slothful' continent; and it has screened the inhumanities of

exploitation and the slave trade in Africa from the commerce and intercourse of the rest of the world. But now, in the age when Africa is establishing its independence, serious research is for the first time beginning to reveal the real contribution of Africa to the culture and the thinking of the world.

'And what this new outline suggests is something neither 'inferior' nor 'mysterious' but a story of success and failure, disaster and resurgence and fulfilment, which is no different in its essence from the story of any of the major families of man. This re-discovery of Africa goes indeed towards the recognition of the essential unity of the peoples of Africa with the peoples of the rest of the world. The 'lost islands' of African humanity are joined
to the main.'
Basil Davidson (O14Africa Re-Discovered)
FROM MAN'S EXPERIENCE
All ideas, in their way, are international, derived from wide experience, the products of ceaseless adaptation and enlargement. To this general rule the ideas of revolutionary communism are no exception. Marx and Engels never claimed
- and never could have claimed - that their native Germany was the source of their ideas. Socialism as a new and better form of society than men have ever experienced has its origins far back in history. John Ball, the priest of Kent who roused the peasants to revolt five hundred years before Marx, was certainly drawing on even earlier things when he cried:
'Good people, things will never go well in England so long as goods be not in common,
and so long as there be villeins and gentlemen.'
Two hundred years before Marx, a left wing group, the Levellers, joined in Cromwell's revolt against the monarchy, contributed to Marx's own thinking the comment:
'Property divides the whole world into parties, and is the cause of wars and bloodshed and contention everywhere. When the earth becomes a common treasury again, as it
must, then this enmity in all lands will cease.'
By the time Marx and Engels formulated the clear statement of revolutionary communist ideology in the Communist Manifesto of 1848, Fourier and Saint Simon in France, and Robert Owen in England had actually founded small colonies of followers to live- so they believed -under conditions of socialism without private ownership of property. Marx did not 'invent' socialism any more than Newton invented Physics. Newton contributed the laws of gravity to the science of physics; Marx contributed an equally world-shaking proposition to the theory of socialism -the proposition that the modern industrial working class is the only class in capitalist society with the revolutionary ardour, the ability to combine and organise, which is necessary to carry through the change to socialism. To Marx, socialism was the society which will be created not just by men of vision, but by the revolutionary proletariat. Even for this, the basis was not to be found in Germany.

'Certain historical facts occurred which led to a decisive change in the conception of history', writes Engels. 'In 1831 the first working-class rising had taken place at Lyons (France); between 1838 and 1848, the first national workers' movement, that of the English Chartists, reached its height. The class struggle between

proletariat and bourgeoisie came to the front ... The new facts made imperative an examination of all
past history.'

SOURCES OF MARXISM

This new examination of history, made imperative by the actions and the experiences of working people in many different lands, led finally to the brilliant formulation of the Marxist conception of history:

'That all past history is the history of class struggles; that these warring classes are always the product of the conditions of production and exchange, in a word, of the economic conditions of their time; that therefore the economic structure of society always forms the real basis from which, in the last analysis, is to be explained the whole superstructure of legal and political institutions, as well as of the religious, philosophical
and other conceptions of each historical period.'

(Engels 'Socialism, Utopian and Scientific')

Drawing on the vivid experience of the working class in both the British Chartist Movement and in the seizure of power by the Paris Commune in 1871, Marx developed the ideas which suffuse the communist movement - the idea that working-class economic action falls short of what is required when it is not coupled with political action to conquer political power; that political organisation of the working-class falls short of requirements unless it is coupled with the advanced theory and understanding of militant socialism.

So it is with every aspect of Marxist theory. Marxist political economy is founded upon the classical political economy of Adam Smith and Ricardo; Marx' theory of surplus value built upon and developed from their formulations of the labour theory of value. Half-a-century later, Lenin developed upon Marx' foundations, adding the Marxian analysis of imperialism, 'the highest stage of capitalism', to the treasury of communist political economy. for his penetrating study of imperialism, Lenin learnt much from a British critique by Hobson, who drew considerably on the experience of imperialism gained from the British war against the Boer republics of Southern Africa. Everything that Lenin added to Marxist theory derived from the experience of the working class since Marx' own time - not only in his native Russia, but in every country of the world. From India, China and the Russian colonial possessions, came the understanding of the national question which led to the Leninist formulation of the slogan of the right of nations to self-determination, up to and including their right to secession from an imperial grouping of states. From the French working class in the Paris Commune and the Russian working class in the revolution of 1905 came the Leninist formulation of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the state form for the transition from capitalism to communism.

INTERNATIONAL ORIGINS

Thus Marxism has grown from international roots, from the experience ofthe proletariat in every country. Not every country or even every continent has contributed equally to the rich canvas of contemporary Marxism. Where

capitalism developed first, there first developed the modern wage labourer. It is logical, therefore, that Europe, first homeland of capitalism, should have given birth to Marxism.

Only in fairly recent times have important new extensions of Marxist thought been made outside of Europe, especially in China. Here, under new conditions, unknown even in Lenin's time, the working class is facing new problems, learning new experience and thus formulating new solutions to problems of our own time. Under the brilliant leadership of Mao Tse Tung, Marxism is currently developing an ever fuller understanding and appreciation of the problems of the transition from colonialism to socialism, of the problems of linking the colonial national revolution with the socialist revolution. Though these problems come close to those of Africa, Africa stands now only at the beginning of its own experience; here the proletariat is only beginning to emerge (with small exceptions such as Algeria and South Africa) and accordingly Africa's own, special contribution to Marxist understanding is still in its very infancy.

It must not, however, be imagined that Marxism is a new theory only now beginning to find currency in Africa. In the Union of South Africa, for example, where modern industrial relations and a modern proletariat has existed for a considerable time, Marxism has long been a powerful influence and a popular creed amongst the working class. A Communist Party existed in South Africa since even before the founding of the Communist International. During its many years of active struggle the Communist Party established itself as the authentic voice of the African proletariat, as the most vigorous fighter for the black-white unity of the working class, and as the most outspoken opponent of Boer and British imperial oppression. The South African national liberation movement, now a powerful challenging force, arose and grew to maturity under the crusading zeal and inspiration of the Communist Party.

NEW SLANT ON OLD SLANDER

It is not therefore easy to discredit Communism in South Africa merely by labelling it as 'foreign'. The politically aware masses have rubbed shoulders with Communism in every progressive struggle and in every democratic and anti-imperialist organisation. Many of the leading Communists have become leaders of the national liberation organisations; and equally, many of the leaders of the national liberation organisations have, to the public knowledge, become Communists. Thus, in South Africa, Communism is as indigenous a movement, as native in its origins, its thinking and its viewpoint as the liberation movement itself.

An attack on Communism in the Union of South Africa has therefore to be

based on less obviously false grounds than that of 'foreignness'. In the current Treason Trial in Pretoria, a variant of the 'Communism is foreign' cry is being used against the leaders of the campaign for national liberation, both black and white, communist and non-communist. This variant has been produced by Professor Andrew Murray of the University of Capetown, the prosecution's 'expert on Communism'. Murray's evidence has been based on the proposition that

every aspect of Marxism-its ideas, its slogans and even its language-is something special to Marxism alone. For Murray, Marxist thought belongs in a special category of its own, outside the main streams of all other human thought, and thus - in a sense - in the category of an ideology foreign to very other social and political creed current anywhere in the world. On this basis, this 'expert' has been able to pick a single phrase from a document, a single sub-section from a long resolution or even a single word from a whole speech and brand it, unhesitatingly, as 'unadulterated Marxism'.

Not even Dr Verwoerd's selected 'expert' can make this proposition tenable. The defence of the Treason accused bases itself on the universally accepted view that no wide current of thought or belief exists in a sealed vacuum, out of touch with, untouched by or unaffected by contact with others. Every ideology leaves its impact and its mark upon men's minds; every new ideology builds upon, branches off from and extends, some part of an idea that has developed before.

Marxism, in this respect, is not peculiar. It is part-admittedly a special part but none the less part of the great humanist flood of man's thinking, inherited from the past; it has taken what is appropriate and worthwhile from other creeds and built upon it, extended and developed it. From German philosophy it has taken its dialectics, from French philosophy its materialism; from classical British political economy it has taken its economics, and from Darwin its views of nature and evolution. Who can say from a single thought or a single phrase where Marxism begins and other ideologies end? Only a Philistine or a Murray would attempt to categorise Marxism from anything less than its whole philosophy, its whole world view.

BOTH BORROWER AND LENDER

The traffic in ideas is not a one way current. Marxism borrowed, adapted and developed. But equally the world, even the anti-Communist world, has-knowingly or unknowingly-taken over much of Marxist thinking, adapted it and developed it for its own purposes.

'Marx', writes frankly anti-Communist Professor H.B.Mayo (Democracy andMarxism), 'was one of those pioneers, like Darwin or Freud, who changed the tenor of man's thought; and every student of history and society must sooner or later come to terms with him... Marxism is, without question, one of the most influential systems of thought put forward in the last few hundred years ... It is perhaps to Marx, more than tp any other person, that we owe today our commonplace acceptance of the fact that
economic influences extend in many devious ways throughout society.'

Amongst the most prolific borrowers from the treasury of Marxist thought have been the leaders and thinkers of the national liberation movements of Africa. Some like Nkrumah, openly admit to the influence Marxism has had upon their thinking. Others, like Skou Toure use the Marxist method in their political work and draw upon Marxist theory for their political guidance. Others still, probably unwittingly, take over into their work not only the language of the Marxist critiques of imperialism, but also the Marxist slogan of 'the right of nations to

selfdetermination', and the Marxist recognition that imperialism is a manifestation of the monopoly stage of capitalism. Whether Africa is conscious of the fact or not, the independence movement of this continent has draw heavily upon Marxist thinking for inspiration and development of its various nationalist and liberationist ideologies. Far from being a foreign ideology, Marxism has become part and parcel of the native consciousness' of this continent's awakening.

It could not have been otherwise. At the present stage of world development, all forward, progressive-seeking mankind looks to socialism as the new form of human society. Over the past hundred years Marxism has emerged victorious over all the pious dreams and vague hopes of utopian socialists; Marxism, and the communist parties in the light of Marxist science, have already led a quarter of mankind to the successful construction of socialist societies. Nowhere in the world can there be people who think of social change and strike out to win it who are not influenced and enlightened by the practical achievements of Marxism and Marxists. The equality of the manifold nationalities and races of the Soviet Union, the economic advance and self-confident happiness of the people of China -these stand as blazing beacons of inspiration everywhere amongst the oppressed nations of the world. Those who would be free look to and learn from the lands of socialism.

But to borrow, unconsciously and without understanding, fragments of Marxist thought, single disconnected pieces and elements of Marxism, is not enough to lead a continent to its liberty. To be masters of their own destiny and to make their own history precisely as they wish, those who lead the masses of the colonial world need the full consciousness and understanding which Marxism can give them.

Many years ago Marx perceived that revolutionary feelings arose spontaneously amongst the proletariat from the hammer-blows of life under conditions of capitalism. But revolutionary consciousness, understanding -these cannot arise spontaneously even amongst the proletariat. These are the fruits of a scientific understanding of the world, and of a scientific summing up of the experience of all its class struggles. Consciousness, understanding, Marxist theory, these have to be deliberately brought to the working class, and taught to them by advanced socialist thinkers.

It is for this purpose that Communist Parties, themselves studying their countries' problems in the light of Marxist theory, are so urgently required in Africa. The African proletariat, small though it be in numbers, is already everywhere revealing itself as the dynamic, revolutionary core of African liberation. To

this vital group, Communist Parties can bring the consciousness which today is lacking, and enable this class to fulfil its historic destiny of leading the peasant and tribal masses of Africa to the new age of socialism. In doing so, the Marxists of Africa will fill the glaring gap that now exists, by adding to the living science of Marxism the experiences and the new theoretical extensions of Marxism which derive from our own experience and our own continent.

DOCUMENT 107:

'New Problems of a Continent in Revolution', editorial in The African Communist, issue No. 3, September 1960.

Africa in 1960 is a continent in revolution. With dizzy speed, the era of direct domination over the peoples and countries of this continent is coming to an end. In one territory after another the old colonial orders are being dismantled and replaced by new governments composed of African leaders who, for the most part, enjoy a wide measure of popular support. Even in some areas where colonial rule and white privilege seemed most strongly entrenched the old colonial administrations are being modified and adapted, and hurried preparations made to transfer formal political power to African hands. The map of Africa is changing before our eyes, and the area of self-government extended to cover the whole continent.

A mighty, continent-wide tide of African liberation is surging from north to south, from east to west. The freedom struggles of individual African countries cannot be contained within their 'national' boundaries, drawn by the imperialists. A common history of oppression going back over centuries of foreign rule, whether French or Belgian, British or Portuguese, unites the African people, regardless of their language and their past, or of which European power colonised them. The new independent States need to stand together to safeguard their newly-won freedom and to help their African brothers still under the colonial yoke. There is a powerful urge towards co-operation of African liberation movements and union of the young African republics. All-African unity is an invaluable weapon against the forces of colonialism.

DANGEROUS ILLUSIONS

But the very speed of the striking transformation of Africa can and does give rise to certain widespread illusions which could be very dangerous. Some people seem to think that the struggle for African freedom has already been won, that it remains only to complete the process with a few 'mopping up' operations, and that the future progress by the peoples of Africa to full equality with the nations of the world will be an easy process, unaccompanied by storms, struggles and upheavals. There is an illusion that imperialism has surrendered, that the colonialists mean to give up without a struggle their vast sources of power and profit on this Continent.

There is the illusion that the winning of political independence, which is only the first phase of the African Revolution -though a vital and important one is the end of the freedom road, and not only the first miles along it, necessarily to be followed by far-reaching economic and social changes which will bring true emancipation to Africa and an end to its heritage of poverty, backwardness and dependence.

Again, airy and ill-defined talk of'Pan-Africanism' and the 'African Personality' give rise to vague and mystical notions that the problems of our Continent are peculiarly and exclusively African, unrelated to those of other Continents and peoples, that our way forward will be unique and that the experiences of other peoples and countries are without meaning and value to us in Africa.

Of course, there are certain notably distinct features of the African Revolution, which we hope to deal with in future articles in this magazine. But, like the Asian states which embarked upon the road of independence after the second world war, and like recently independent Cuba, the emergent African republics have many problems common to all who seek to win their rightful place among the older and more developed countries, More: there are vital issues which face every country and people in the modern world. There is the key question of world peace, in an era where a new world war threatens the very survival of the whole of humanity. There is the crucial issue of our times - capitalism versus socialism - and which of these offers African states the better chance of overcoming the crippling heritage of imperialism. There are vital issues of foreign policy facing every new African state. These are some of the challenges facing African leadership and statesmanship today.

WAR OR PEACE?

African freedom and the battle for world peace are as closely linked as Siamese twins. Few Africans can be blind to the fact that those imperialist forces which have held Africa in bondage for centuries are those that today engage in vast preparations for war and are responsible for the state of international tension in the world.

In 1956 Egypt, newly independent, asserted her sovereign right to nationalise her major asset, the Suez Canal. Britain and France, using Israel as a catspaw, and with the connivance of the United States, launched a war against Egypt and the world tottered on
the brink of nuclear war.

Trying to hold on to her last outpost of empire, France has for six years fought a bloody
and brutal war against the Algerian people.

Earlier this year, in a show of strength on the stage of world power politics and in Africa, France exploded an atom bomb on African soil, though the test blast wa condemned by the United Nations and the unanimous voice of the African people.

When Belgium rushed paratroopers into the Congo to try to wreck the newly proclaimed Congo Republic the first powers to rush to her aid were the United States (most powerful Imperialist power and leader of the war bloc), and Welensky's Central African
Federation (one of the police forces of White supremacy on the continent).

The massive military machines prepared by the western states for the alleged reason of

defence against 'Communism' can be and are repeatedly used to suppress the revolts of the African peoples against domination by European powers or white settlers, or to threaten the independence of those countries which have succeeded in gaining a measure
of self-government.

As imperialism and colonialism and war are linked, so are the forces of socialism and peace and freedom tied together. The Socialist system of planned economies

does not need to resort to munitions industries and war to solve its economic crises, and the Soviet Union has consistently been at the head of those forces trying to outlaw war and keep the peace. The Soviet Union took the unilateral decision to reduce arms and troops, to stop nuclear tests. She put forward disarmament proposals to the Big Powers and pressed for top level negotiations on disarmament.

The remarkable technical achievements of the Soviet Union, strikingly demonstrated by the 'sputniks' and 'luniks' and other feats of science destroyed the myth of Western technical superiority upon which the policy of 'cold' war was based. Logically the only alternative to the 'cold' war was a policy of peaceful co-existence and the acceptance of the Soviet proposals for stage-by-stage total disarmament. The imperialist powers, led by the United States, ignored this logic and continued with the ruinous and dangerous amassing of weapons. And as the Summit Conference drew near and the prospects for peace were brighter than for years past, the United States took last desperate steps to wreck the peace talks and sent military planes on provocative spy flights over Soviet territory. Imperialist military machines ranged against the Socialist countries are the same forces used to police the African continent and put down the freedom forces of the African Revolution. So at one and the same time the growing strength of the Socialist world weakens the world force of imperialism and helps the spurt forward of the peoples of Africa. Africa needs peace to enjoy her newly-won independence and she cannot stand aside from the battle for peace. Conversely, a blow to the war plans of the Imperialist countries helps immeasurably to loosen their grip on their colonial possessions.

THE CONCEPT OF 'NEUTRALISM'

Such concepts as 'neutralism', 'positive neutrality' and 'non-participation in power blocs' are popular at all-African conferences and in Asian countries. These concepts have a positive side. They reflect a moving away of the former colonies from the position of being imperialist dependencies or 'spheres of influence'. Following this concept the Afro-Asian 'bloc' has played a progressive role at the United Nations and many of its member countries have entered into closer relationships with the socialist countries on the diplomatic, economic, cultural and other levels.

At the same time 'neutralism' has harmful and negative aspects. It suggests the identification of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other socialist countries with the imperialists, all as 'alien powers seeking to dominate and exploit Africa and the African peoples'. It suggests that African countries,

anxious to safeguard their independence, must stand aside from not only the countries of imperialism but also those of the socialist world, that both forces are ranged against the African Revolution. Under cover of of talk of 'opposing foreign ideologies', imperialist agencies like the Moral Rearmament Movement, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions smuggle poisonous antiCommunist talk and policies into the African nationalist and trade union movements. These 'neutrals' are not neutral. They have invariably turned out to be

committed to the forces of imperialism trying to hold on to their spheres of influence on the continent, though in new shapes and forms.
Africa cannot be 'neutral' towards the imperialist powers which have conquered and degraded its peoples and are still striving in various ways, ranging from open warfare to subtle economic infiltration, to keep their stranglehold over the continent. Africans cannot regard these powers in the same light as the socialist countries which have consistently upheld the rights of the colonial peoples to self. determination, and which have given generous economic assistance-without strings attached- to all African and Asian states which have asked for it.
While 'neutralism' has played, and may still play for a short period, an objectively progressive and necessary part as a slogan of the transition period from colonialism, it must in the future increasingly become a reactionary slogan, under cover of which an
anti-socialist and pro-imperialist policy is peddled.
Progressive movements in Africa recognise the genuine feeling in Africa for 'positive neutralism', but must guard against these who would use this slogan to cause harmful dissension and splits in the African liberation front. The main thing is to unite all African freedom forces in the sharpest possible struggle against imperialism and colonialism in Africa and throughout the world. The Bandung spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism must be carried to higher levels, and the closest possible friendship built, based on equality, between the countries of Socialism and the free states and the peoples of Africa.
NEW FOREIGN POLICIES FOR AFRICA Despite the talk of 'neutralism' and 'non-alignment', African states even under conservative national leaderships, have not failed in the acid tests put before them. Moving like one man the states of free Africa have taken sides against every act of imperialist aggression in Africa, from the declaration of states of emergency in Nyasaland and the Rhodesias and South Africa to the armed Belgian intervention in the Congo, from the French atomic blast in the Sahara to the continuance of the war in Algeria.
For the nature of the anti-imperialist fight is that all liberation forces in Africa have to make a firm stand against the Western Powers. They cannot shelter behind formulae of 'neutralism'. When Africans and Arabs are being shot down in Leopoldville and Algiers, and Congress leaders being detained in Blantyre, Livingstone and Cape Town, African states and movements must unite in immediate support, moral and practical, of the victims of imperialism.

This is the great common interest - the fight to break the grip of imperialism on the continent -which cements together the foreign policies of the states and liberation movements
of our Continent.
This struggle against imperialism, open or concealed, is the basis of the agreement reached at the All-Africa conferences at Accra and Conakry, at the conference of African States held at Addis Ababa and the foundation stone of the foreign policies of the new African states. Significantly the two most crucial issues on the

agenda of the Addis Ababa conference were the Algerian war and the mounting campaign against the Nationalist Government of South Africa.

The Algerian war and the boycott movement against South Africa are the two touchstones by which international attitudes on African liberation are judged these days. States which stand aloof from support of the FLN freedom forces in Algeria or condemnation of the South African Nationalist Government are suspect in the eyes of Africa.

As the struggle against imperialism deepens in many parts ofthe continent more and more of the newly emerged African states have to produce a foreign policy that does not merely react to sharp imperialist prods and attacks here and there, but which takes on a more consistent pattern. And a consistent policy of opposition to all imperialist plans and intrigues hastens the time when African countries enjoying merely formal self-government must break the last connections with their imperialist masters and strike out for real independence.

The imperialist countries realise, too, the great changes coming over the continent have forced them to retreat from the positions of naked domination they held in Africa. But they are not running away in blind panic. They are retreating to carefully prepared positions. They wish to retain the thousand invisible strings of dependence which tie Africa economically to Western Europe and North America and, under cover provided by nominally independent African governments, to exercise innumerable subtle forms of continued control and exploitation.

The United States, the most powerful imperialist country, tries to use the antiimperialist sentiments of the African people to replace western European influence in Africa with that of the influence ofUnited States monopoly capitalists and financiers. With its long years of practice in treating the nominally independent countries of South America as its economic colonies, the United States sees itselfas well equipped to change the new Africa into an American dependency too.

While Africa is weak, while her countries are backward economically and militarily, there is the constant threat of disguised or even open attempts to reconquer and recolonise Africa. These attempts find their chief expression, their main hope and source'of potential strength in the white settler communities which live in Africa, in Algeria, Kenya, and Southern Rhodesia and of course South Africa. For the countries of new Africa, measures to assist the emancipation of the people of South Africa and Central Africa and the victory of the Algerian people in their .war are therefore more than acts of support and African brotherhood. They are vital measures to ensure the safety of Africa, and to remove a poison-bed of reaction which could infect the whole continent, and a storm centre of counter-revolution.

SOCIALISM IS THE ROAD

The winning of political independence is therefore only the first phase -although an essential and important phase- of the African Revolution. That revolution, if its gains are to be preserved and its benefits realised for the great mass of the people cannot stop short at this phase. It must continue, to wipe out all remnants of

colonialism. It must bring about large scale industrialisation. It must spread the Africai revolution into the countryside to transform the life of the African subsistence farmer; it must move on to the elimination of backwardness, illiteracy, tribalism and feudalism.

African independence cannot survive in the present age until and unless its economic
basis rapidly catches up with that of the advanced industrial countries of the world.

Sooner or later emergent Africa must see that the only way in which she can carry out
this gigantic task of defeating backwardness and advancing into full freedom is through

Socialism: the planned development of commonly-owned means of production. The Soviet Union, the Peoples' Republic of China, in widely differing conditions and two different epochs showed that only under socialist planning can breath-taking economic scientific and industrial advance transform two of the poorest countries of the world into two of the world's great powers.

It is this unprecedented industrial and technical development which has made it possible not only to bring new life to the Russian and Chinese worker and farmer, but also for the socialist countries to give invaluable help to the underdeveloped countries and former colonies, Africa included.

Economic and technical aid from the socialist countries differs fundamentally from the 'aid' offered by imperialist countries to underdeveloped Africa and Asia. Socialist aid is given on very generous terms - there are long periods of repayment and low rates of interest - (terms which capitalist businesses, concerned primarily with the export of capital at high rates of profit will not offer). Even more important is the purpose of aid from the socialist world and the conditions under which it is given. The imperialists offer aid in the shape of surplus consumer products and are anxious to keep the underdeveloped countries in a state of backwardness and dependency.

The socialist world is able and willing to help in the rapid industrialisation of the former colonies to enable them as quickly as possible to stand on their own feet and attain complete economic independence. The imperialists make all sorts of political and military conditions for their handouts to ensure that their 'beneficiaries' will remain within the western 'sphere of interest'. Socialist assistance is given without strings or conditions. Thus not only countries headed by militant peoples' leaders like Sdkou Tour, moving in the direction of socialist planning and democracy, but even those ruled by feudal kings like Haile Selassie and anti-Communists like President Nasser benefit from Soviet aid. Socialist aid to underdeveloped countries springs from genuine concern in the welfare and social advancement of the peoples of the country concerned.

Thus the advance of socialism and anti-imperialist forces all over the world

spurs forward and assists the advance of the peoples of Africa to freedom and independence. And the African Revolution saps still further the greatly weakened

force of world imperialism and opens the way to full freedom for the peoples of this continent and the world at large.

Editorial Note:

After the state of emergency and the banning of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress in 1960, offices of the South African United Front, representing the ANC, PAC, South African Indian Congress and South West Africa National Union, were opened in London, Accra, Cairo and Dar es Salaam. Though the Front was short-lived, it was largely due to the lobbying of its representatives that South Africa was forced to withdraw from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference in London in March, 1961.

DOCUMENT 108:

'Verwoerd's End is Near', a message from Dr Yusuf Dadoo, United Front representative in London, published in New Age on March 23, 1961.

The enforced withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth is a resounding victory for our people, and marks an historical step forward in our struggle against apartheid and for democratic rights.

This is a stunning defeat for Verwoerd and a dismal failure for Macmillan in his frantic attempt to retain Dr Verwoerd's Government within the Commonwealth by means of tricky manoeuvres both prior to and during the Commonwealth conference.

The Prime Ministers' determined stand is a tribute to their steadfast opposition to racial discrimination as well as a tribute to the solidarity of the peoples in all their countries with the struggle of the South African masses against apartheid and for freedom.

The world is solidly against Verwoerd's racial policies.

We are now engaged in a campaign

* to urge economic sanctions through the United Nations; * to call upon workers not to handle South African goods;

* to press upon the British Government to honour the spirit of the Commonwealth tonference decision and not have backdoor trade and other deals with

the Verwoerd Government; and

* to work for worldwide isolation of South Africa in the international field.

This new development opens up vast possibilities for us to make further inroads into the bastion of racialism and white supremacy built by the Herrenvolk supporters of Dr Verwoerd and his Nationalist Party. The people at home must

redouble their efforts and work with renewed energy in opposing every facet of Dr Verwoerd's Government. The Pietermaritzburg All African conference deserves every success in its demand for a national convention backed up by mass action for its speedy realisation.

Verwoerd's end is near. The warm rays of Africa's dawn of freedom will soon be felt in our beloved land.

Editorial Note:

The Communist Party's underground apparatus was extremely active during the early sixties. In August 1961 the 'crime reporter' of the Johannesburg Nationalist nawspaper Die Vaderland reported:
'The police are of the opinion that the present campaign is one of the most comprehensive ever conducted by a Communistic organisation in the last 10 years. In Johannesburg alone thousands of leaflets describing in detail the history and aims of Communism in South Africa and the world in general have been distributed -apparently at night. The distributors have directed their attention especially to European areas where most Bantu gather, for example the northern suburbs, Hillbrow and Yeoville. Leaflets have been
found in numbers of letterboxes in hundreds of blocks of flats.
At the bottom of some of the leaflets is written: "It is your duty to give this document to
your servant. We hope they will not be your slaves for much longer".'
The Vaderland report stated that similar leaflets had been distributed simultaneously in other cities and locations throughout the country, and the police were trying to ascertain the origin of the leaflets.
DOCUMENT 109:
'The Story of the Communist Party', underground leaflet distri. buted in South Africa in July, 1961.
It is Forty years since the Communist Party of South Africa was formed, on July 30, 1921.
Never was any Organisation so much hated by the bosses and the rulers of this country as the Communist Party. Never was any Organisation so much loved by the workers of the towns and poor people of the countryside, by the oppressed millions of Non-Whites.
The reason was not far to seek.
In every struggle of the people-against racial discrimination, poverty and oppression -the Communist Party fought in the front ranks.
The African people will never forget the Communist Party. They remember how, for many years, it led the fight against Pass Laws. They recall the name of the great hero and martyr, Johannes Nkosi, who was brutally murdered by the Police in the mass demonstration against Passes at Durban on December 16, 1930. They remember that the Communist Party was the first to organise African Trade

Unions to win higher wages, better jobs and better conditions for the working class, led by pioneer Trade Unionists like Gana Makabeni, Albert Nzula, Moses Kotane and J.B. Marks. Ceaselessly the Communist Party worked to arouse the people to unite, to build the African National Congress, to demand their rights for land, bread and freedom, for votes for all in a democratic South Africa based on equality ofrights and opportunities for everyone.
The Indian people of this country cannot forget how under the inspiration of men like Dr Dadoo and other Indian Communists, as well as Non-Communists, the whole struggle of the Indian people was raised to new heights; how they fought for a United Front with the African and Coloured people for EQUALITY and

FREEDOM for ALL. The Coloured people know the role the Communists have played in fighting against Apartheid and bad conditions. They remember the part played by pioneers like Jimmy la Guma, John Gomas and Ray Alexander in organising the poorest-paid Coloured workers.

The Communist Party was a Non-Racial Organisation - the first in this country to admit all men and women regardless of race or colour, on a basis of complete equality. The White workers who today stand aloof or even hostile towards the aspirations of the Non-White masses should remember that it was Communists like Bill Andrews, the father of the Labour movement, Ivon Jones, S.P. Bunting, and many others who pioneered and built up the Trade Unions and working class political movements which are responsible for the higher wages and better conditions which they enjoy today.

SWORN ENEMY OF NATIONALISM

The Communists stand for the direct opposite of everything the Nationalist Party stands for.

Instead of Apartheid-Unity and friendship for all South Africans, Black and White.

Instead of Oppression - Freedom and Equality - Freedom ofSpeech, Assembly, Press, Organisation and Movement; Equality of Rights and Opportunities. No wonder the Nationalists hate the Communists so much! Headed by men like 'Sjambok' Swart, the present State President, and Hitlerlovers like Verwoerd, the Nationalist Party swore it would destroy Communism in South Africa.

In 1950 they passed the 'Suppression of Communism Act', which declared the Communist Party unlawful.

They 'listed' every member or supporter of the CPSA they knew. They forced hundreds ofCommunists to resign from the Congress movement and the Trade Unions; banned them from attending gatherings; forced people like Sam Kahn, Brian Bunting and Ray Alexander out of Parliament where they had been elected by the votes of the people, and Fred Carneson out ofthe Provincial Council. Communists were victimised out of their jobs, and like other patriots and freedom fighters they have been exiled from their homes to far away places or even out of the country.

By methods like these, the Nats. thought they could kill the spirit of Communism in South Africa. But they have failed hopelessly.

The former Communist Party of South Africa was dissolved-but a new onethe South African Communist Party -has grown up in its place to carry on with the struggle and carry it on to victory.

And all South Africa knows that -shoulder to shoulder with Non-Communist democrats and fighters for freedom -the Communists have continued to play a glorious part in every great movement of the masses against the hated Nationalist regime. In the Defiance Campaign and the Congress of the People, the movement against Passes, the Bus boycotts, the Treason Trial, the Maritzburg Conference and many another stirring chapter of South African History, the Communists have played a full and exemplary part.

The Nationalist Party cannot destroy or suppress Communism.
They can persecute Communists-but they cannot kill the deep roots of Communism in the love and respect of the people. They cannot break the firm ties of comradeship between Communists and Non-Communists in the freedom fight.
You can kill people-but you cannot kill ideas, least of all, noble and true ideas like those of Communism. For these ideas have been evolved by the greatest thinkers humanity has produced, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Vladimir Lenin. They embody and carry forward the thinking of all the great humanists down the ages. They arise from a deep study of Philosophy, of History, of the world we live in and the working of the Capitalist System.
History has proved Communism to be true and correct. In a short period oftime, enormous strides forward to a better and freer life have been made under Communist leadership by formerly backward countries like Russia and China. Hitler's monstrous armies were crushed, primarily by the Soviet Union. And it is the socialist science of the Soviet Union which has led to the Conquest of Space by Man.
Despite all the lies of the Capitalist Newspapers, these and many other facts prove to all that Communism holds the answers to the problems of humanity; the key to a better and brighter future for all who live on this earth; the key to peace, national freedom, democracy and socialism.

WHERE THE COMMUNIST PARTY STANDS TODAY

Where does the South African Communist Party stand today, on the great problems which face our country-in the serious position to which we have been brought under the crazy Verwoerd Government, with its sick ideas of Apartheid and White Supremacy?
We stand where Communists have always stood on the great question of the ending of Capitalism and the exploitation of man by man. We believe that the best road for the future of our country is that of SOCIALISM. That is, a society where all the Industries, Farms, Mines and other means of production are made Public property, where living standards rise rapidly and progress is planned by a strong Workers' and Peasants' Government.

Capitalism is doomed. The United States of America and other Imperialist Countries stagger from one terrible crisis of unemployment to another. The only future that Capitalism can offer is another terrible World War, fought with Atomic weapons that can wipe out millions of people and destroy Man's finest achievements. Already one third of the human race has turned its back on Capitalism-with its poverty, inequality, racialism, wars and exploitation-and are advancing victoriously to build Communism - the society of the future.
On the immediate problem of South Africa we stand with all other patriots and democrats irrespective of their views about socialism. We stand for a United Front of National Liberation. We stand, together with the Congress Movement, for the Freedom Charter. We stand for the overthrow of the Nazi Nationalist Government and the summoning of a democratically elected sovereign National Convention to promulgate a new Constitution for a free South Africa.

We stand for higher wages, for free Speech and the ending of the Nazi laws which have driven the Communist Party and the African National Congress underground.

NOW TO FIGHT

The African Revolution which is sweeping through our Continent has won one victory after another until independence has been won everywhere except in a few pockets of Imperialism such as the Portuguese Colonies and the vicious White Colonialism practised in this country and the Rhodesias. The people will win here too.

But people do not get freedom served up on a plate. They have to fight for it. Sometimes they even have to fight with arms in their hands, as is now being done by the.brave patriots of Algeria and Angola.

The key is ORGANISATION. We shall not beat the brutal Verwoerd dictatorship unless we are united in our own ranks.

Workers! join your Trade Unions. Peasants, Organise against the traitor chiefs who sell out to Bantu Authorities. Build up, everyone, your underground African National Congress and other organisations which fight for freedom. Support your South African Communist Party, the voice of oppressed and exploited South Africa:

THIS IS A MESSAGE FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

DOCUMENT 110:

'Transkei Emergency is One Year Old', article by Govan Mbeki, New Age, December 7, 1961.

For twelve months - a year - life has been a continuous nightmare for the 2 million peasants in the Transkei.

Thousands of men-and women have had their share of it too-have been

thrown into jail for indefinite periods. Some were released after stewing there for several months, only to be rounded up again and thrown back into jail.

What offence had they committed against the law? They did not know because most of them have not been brought to court to answer any charges. Often their families and relatives did not know where they were. They only knew that they had been taken by the police, or had heard so.

.UNLAWFUL ACTS

Last week Mr Prinsloo, ChiefBAD Information Officer, said there never has been an emergency in the Transkei. But

'It is a State of Emergency-a time when the operation of normal laws is suspended.' That has been the gist of replies by BAD Commissioners and the police to questions by distressed relatives about the whereabouts oftheir people or why they were detained.

But why a State of Emergency? Even in time of war a government that enjoys popular support only assumes emergency powers in those fields of activity which directly concern the war effort. If a government has repeatedly to resort to declaring a state of emergency in peace time it must be rotten at the core.

A government that observes the accepted democratic practices never needs to invoke emergency powers to smother criticism of its policies. When, therefore, a government assumes such extraordinary powers in normal times, it gives itself the prerogative to indulge in acts of lawlessness. And that is precisely what the Nationalist government is doing in the Transkei.

MARTIAL LAW

A year ago-on November 30, 1960-the Government proclaimed a state of emergency in five districts of Eastern Pondoland-Bizana, Flagstaff, Lusikisiki, Tabankulu and Mt Ayliff. A fortnight thereafter all 26 districts of the Transkei were blanketed by martial law.

Some of the districts, like Bizana, Mt Ayliff and Tsomo, had also been affected by the emergency regulations that had been declared on March 30, 1960, after the Sharpeville massacre. So it was only two months after the emergency regulations had been lifted that they were re-imposed in the Transkei. Sweeping powers were granted to all manner of officials - police, BAD Commissioners, Chiefs and headmen -to arrest without warrant whomsoever they chose.

Why did this happen?

RISE OR FALL

The people of the Transkei, more particularly those in eastern Pondoland, had challenged the Nationalist government on a vital policy issue - they rejected Bantu Authorities and took positive steps to see that they did not work. The government

realised that unless Bantu Authorities worked in the Transkei the entire apartheid structure was doomed to collapse. The stakes were high both for the government and for the people.

On March 25, 1960, the spark that set off the revolt in Pondoland was lit, at a sub-chief's tribal court.

Two men were given corporal punishment by the people because they had persisted in spreading false ideas of apartheid through the establishment of Bantu Authorities. Saul Mabude, who died a few months ago, was sentenced to similar punishment in his absence, and on the following day he had a narrow escape when hundreds of Pondos closed in on him at his home. He escaped but his home was destroyed.

From then on to the end of November, when the emergency was declared, the police failed to cope with the wrath of the people.

RIFLE OR SJAMBOK

Early in December the Nationalist government brought armoured units into the Transkei. The rifle and the sjambok became the chief instruments of ruling. Like swarms of locusts the police and the army, in close formation, combed the peasant villages, rounding up thousands of men whom they drove in herds to overcrowded jails and barbed wire camps.

There was nothing the agents of the Nationalist Government, driven insane by the opposition of the peasants, did not do to smash their resistance. The police, army and hireling chiefs jailed them, beat them up, wrecked their homes, plundered

their stock to destroy their means of livelihood, and resorted to banishment in a desperate bid to rob the people of their leaders.

OPPRESSORS DON'T LEARN

The Nationalist government sealed off the Transkei as butchers seal off an abattoir so that the public never know the extent of the carnage which takes place daily in the enclosure.

But human beings are not cattle, sheep or pigs, and that is a lesson all oppressors throughout history have failed to learn. Despite the fate of Hitler, Mussolini and Batista, the Nationalist government thinks that tyranny will succeed here because it is practised by Afrikaners, a super-breed.

They too will yet learn that man is man, and will resist all efforts to trample him and his spirit under the jackboot of tyranny. No amount of brutality has prevented the spirit of liberty from expressing itself.

END OF TETHER

The unarmed popular resistance of the people in the Transkei in the face of cruel onslaughts by a ruthless government is proof of this.

On the anniversary of the proclamation of the state of emergency in the Transkei, the Nationalist government is trying to introduce its Bantu Authorities in the urban areas. They will meet with the same fate.

Bantu Authorities marked the end of the road in the people's endurance of Nationalist oppression in the reserves. Signs are not lacking that the workers in the cities have also reached the end of their tether.

The urban Bantu Councils are doomed to fail because the people will never accept them.

Editorial Note:

The strike of May 29-31, 1961, decided upon by the all-in African conference in Maritzburg as a protest against the inauguration of the Republic and organised from underground by Nelson Mandela, was met with the usual savage repression by the Verwoerd regime. Convinced that their call for a national convention to hammer out a new constitution would never be acceded to by the racist regime, the leaders of the liberation movement, after decades of peaceful and non-violent action to promote their aims, decided that more forceful methods of struggle were required. The military organisation Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) was formed in November 1961, with members of the Congresses and the Communist Party amongst the members of its high command. On December 16 Umkhonto announced its existence with a series of bomb explosions in various parts of the country. In a bid to meet the people's challenge, the racist regime passed the Sabotage Act during the next session of Parliament and in 1963 introduced the 90-day law providing for detention without trial and opening the way to the widespread use of torture.

DOCUMENT 111:

Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe issued on December 16, 1961.

Units of Umkhonto We Sizwe today carried out planned attacks against Government installations, particularly those connected with the policy of apartheid and race discrimination.
Umkhonto We Sizwe is a new, independent body, formed by Africans, It includes in its ranks South Africans of all races. It is not connected in any way with a so-called 'Committee for National Liberation' whose existence has been announced in the press. Umkhonto We Sizwe will carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods, which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation organizations. Umkhonto We Sizwe fully supports the national liberation movement, and our members, jointly and individually, place themselves under the overall political guidance of that movement.
It is, however, well known that the main national liberation organizations in this country have consistently followed a policy of non-violence. They have conducted

themselves peacably at all times, regardless of Government attacks and persecutions upon them, and despite all Government-inspired attempts to provoke them to violence. They have done so because the people prefer peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations without the suffering and bitterness of civil war. But the people's patience is not endless.
The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.
The Government has interpreted the peacefulness of the movement as weakness: the people's non-violent policies have been taken as a green light for Government violence. Refusal to resort to force has been interpreted by the Government as an invitation to use armed force against the people without any fear of reprisals. The methods of Umkhonto We Sizwe mark a break with that past.
We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The Government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with nonviolent resistance only! The choice is not ours; it has been made by the Nationalist Government which has rejected every peaceable demand by the people for rights and freedom and answered every such demand with force and yet more force! Twice in the past 18 months, virtual martial law has been imposed in order to beat down peaceful, non-violent strike action of the people in support of their rights. It is now preparing its forces-enlarging and rearming its armed forces and drawing white civilian population into commandos and pistol clubs for full-scale military actions against the people. The Nationalist Government has chosen the course offorce and massacre, now, deliberately, as it did at Sharpeville.
Umkhonto We Sizwe will be at the front line of the people's defence. It will be the fighting arm of the people against the Government and its policies of race oppression. It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation! Let the Government, its supporters who put it into power,

and those whose passive toleration of reaction keeps it in power, take note of where the Nationalist Government is leading the country!
We of Umkhonto We Sizwe have always sought-as the liberation movement has sought -to achieve liberation, without bloodshed and civil clash. We do so still. We hope-even at this late hour- that our first actions will awaken everyone to a realization of the disastrous situation to which the Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the Government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both Government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war. We believe our actions to be a blow against the Nationalist preparations for civil war and military rule.
In these actions, we are working in the best interests of all the people of this country -black, brown and white -whose future happiness and well-being cannot be attained without the overthrow ofthe Nationalist Government, the abolition of white supremacy and the winning of liberty, democracy and full national rights and equality for all the people of this country.

We appeal for the support and encouragement of all those South Africans who seek the happiness and freedom of the people of this country. Afrika Mayibuye!
Issued by command of Umkhonto We Sizwe.
DOCUMENT 112:
'Why the United Front Failed: Disruptive Role of the PAC', by Dr Y.M. Dadoo, article published in New Age, March 29, 1962.
'The South Africa United Front has been dissolved', said the statement issued by representatives of the ANC, PAC, SWANU and SAIC, Messrs Oliver Tambo, Nana Mahomo, J. Kozonguizi and Dr Y. Dadoo respectively, after a meeting of the South Africa United Front held in London on 13 March 1962.
Behind this bland statement lies the history of the Front's achievements and also of the causes which led to its tragic downfall.
The South African United Front was formed abroad soon after the Sharpeville massacre, when the Verwoerd Government had unleashed a regime of terror, murder and violence. Our leading organisations were suppressed and many of our leaders and other democrats were detained without trial.
OUR AIM
We then felt that despite the deep differences that marked the policies of the ANC and with it the SAIC on the one hand and the PAC on the other, this crisis was so overwhelming in character as to demand of those of us abroad the joining of our forces in a united front with a view to seeking the sympathy and support of the peoples and governments of the world for our struggles, to bring international. economic and political pressure on the South African Government and in general to secure its expulsion from the world community of nations.
We believed that by uniting with this purpose we would help and inspire our peoples and bring nearer the victory of their struggles.
Much was achieved in the early stages of the United Front's existence. By concentrating on what was common to all our policies and aims, we succeeded in winning wide international support for our cause. The trade boycott became one

of the most important and, politically at least, the most effective instrument of world solidarity against apartheid.
We won effective support from virtually every independent African state. Largely through our efforts South Africa had to withdraw from the Commonwealth.
DIVISIONS
However, these successes by themselves had not proved strong enough to

consolidate or develop the unity of the United Front. Instead, the United Front became increasingly ineffective. It soon reached the point where it was doing little if anything to further the aims and tasks we had originally set ourselves. As a result the Front quickly fell into disrepute.
United Fronts in general demand a high level of discipline and integrity from their participants, They call for absolute honesty and frankness, for a regular discussion of outstanding problems and difficulties and above all for unity in action. They forbid public attacks of one partner by another. They prohibit conspiracies, underhand schemes designed to undermine one or other partner of the front.
This discipline has been shown to be of no less importance by the SAUF. We knew that existence as a united front depended heavily on the absence of recrimination and attack on each other and of our organisations in South Africa. The ANC and the SAIC representatives tried hard to maintain the integrity of the United Front on these bases. They conscientiously held back from expounding their own policies abroad in their design to maintain faithfully the unity of the Front. They refused, in spite of repeated provocations, to engage in attacks on their principal partner the PAC. They always confronted their partners with common problems and had even compromised aspects of their policies -all with a view to maintaining the unity and cohesion of the Front.
SLANDER CAMPAIGN
On the other hand, the PAC had acted differently. The PAC and its overseas representatives and members -despite their presence in the Front-had already at an earlier stage embarked on a campaign of wilful slander and attack on the African National Congress and its leaders.
They directed their energy mainly towards establishing for the PAC the image that it alone was the leading organisation of the African people, commanding overwhelming support -a wholly fraudulent image in terms of the actual balance of strength of our organisations in South Africa. Through malicious distortion and lies, the ANC was presented as being both conservative and the instrument of Communists, whites and Indian merchants. Behind the back of the United Front, the PAC representatives worked for privileged contacts with governments and public organisations abroad. Within the Front itself, the PAC representatives proved to be particularly difficult allies; they tried to foist their organisation's chauvinistic policies on the Front itself. They persistently refused to permit the Front to invite the support of other well-known anti-Apartheid forces in South Africa. These unprincipled methods of the PAC abroad were matched by a particularly treasonable PAC act towards the struggle of our people in South Africa itself. After having been invited and given positions of importance in the

campaign for a National Convention and a three-day national strike in May last, members of the PAC withdrew at a vital stage of the campaign's preparations. Not stopping at this

attempt to sow confusion, the PAC then treacherously tried to scab the strike by distributing anti-strike leaflets. Any basis for unity in South Africa was thus removed.
Furthermore, we understand that the PAC organisation abroad is now split into two sections each claiming to speak in the name of the organisation, one having expelled the other and both engaging in mutual recrimination of a most embarrassing kind. This has created abroad considerable doubt about the authority and political substance of the PAC representatives.
These then are the factors which have led to the dissolution of the United Front, This regrettable course may cause some disquiet among many of our supporters and friends. We are, however, confident that they will understand the reasons for the dissolution and will continue to support the cause we have stood for: the winning of a free and democratic South Africa, of full and equal opportunities for all our people based on a common non-racial citizenship, of one man one vote and the liberation ofour people from the poverty and ignorance so assiduously fostered by the regime of apartheid.
DOCUMENT 113:
'Vorster's Nazi Law Can Never Destroy Communism', leaflet on Sabotage Act issued by the underground South African Commun. ist Party in 1962.
In 1950, when Swart first brought in the Suppression of Communism Act, the Communist Party of South Africa warned the people that the Nats were out to destroy all democratic opposition -under the pretext of suppressing Communism. The warning was proved right. Laws like these have made this a police state. Hundreds of leaders, both Communist and non-Communist, have been punished without trial because they stood up against White Supremacy.
But these laws did not and could not destroy Communism.
Now Nazi Vorster has brought in a new police state law -the so-called Sabotage Act. Again the Nats say it will put an end to Communism and sabotage.
The truth is that the law will put an end to freedom -but it will not put an end either to sabotage or to Communism.
WHY SABOTAGE?
Why do people resort to violent acts like sabotage? They only do so when there is no other way of expressing their aspirations for freedom. When all peaceful and legal methods of gaining social progress are suppressed by force and terror, by a reactionary ruling class.
So Vorster's Nazi law means more violence, more sabotage in South Africa. This law makes it almost impossible to work peacefully and legally for

democratic changes. Leaders who speak out against the Nats, against White domination and apartheid will face savage bans, house arrest, banishment- 'a

living death'-without a trial in Court. Newspapers and organisations which agree with the whole outside world in condemning the Verwoerd regime will be called 'Communist' and driven underground.
Everything you can do to bring about a change will be called 'unlawful'. And if you do something 'unlawful' it will be called 'sabotage' - punishable by a long jail sentence or even death.
Such a law makes it certain that sabotage and other forms of violence will increase.

WON'T STOP COMMUNISM

Laws and threats can never stop the spread of Communist ideas. Nor can they stop the South African Communist Party carrying on its struggle for the workers and oppressed people.
True ideas can never be stopped by force.
Force and threats cannot destroy Communism, because its ideas are true and in the interests of the great majority of the people.
Given a chance to hear both sides of an argument in free discussion, the people will choose the truth rather than lies. That is why the Nationalists are afraid to let the people hear what the Communists have to say. That is why they have driven the Communist Party underground. That is why they shout night and day that we are 'criminals' and 'bad people' -and try to shut our mouths so we cannot reply.
But all the lies of the Nationalists, together with the capitalist press and the Nats. 'Radio South Africa' cannot hide the facts.

* that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are foremost in providing a better life for the people and striving for world peace;
* that Communists everywhere are the most tireless and courageous fighters for the people's rights, for freedom and democracy.
* that Communism is the answer to the poverty, exploitation, injustice and unemployment of capitalist society; the bright future of all mankind.

WHY ATTACK COMMUNISM

Why do the Nats attack Communism so bitterly? Why do they want to punish, without the Courts, everyone who was a Communist, even if it was 30 years ago?
Firstly, because they use anti-Communist prejudice as a cover to intimidate and suppress all democrats and anti-Nazis -whether they are Communists or not.
Many opponents of apartheid are afraid of Communism- some out of ignorance, others because they enjoy special class or colour privileges themselves. Many people-fall for this Nationalist trick. They do not see that freedom is indivisible; once they fail to defend the rights of all, even the Communists with whom they do not agree, they will end up by losing their own rights.

Secondly, the Nats do hate Communism because they hate every kind of freedom- and Communism means the greatest possible freedom for the greatest number of people.
The Communists stand for exactly the opposite of the Nazi Nationalist Party. Instead of apartheid -which means, simply race division, race oppression, race hatred, we stand for friendship and equality between all peoples. Instead of

capitalism, low wages, unemployment, we stand for socialism, good wages, jobs and security for all. Instead of warfare, division and strife, we stand for unity, brotherhood and peace in a classless society.

WHAT THE COMMUNISTS STAND FOR The Communist Party says it is wrong and wicked:

* that millions should slave in hunger and dirt so that a few should live in luxury and idleness:
* that good food should be destroyed while the people are starving;
* that nearly all the land should belong to a minority while ten million Africans have only 13 per cent of the land.
* that our country should be ruled by a handful of capitalists and racialists who care nothing for the interests of the great majority of the people.

Only when the working people rule, only when the wealth is restored to the people as a whole, in a socialist South Africa, can all the great resources of our country be used for the happiness, progress and advance of all our people.

OUR DAILY BREAD

But if we want to see any sort of better future, all of us whether or not we support Communism or socialism, must come together now in the struggle against the Nationalist Party, for our immediate demands, and above all for the ending of the system of White domination.

The Communist Party fights for the immediate need of the people of our country - for their daily bread. It also fights for a good future: for the ending of White domination and the establishment of rule by the people. It fights for land for those who work on the farms, for higher wages and skilled jobs for the workers. It fights colour bars of every kind. It fights for a free South Africa -an equal vote and equal rights for every man and woman.

These are the demands and needs ofthe great majority ofSouth Africans, who support the Communist Party in its heroic fight. That is why the Vorster law, or any other law passed by the White-minority Parliament, can never destroy Communism.

THE CANCER OF SOUTH AFRICA

White domination is the cancer of South Africa. It is destroying our country. To preserve White domination:

* Millions of pounds are spent on armaments and a vast army of soldiers, policemen and spies;
* The country suffers under a government of Nazis like Verwoerd and Vorster and under laws like the 'sabotage' Act;
* Millions of people live in poverty and degradation: without land or decent jobs; without proper food, homes or schools; without rights; without hope.

To rid the country of this cancer is the most important and immediate duty of every South African who loves his country and cares for its future.

OUR PLEDGE

We South African Communists solemnly pledge that we shall work for the ending of White domination and the building of a non-racial, democratic society in its

place. We believe that only unity of all our people, irrespective of colour or political belief can ensure a speedy victory in this all important struggle. We -hall work loyally with all who share the great goal of a free South Africa. Once united, no Nazi laws, no jails, sten guns or saracens can defeat us. We the people, will win, because our cause is just, because all of Africa and most of the outside world is on our side, because we are the majority.

HIT BACK!

The Nationalists hope that through terror and police state methods they can frighten the South African people. They hope that by dividing us according to race and colour, according to whether we are liberals, or progressives or communists they can weaken the forces of the people and continue to rule for a long time.

If we refuse to be frightened, if we refuse to be divided, the Nationalists cannot succeed.

Hit back against the Nats and their Nazi Laws! Let us all, Communists and non-Communists alike, unite in a stern and dedicated fight for freedom.

No surrender to Verwoerd-Vorster gang!

DOWN WITH NAZI RULE!

DOWN WITH WHITE SUPREMACY!

FOR FREEDOM OF SPEECH, OF MOVEMENT,
OF THE PRESS, OF ORGANISATIONS, FOR WORK, LAND, AND FREEDOM!

VOTES FOR ALL!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Issued by the South African Communist Party.

282 South African Communists Speak

DOCUMENT 114:

'How Strong is Verwoerd?', editorial in The African Communist, October-December, 1962.

The demonstrations in South Africa itself, and especially the scene in the Johannesburg court when Nelson Mandela first appeared for formal remand, were a reminder that our people are still confident, strong and determined. It is their jailers who are the frightened men, fearful of the future. This is the truth about the South African scene, however much the surface appearance of things may seem to differ. Minister Fouchd's £60-million-a-year army, Minister Vorster's death penalties for 'sabotage', his bans and gags and deportations have given some casual observers the impression that the South African government is strong, entrenched and virtually unassailable. It would be more correct to say that they reveal the fears of the Nationalist government for its own stability and future. The appearance of strength derives from this, that the government controls a formidable army, police force and state apparatus; that it is backed from abroad by powerful interests who have invested hundreds of millions of pounds in the regime of white supremacy; that it is supported, actively or passively, by the overwhelming majority of the three million white citizens, whose white skins entitle them to political privileges, sheltered employment and economic benefits

once reserved for hereditary noblemen; that this white aristocracy controls a highly developed industrial society.

But behind this show-window of strength is the reality of weakness. The South African government has not a single reliable friend in the world. Its millionaire backers from abroad will turn tail and run when the era of low wages and high profits nears its end. But the freedom movement has genuine friends and supporters throughout the world, anxious and willing to assist it as soon as, and to the extent that it enters into a serious struggle for power. Without foreign support, no government can survive unless it rules with the confidence and consent of the majority of its people. But here is the fatal weakness of Verwoerd. And it is to overcome this fatal weakness that the Government desperately enters into all manner of absurd deceptions to attempt to gain support from at least a section of the nonwhite people-into fraudulent talk of 'self-government in Bantustans', into establishment.of bogus 'Bantu Authorities', and into frenzied efforts to multiply its own propaganda machinery while suppressing the voice of the democratic opposition.

They have, from the very outset, excluded the only possible peaceful solution to the country's problems -the solution of testing the people's will in free elections, They exclude rigorously all serious public debate, by gagging their opponents, and censoring their press. Thus, step by step, they force the country closer and closer to the only other possible solution to the real problem of South Africa -and that is: who must rule? They are driving the country steadily towards a solution determined by force.

But looked at realistically, weighing all the political and military factors involved in a 'solution by force', the prospects from the Government point of view are fatal

and disastrous, as perhaps they themselves realise in their moments of sanity when they speak of the dark, imponderable future, when everyone is against them and they can do no more than fight to the death-an increasingly common refrain. Only in their moments of megalomania do they convince themselves that a violent solution can be of any possible advantage to them.

True, at the beginning of any hostilities which may break out, the state could field infinitely better trained and equipped forces than any their opponents, the people, can muster. In a modern war between states, this might be of crucial moment. Not here, in an essentially different type of war, a war of colonial liberation of the type which is now familiar in Asia and Africa. In such wars, as all experience-notably that of Algeria-shows, the key factor is not which side can initially command the better trained and better equipped force. Such wars are not wars of head-on clash of field force against field force. They are, invariably, prolonged wars of attrition, in which the key factors are political and moral popular support, endurance, determination.

The South African government's military resources, and the industrialeconomic base behind them appear tremendously strong, when juxtaposed to the present forces of the South African people. But compared with the vast military resources of a great imperial power like France with its advanced industrialtechnological

base, the resources of the South African government are puny indeed. If the experience of Algeria has not yet been a sobering influence on the Verwoerd government, it has certainly been quietly assessed and measured by the people. The French ruling classes were as determined to hold Algeria as the white supremacists are to hold South Africa. They were as ready to spill blood recklessly, as ruthlessly prepared to unleash OAS terror. The De Gaulle government was brought into power by the most reactionary forces in France -and above all by the fanatical white-supremacist two million in Algeria-precisely for the purpose of holding Algeria. To do so, he made sweeping concessions throughout the French Empire, 'cutting his losses' in order to concentrate his army and his resources on the battle for Algeria.

The French forces in Algeria were the bulk of the entire French imperial might. They received the most advanced weapons and equipment which French industry was capable of producing, together with equipment from the United States and all the advanced NATO countries; they were backed with the almost unlimited financial resources of the French Empire. Against this massive force, the Algerian FLN could rely only on its own meagre resources -which included no industrial rear, no financial reserves, no vast military reserve to draw upon -together with the comparatively small aid received from neighbouring North African states and from the socialist countries.

Yet, despite all these enormous initial advantages, the French had to give way to the stubborn, heroic fight of the Algerian people, just as they had to give way in Viet Nam, and just as Britain, Holland and Belgium have been forced to give way throughout Asia and Africa, the United States in China, Korea and Cuba.

Militarily, strategically, the South African government starts off infinitely weaker than the French in Algeria. Its armed forces are smaller; the exclusively white pool from which it can draw further recruits is minute by comparison with the French 'reserves' of population; its armaments are inferior; its industrial base is infinitely smaller, incapable of producing an internal combustion engine, a tank or an airplane. It is isolated. Not a single supporter-neither British reactionaries with fascist leanings nor millionaires with heavy investments in 'Kaffirs' -would dare raise a hand to support Verwoerd in civil war. The drastic and sudden flight of capital from the country and the catastrophic stock-exchange slump after the Sharpeville events were a warning of the even more drastic repercussions which will afflict the South African government if, finally, its oppression precipitates a civil war in this country.

If the South African government wishes to fight, it will have to go it alonedespite the Unholy Alliance with Salazar and Welensky, both of whom only cling precariously to power in their own territories. And the Nationalists know it! Minister Fouch6, in a moment of sanity, whines that'.., world opinion cannot be fought.' Dr Verwoerd whines that he is really in favour of'... self determination and equality'- at the very time when the principled advocates of self-determination and equality are in jail, exiled and gagged, and their organisations suppressed. These are the symptoms of a government on the edge of crisis.

Despite the surface appearance, South Africa is a country on the brink of a democratic revolution. The people are closer than they imagine to the realisation of the dreams of liberation which have inspired the patriots and leaders of the people for many years. There is only one thing that now stands between the dream and its realisation.
The people have not yet realised their own strength, nor the fatal weakness and sickness of their oppressors.
DOCUMENT 115:
The Road to South African Freedom, programme of the South African Communist Party adopted at the fifth national conference of the Party held inside the country in 1962.
INTRODUCTION
Our country, South Africa, is known throughout the world because of its system of White domination, a special form of colonialism which has been carried to extremes under the Nationalist Party policy of apartheid. Nowhere else is national and racial oppression practised so nakedly and shamelessly, with such systematic brutality and disregard of human rights and dignity.
The three million Whites hold a monopoly of political rights and economic opportunities. They alone can vote for and be elected to Parliament and other governing bodies. They are fortified behind a wall of privilege in the civil service,

in jobs and professions, in educational opportunities and a hundred other fields. 87 per cent of the land is reserved for White ownership, and White capitalists own and control the mines, factories and banks and most of commerce. Their government inculcates a lying and insulting doctrine of race superiority.
The eleven million Africans, two-thirds ofthe population, suffer ruthless national oppression. They have been robbed of their ancestral lands. The thirteen per cent of land set aside for African occupation - the so-called Reserves, or 'homelands' - are grossly overcrowded and the soil exhausted. Hunger and the network of pass laws and special taxes drive Africans to work in mines, industries and farms, where they are terribly exploited and underpaid. African languages are despised and undeveloped. The growth of national cultures is stifled. Africans are doomed from birth to little or no education, to the status of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'. The other non-White groups - one and a half million Coloured people and a half million South African Indians - are but little better off, Indeed the advantages they once enjoyed over Africans are one by one being removed. They have no vote or say in making the laws. Apartheid means gross national oppression for all NonWhites.
This system of race domination and oppression has its origins far back in South African history. However, it has developed into its present, extreme form with the development of capitalism and especially of the great diamond and gold-mining monopolies. Capitalism everywhere cultivates and plays upon race and national antagonisms. These are to the advantage of the capitalists because they are a weapon in the competition between capitalists of different nationalities, and because they are a means of dividing and weakening the working class. In the

highest, imperialist phase of capitalism the West European monopoly capitalists developed vicious racial theories to justify their subjection of African, Asian and Latin American peoples to colonial slavery. The South African and foreign monopoly capitalists and large-scale landowners, who, together, are the real rulers of this country, have cultivated racial differences and prejudices as their most effective instrument in their insatiable drive for cheap labour and high profits. The colonial status of the African people facilitates the maximum exploitation of their labour, The privileges extended to White businessmen, farmers, professional people and workers are a means of maintaining their support for the ruling capitalist class andifor the South African colonialist system. Since 1948 the Nationalist Party government has intensified this system to an unendurable degree at the very time when racialist and colonialist theories and practices have been discredited and condemned throughout the world, and when hundreds of millions of people of Africa and Asia have gained independence and self-government. To maintain this system the Nationalists rely more and more on suppression, force and violence. Almost every channel of legal protest is closed. The main organs of people's resistance have been driven underground. South Africa is being turned into an armed camp. The State moves increasingly towards the pattern of fascism: an open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary and racialist section of capitalists.

One of the first attacks of the Nationalist government on the people's rights was the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. The Communist Party of South Africa which for twenty-eight years had marched at the head of the freedom struggles of the workers and oppressed peoples, was outlawed. The Act laid down heavy penalties for defending or advocating Communist ideas. It was no accident that the Nationalist Government made this Party and these ideas their first target, and sought to destroy them as the main obstacle to their plan of subjugating the people. Communism stands for the direct opposite of the theories and practices of the Nationalist Party. Communism stands for the rights of the workers and oppressed people-against all forms of racialism, privilege, colonialism and exploitation of man. Communism stands for peace, freedom, democracy and national independence.

Laws and force cannot destroy the ideas of Communism, of Marxism-Leninism, because these ideas are true and answer the needs and aspirations of the people. They correctly explain the world we live in and show mankind the way forward to a better world: a world without wars and racialism, without poverty and exploitation.

In this Programme, the South African Communist Party states its fundamental principles. It surveys the vast changes which are transforming the world and the continent we live in. It analyses the historical roots and the underlying realities of South African society. It puts forward its answers to the problems facing the people of our country today.

As its immediate and foremost task, the South African Communist Party works for a united front of national liberation. It strives to unite all sections and classes

of oppressed and democratic people for a national democratic revolution to destroy White domination. The main content of this Revolution will be the national liberation of the African people. Carried to its fulfilment, this revolution will at the same time put an end to every sort of race discrimination and privilege. The revolution will restore the land and the wealth of the country to the people,' and guarantee democracy, freedom and equality of rights, and opportunities to all. The Communist Party has no interests separate from those of the working people. The Communists are sons and daughters of the people, and share with them the over-riding necessity to put an end to the suffering and humiliation 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.

1 COMMUNISM - VITAL FORCE OF OUR TIME Communism - Marxism-Leninism - is the dynamic social and political force of our times. Already, under the leading banner of the Marxist parties, one-third of mankind has chosen the road to socialism. Already, in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the gradual transition has begun to Communism, the highest

form of human society. The world over millions of men and women, inspired by the Parties of Communism, are struggling for peace, socialism, democracy and national independence.

Karl Marx, the great 19th Century thinker and revolutionary who, together with his comrade Frederick Engels, was the founder of the modern Communist movement, laid bare the basic laws which determine change in the universe and in human society. The Marxist world outlook, dialectical materialism, enables us to understand the laws of change. It enables us to understand the world as it really is -and how to change it. All progress and development comes through inner conflict and contradictions: the conflict between what is new and struggling to be born, and what is outworn and dying. Like everything in nature, human society develops from lower to higher stages, according to the development of the productive forces at each stage. Feudalism is a higher stage than slavery. Capitalism is still higher, and Socialism and Communism the highest of all. Social progress has always come about through class struggles; struggles between slaves and their owners, between feudal lords and their serfs, and today between the two main classes of society, the capitalists and the working class. Marx analysed the capitalist system of production. He exposed how it rests on the basis of the exploitation of man by man. All value comes from labour. Because they own the means of production, the capitalists hold the whip-hand over the workers. They do not own them, as a slave-owner owned his slaves. They pay them wages. But the wages are not equal to the real value produced by the worker. The worker works only part of the day to earn his wages. The rest is free labour for the boss. This is surplus value, out of which the capitalists make their profit and accumulate wealth. Because of their great economic power and wealth, the owners of the means of production dominate in every capitalist country. They run parliament

and the press; their ideas prevail in educational and religious institutions. The laws are made to suit their interests. The State, the army, the police and the courts, defend, in the first place, their property. However democratic it may appear on the surface, every capitalist state is in reality a dictatorship ofthe capitalist class.
The genius of Vladimir Lenin, recognised leader of the workers and oppressed people of all countries, threw a bright light on the further development of 20th Century capitalism into its highest and last stage-Imperialism. As capitalism develops, more and more the control of wealth passes to fewer and fewer hands. Big firms eat up small ones. Huge monopolies'grow, both national and international, and a few giant firms dominate whole branches of the national economy. Banks and other financial institutions buy shares in industrial concerns, and the 'kings of industry' acquire controlling interests in the banks. So the two kinds of monopoly capital, financial and industrial, merge with one another. The imperialists export capital to the sources of raw material and cheap labour, to the countries which are less developed economically. Economic penetration is followed by political domination. A handful of West-European powers, Japan and the United States of America, seeking higher profits, dominated the whole of Africa, Asia and

Latin America, mercilessly looted their natural resources and exploited their people. The colonial system of imperialism did incalculable damage to these peoples. It held back and stifled their independent economic, political, social and cultural development. In extreme cases it resulted in the wholesale massacre and near-extermination of indigenous peoples. Imperialism produced disgusting and utterly false theories and practices of so-called 'superior' and 'inferior' races, which culminated in Hitler's Germany and Verwoerd's South Africa.
Imperialism breeds war, on a scale and ofa frightfulness previously unknown in human history. Following the 'scramble for Africa' towards the end of the 19th Century, the entire world was partitioned between the imperialist powers. Powerful new'capitalist states arose, and demanded their 'right' to own colonies. But all the colonial territories had already been grabbed by the older imperialists. The desperate conflict between the rival imperialists for the re-partition of the world, erupted in the terrible world war of 1914-18, which shook the foundations of imperialism and exposed its true nature to the masses.
Capitalism, in its time, was a progressive social system, With all its defects it represented an advance over feudalism, higher production, greater liberties. But, in the world of today, capitalism is no longer progressive. Modern production is a great and complicated process, arising from a highly organised society. But the means of production remain in private hands, and the fruits are appropriated by the few. This deep contradiction between social production and private appropriation leads to great conflicts in society: between the masses of the people and the group of monopoly capitalists who control their destinies, between rival capitalist countries, between colonial peoples seeking national freedom and their imperialist masters, between the working class as a whole and the capitalist class. These conflicts cannot be resolved within the framework of the capitalist system.

They are leading to the breakdown of that system. Symptoms of this breakdown are the ever-recurring crises of over-production; the gigantic expenditure on armaments; the ceaseless drive towards aggression and war.
Capitalism is obsolete. It is giving way to the new and higher social order of socialism and communism. Socialism puts an end to the contradictions of capitalism by abolishing private ownership of the main means of production and placing them under public ownership. It replaces the dictatorship of the capitalists with that of the workers, thus for the first time ensuring genuine democracy for the masses. It overcomes the class and national conflicts inherent in capitalism by abolishing the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man; by guaranteeing equality and national rights to all peoples. Socialism aims to meet the growing material and cultural needs of the people by overall planning, by steadily developing and improving social production. It develops socialist consciousness and labour enthusiasm among the working people by applying the principle: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work'. The great development of the productive forces under socialism, and in the rise in the socialist consciousness of the masses, enables the gradual development towards a still higher stage of human society: communism. Communism is a classless social

Underground Resistance andA rmed St rugge 289 system, with one form of public ownership of the means of production. All members ofcommunist society will enjoy full social equality. The all-round development of the people, accompanied by the growth of the productive forces sufficient to ensure abundance of goods, enables the principle to be applied: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'. Under communism a highly organised society of free, socially-conscious people enjoying public selfgovernment-labour will cease to be a burden. Everyone will recognise that to work for the benefit of the people is a necessity willingly performed as life's first need.
A new era in human history opened with the great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 when, led by the Communist Party, and inspired by the great teachings of Marx and Lenin, the workers and peasants of Russia and the former Tsarist Empire overthrew capitalist class rule and established, over a vast territory, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The heroic victories of the Soviet workers and peasants against counter-revolutions and foreign intervention, their triumph over famines and backwardness, their great achievements in the building of socialism, inspired millions of working people in many parts of the world. Powerful Communist Parties arose in many countries. In the areas of the greatest population, the colonies of imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the October Revolution aroused hundreds of millions to fight for national liberation. Following the historic victory of the Soviet Union in the second world war and the defeat of fascism on an international scale, the people's cause made a further leap ahead. Led by the Communist Party, the great Chinese nation of 750 million put an end to domination by imperialism and its agents and took the road to socialism. In a number of European and Asian countries the people rose against capitalist and landlord rule and laid the basis for socialism. These countries have joined the Soviet Union in the socialist camp, comprising no less than one-third of

the human race, bound together by firm fraternal and equal relations among themselves, advancing the people's living standards by leaps and bounds, and providing a powerful safeguard for peace, national liberation, democracy and progress for all the peoples of the world.

The colonial system of imperialism is crumbling. The peoples of practically the whole continent of Asia have within an astonishingly short space of time liberated themselves from direct colonial rule. The tide of national liberation has advanced with equally dramatic swiftness throughout the continent of Africa and the great majority of our fellow-Africans today enjoy formal political independence. The inspiring example of Cuba has called forth a great wave throughout Latin America of resistance to the economic enslavement by United States imperialism. Determined to win a place of equality in the world, and to overcome the evil heritage of imperialism, the peoples of the colonial and formerly colonial countries are conducting vigorous and mounting struggles against imperialism and its agents in their midst. They fight against feudalism and other forms of local reaction. They are striving to build states of national democracy, which will move forward from formal independence and break all imperialist financial, economic, political and

military entanglements. They seek rapidly to put an end to the chaos and economic backwardness which imperialism has left behind it. They aim to overcome the crippling lack of equipment, communications, and trained and skilled personnel; and to conquer illiteracy, mass poverty, disease and ignorance. They aim to catch up with the most advanced countries in industrial and agricultural development, in living standards and conditions, in educational, cultural and scientific achievement. Only thus can true equality, independence and democracy be established for the hundreds of millions of people in the former colonies of imperialism.

More and more the masses of people in Africa and other formerly colonial countries" are coming to understand that capitalist forms of production, based on private ownership, can never enable them to accomplish this gigantic task. Led by the small, but growing, working class, in close alliance with the masses of rural people, they are striving to achieve non-capitalist forms of development, leading towards socialism. They are demanding a vast process of agrarian reform, enabling the African, Asian and Latin American farmer, for the first time in history, to have sufficient land at his disposal for a decent life. To place the control of their countries firmly in the hands of the people, they are fighting for genuine democracy, guaranteeing freedom of speech, of the press and organisation, and enabling masses of workers and peasants to play a full part in public life. The newly independent countries no longer constitute a reliable reserve of imperialism. They are moving more and more out of the sphere of influence of imperialism, and becoming a powerful factor for peace, against imperialist war.

The greatest threat to the aspirations and the future of the peoples of all countries lies in the aggressive plans of international imperialism against socialism and

national independence. Should the imperialists succeed in triggering offa nuclear world conflict it would destroy a great part of humanity and man's greatest achievements. Imperialism has not changed its character. Mobilised and organised by the leaders of world reaction, the United States monopoly capitalists, the imperialists are intensifying the armaments race and the cold war, they commit continuous fresh acts of intervention and aggression, attempting to check and reverse the world tide towards national independence and socialism. They threaten the world with nuclear destruction. But because of the tremendous strength, economic, social and military, of the Socialist countries, attracting the powerful support of hundreds of millions of people in the newly liberated and the capitalist countries, the power of the imperialists to impose colonialism, or to start wars, has been checked; their wings have been clipped.

Powerful peace movements, embracing millions of people of varying political beliefs, have grown up in many countries. The forces of national liberation and of the labour movement everywhere are insistently demanding an end to the cold war and the observance of the principles of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. All these forces are rallying to demand universal and complete disarmament. This crucial policy, advanced by the Soviet Union, crystallises the longings of our generation for peace and security, for life itself. Universal

disarmament would lift a crushing burden of taxes from the shoulders of the people. It would make available the huge resources and quantities of manpower now diverted to arms production for useful production to raise the people's living standards. It would greatly assist the cause of national liberation by striking the weapons from the hands of the colonialists. It would free the world from the nightmare of nuclear war. Unity of all the forces demanding peace is capable of enforcing this demand. Even though imperialism still rules in powerful countries, such as the United States, the countries of Western Europe and Japan, and even though the war danger is still acute, the possibility already exists of achieving universal disarmament and eliminating war, providing the people struggle resolutely to assert their will for peace.

It is no longer the imperialists, but the international working class and its proudest creation, the world socialist system, which determine the main characteristics and trends of our times. We live in an epoch of struggle between two opposing social systems, an epoch of socialist and national liberation revolutions, of the breakdown of imperialism and the abolition of the colonial system. It is an epoch of the transition of more and more peoples to the socialist path and the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale. These vast changes in the world spell the doom of capitalism and imperialism. The victory of socialism and communism will ensure the eradication of all types of exploitation and oppression, a future of peace, friendship, well-being, and unlimited advance for all peoples of the earth. Idlers and parasites will no longer exist, for 'he who does not work, neither shall he eat'. Selfishness, ignorance, superstition and other evils

of the acquisitive society will disappear. Mankind will enter upon a greater freedom, in terms of the principles of Communism.
But this great change will not come about of its own accord, or by persuading the capitalist ruling classes that change is reasonable and desirable. No ruling class in history ever bowed itself gracefully off the stage. The defeat of capitalism and the transition to socialism can only come about through struggles of the masses of the people, headed by the most advanced, resolute and revolutionary class, the working class. In their fight against exploitation and capitalist class domination, the weapon of the working class is organisation. The workers organise trade unions to fight for higher wages, better conditions and shorter working hours. They build mass political organisations to oppose and protest against the injustices of capitalist class rule. Answering Marx's great call: 'Workers of all countries, unite!' the workers ofeach country strengthen brotherly ties between themselves and those of other countries beyond their borders, on a regional, continental and international basis.
Due to differences of history and national tradition, which the Communist Parties take into account, the precise path to socialism will differ from one country to another. But international experiences show that certain basic laws apply to all countries. Headed by the Marxist-Leninist Party and in alliance with most of the peasants and other working people, the working class must destroy the state of dictatorship of the capitalists, and replace it with the dictatorship of the working.

class, offering the widest democracy to the great majority of the people. Attempts at counter-revolution by the reactionary classes and groups must be suppressed. Private ownership ofthe main means of production must be abolished, and public ownership must be established in its place. The land must be in the hands ofthose who till it, and agriculture gradually transformed on a socialist basis. The national economy must be planned, to raise the people's living standards and build socialism and communism. Capitalist influence must be rooted out in the fields of ideology and culture, and a new type of intellectual must be trained, devoted to the welfare of the people and to socialism. All forms of racial and national discrimination and oppression must be wiped out, complete equality of rights and opportunities and brotherly friendship must be an unvarying principle governing all relations between people of different national groups. The achievements of socialism must be defended against enemies inside and outside the country. Working class internationalism-close ties between the workers of all lands-is essential for the building of socialism in any country.
The highest form of working class organisation is the Marxist-Leninist Party, the most advanced, conscious and determined section of the class. This Party, the Communist Party, is a voluntary association of the best, most militant and devoted fighters for the cause of the workers, peasants and all oppressed people. All Party members enjoy equal rights irrespective of race or nationality. All members pledge themselves to maintain the highest standards of discipline, political training, loyalty and courage. Led by the Party, the working class aims, not

merely at reforms of the capitalist system, but at the revolutionary overthrow of the system itself and its replacement by socialism.

2 THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

For centuries the people of Africa were subjected to exploitation and robbery by the capitalist maritime nations of western Europe and other marauders. Millions of sons and daughters of Africa were transported as slaves to far away countries. In the words of Karl Marx, Africa was 'a warren for the commercial hunting ofblack skins'. The invaders destroyed Africa's ancient civilisations. They seized and laid waste her natural wealth. By the end of the 19th Century almost the whole of Africa had been conquered-by trickery or the force of superior arms-and brought beneath the alien yoke of a handful of European powers - Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium, Germany and Spain. Her peoples were deprived of selfgovernment, alienated from their ancestral lands and driven to work as forced labourers on white-owned plantations, mines and other enterprises. Africa's normal economic and political development was arrested and set back. Vast fortunes were accumulated in Europe and North America out of African resources and African labour. But the people of our Continent remained the most povertystricken in the world, with the highest death rate and the lowest expectancy of life. The colonialists proclaimed that their mission was altruistic and civilising. But now, when they are being driven from Africa, they leave behind them a

crippling heritage of illiteracy, ignorance, economic stagnation, starvation and disease.

As a result of the heroic struggles of the African peoples, all over the Continent, and also of the break-up of the colonial system of imperialism which was inaugurated by the great October Socialist Revolution, the peoples of Africa have swept forward to win freedom and independence. At the end of the second world war, only Ethiopia and Liberia could claim to be African states governed by Africans. By 1962 the whole picture had been transformed. Only Angola, Mozambique and a few other scattered territories remained under the direct colonial rule of European powers, and in the Republic of South Africa, South-West Africa and the Rhodesias, White minorities continued to dominate. The area of formal political independence had spread to almost the entire continent. This sweeping process the return of Africa to the rule of the African people themselves - is a great victory for the African people and the cause of freedom. It must be pressed forward and completed as soon as possible. It is the essential basis for all future advance. The working class, and its most advanced leaders, the Communists, are intimately concerned with this great movement for political independence; they form its spearhead and its most determined and uncompromising defenders.

But, formal political independence alone will not ensure the genuine independence of the African people, and their equality amongst the nations of the world. The former colonies remain tied by a thousand bonds to their former owners. Through the 'British Commonwealth' and the 'French Community'

powerful pressures are exerted to influence them and ensure their continued adherence to political, diplomatic, military and economic systems of Western imperialism. There is a new 'scramble for Africa' in which United States, West German and Japanese finance capitalists are vying with the older imperialists to extend their investments and their economic stranglehold over African territories and resources. The imperialists all strive to retard the development of national economies and national industries in the African countries. Through such instruments as the European Common Market they strive to keep them backward, in a position of suppliers of raw material and cheap labour for imperialism. These plans of neocolonialism are the greatest threat to the real independence and development of the newly emerged African States.

The young African states need to abolish illiteracy, backwardness and economic dependence. They need to 'Africanise' their civil services and administrations, rapidly to train personnel from amongst their own people to administer and develop their countries. They need radical land reform, to transform and improve African agriculture and greatly raise the desperately low living standards of the masses. They need rapid industrialisation and economic development, in order to overcome the terrible heritage left behind by colonialism, and to catch up with the advanced countries of the world. In these aims the young African Republics are tremendously assisted by the generous and unconditional aid extended to them by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist world system. Such aid is rendered upon the principles of strict equality and true brotherly friendship. It

aims to lay the basis for the industrialisation of undeveloped countries-the foundation stone of true independence and equality-and to train competent specialists in the hundred fields which the new Africa so urgently requires.

Only if they can achieve a social transformation, a fast rate of economic and social development, can the African countries ensure genuine independence and equality in the world family of nations, and higher standards of life, health and culture for their people. In their drive towards these goals the African peoples are faced with the choice between capitalist and socialist paths. More and more, the revolutionary workers and peasants, the radical intellectual youth of Africa are turning towards the socialist path. They have seen the evils of capitalism at work in their midst, its greed and wastefulness of life and resources; its ruthless contempt for the dignity and value of the human being. They have learnt of the tremendous rate of development which socialism has made possible especially in the Asian Republics of the Soviet Union, in People's China and other formerly colonial countries which, under the workers' rule and socialism, have advanced with giant's strides. Non-capitalist forms of development, aimed at the building of socialism, are the only way in which Africa can rapidly liquidate racialism, feudalism, tribalism, poverty, backwardness and disease, and the exploitation of man by man.

The South African Communist Party regards as a dogmatic distortion of Marxism, the concept that African countries which are in a pre-capitalist stage of development must necessarily pass through a period of capitalism before

achieving socialism. We are living in the epoch of the transition, on a world scale, from capitalism to socialism. The experience of the Soviet Asian Republics, of People's China, Vietnam, the People's Republic of Korea, and People's Mongolia, show that in our epoch it is possible for the people of colonial countries to advance along non-capitalist lines towards the building of socialism.
Recognising the tremendous attraction of socialist ideas in Africa, various leaders have advanced the concept of a special kind of'African Socialism' different from Marxism-Leninism. These concepts are mistaken. It is true that the precise paths of the African peoples towards socialism will differ from those of peoples of other continents, due to differences of national tradition and history, to the long period of colonialist domination which, amongst other factors, has prevented the development of African societies along the same lines as those in Europe and Asia, But the whole of international experience has proved beyond any shadow of doubt, that the main truths of Marxism-Leninism are fully applicable to countries in every stage of social development. The only road towards a socialist and communist future is that indicated by Marxism. The innumerable attempts, in many parts of the world, to propound or practise 'non-Marxist socialism,' or to 'revise', 'modify' and 'improve' Marxism-Leninism, have one and all ended in disaster and betrayal of the working class.
The countries of Africa are in various stages of historical and social development. In some areas, such as the Republic of South Africa and the Congo, there is a relatively high degree of industrial development, of powerful monopoly

capitalism and a numerically strong working class. Other areas have hardly been touched at all by capitalist development. There is little or no commodity production and exchange, and modern nations have not developed. Feudal and pre-feudal societies prevail. There is thus no common solution which would answer the needs of all the territories of Africa; each area needs to be studied specifically in the light of its own actual conditions. But, in most parts of Africa, the needs of the people will best be met at the present time by the formation of states of national democracy, as a transitional stage to socialism. The minimum essentials for a state of national democracy as indicated in the declaration of 81 Marxist Parties in December 1960, are that it: 'consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory; fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital; rej ects dictatorial and despotic methods of government; ensures the people broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of the press, speech, assembly, demonstration, establishment of political parties and social organisations) and the opportunity of working for the enactment of agrarian reform and other domestic and social changes, and for participation in shaping government policy'. The basis of a national democracy is a leading alliance of workers and rural people. Such a state will provide the most favourable conditions for advance, along non-capitalist lines, to socialism.
In their advance towards national independence, democracy, unity and socialism the African peoples are seriously handicapped by the lack of understanding of

socialist ideology - largely a result of the imperialists' censorship and distortion of Communist ideas -and by the absence in most parts of our Continent of independent, Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class. Socialism cannot effectively be built without socialist organisation guided by socialist theory. The development and growth of such parties, devoted to the people's struggle for freedom and independence, and building and forming part of the united front of all patriotic classes for national liberation, would be an important contribution to the cause of Africa. By making a profound study of scientific socialist theory and creatively applying it to the solution of the problems of their own countries, such Parties can play an indispensable role in carrying the African Revolution forward uninterruptedly to its consummation: deep-reaching social revolution and the full emancipation of the African peoples from bondage.

The common struggle of the peoples of Africa against imperialism and colonialism in all its forms has brought the peoples of Africa closer together than ever before. The African countries which have already achieved independence render fraternal assistance to the freedom struggle of their brothers who still suffer under foreign or White minority domination. A powerful urge towards closer ties and solidarity exists among all Africans based upon the understanding that unity can best enable the African people to maintain and consolidate independence, overcome their grave social and economic problems, develop the resources of the Continent and raise their living standards. This urge finds its expression in the historic All-African People's Conferences and in regional groupings such as the

Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa: in the formation of the All-African Trade Union Federation; in joint economic and defence plans; in actual or projected regional Federations aimed at the ultimate establishment of a united African Commonwealth. This movement is progressive and anti-imperialist in character, reflecting the essential unity of the African Revolution. The frontiers of Africa were drawn by the imperialists. For the most part they record past conflicts and settlements among the colonialists. They do not reflect African interests, nor do they demarcate natural geographical, linguistic or other divisions. Progressive elements in Africa will seek to re-draw these frontiers, to create larger and more viable communities, leading to a fraternal commonwealth of Africa as a whole. Because they are achieving independence in the epoch of the world transition to socialism, it is not inevitable that the African nations should follow the path of other continents by developing antagonistic nation states, each jealously guarding its frontiers. Such states are the product of capitalism. Provided all the African countries follow non-capitalist forms ofdevelopment the achievement of a united Africa will become practical and desirable. But if this great historical process is to be effected without sowing the seeds of new conflicts, it must be based on consent and persuasion, not upon force.

Communists recognise the right of all peoples and national groups to selfdetermination. They respect the languages and progressive traditions of all African peoples, and their right to independent development of their culture.

While recognising the progressive elements in African nationalism, and the movement for Pan-African unity, South African communists remain true to the principles of working class internationalism. They will fight against all expressions of racialism, isolationism, and the glorification and perpetuation of reactionary traditions, which have their roots in capitalist, tribal and feudalist outlooks.
The struggle of the peoples of the rest of Africa and those of South Africa, against colonialism and for freedom are one and indivisible. White colonialism in the Republic of South Africa threatens the independence, peace and progress of the whole of Africa. It is a stronghold and refuge of reaction and imperialism threatening the gains of the African revolution; a breeding ground for plots and activities designed to restore colonialism throughout the Continent. A poor and backward Africa profits the South African monopoly capitalists, enabling them to exploit cheap African labour, both in their heavy investments in many parts of the Continent and by importing workers from other territories to mines and other enterprises in the Republic itself. The South African state and its military forces collaborate with those of the Portuguese, Rhodesian and other colonialists. In fighting against White supremacy, for the democratic revolution in South Africa, the people of our country are fighting for the cause of the African Revolution as a whole. In this fight they are greatly heartened by the victories of their brothers and sisters beyond their borders, and by their actions of solidarity with South Africa. They welcome the decisions for the complete diplomatic and economic isolation of the Republic, the boycott of South African goods and the withdrawal of migrant

labour from this country, and call for the strict implementation of these decisions. The liberated South Africa of the future will build ties of the closest fraternity and mutual assistance, based upon equal friendly relations, with all peoples of Africa. Its wealth, experience and skills will be a source of strength to the new Africa.
3 COLONIALISM OF A SPECIAL TYPE The White ruling classes, and especially the leaders of the Nationalist Party have manufactured a version of the past and present of this country which they systematically attempt to impose everywhere, from the schoolroom to international opinion. According to this picture, the early White settlers penetrated peacefully into a virtually unoccupied country. The African population, who are depicted as savage barbarians without culture, achievements or history, are represented as relative newcomers who entered the country at about the same time as the Whites, and conducted aggressive wars and raids against them. The impression is given that African occupation was always more or less confined to the present Reserves the 'Bantu Homelands'. This version of South Africa's past is entirely false. From the time of the first White settlement, established by the Dutch East India Company 300 years ago, the pattern was set for the ruthless colonial exploitation of the non-White peoples of our country, the expropriation of their lands and the enforced harnessing of their labour power. The Dutch made war on the people of the Cape, whom they contemptuously called 'Hottentots', and rejected their appeals for

peace and friendship. The so-called 'Bushmen' were all but exterminated. Slaves were imported from Malaya and elsewhere. White settlers gradually penetrated into the interior. They drove the indigenous people from the best farm lands and seized their cattle. They subdued them by armed conquest and forced them into their service-at first through direct slavery, later through a harsh system of pass laws and taxation.

This pattern was not basically changed by the seizure of the Cape Colony from Holland by Britain in 1806. The British colonialists conducted a savage series of wars of conquest against the AmaXhosa people in the Eastern Cape and the Zulu people in Natal. The? imported more White settlers from Britain, and greatly extended the area of White domination. Through the agency of missionaries, traders, or armed bands of adventurers, they extended British sovereignty or 'Protectorates' through Bechuanaland and Basutoland, and beyond the Limpopo River in Mashonaland, Barotseland, and other territories to the north, which they have named after the infamous adventurer and multi-millionaire Cecil Rhodes.

The beginnings of the pass system were introduced under British rule. However, as the foremost colonialist country at that time, Britain was opposed to direct chattel slavery. In 1836 a law was passed abolishing slavery in the Cape Colony. In protest against this law, and to get away from British rule, large parties of Boers left the Cape and crossed into Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. In the course of this Great Trek, the Boers conducted continuous aggressive wars against the African tribes whom they found in possession everywhere. They

usurped their lands, exploited their labour and even practised forms of slavery. They established new Republics founded on White domination and the racialist principle 'No equality in Church or State'.

Colonialist propaganda has emphasised the negative features of traditional African society: the relatively low development of productive techniques; the illiteracy, inter-tribal conflicts and wars, superstitions and poverty. It is true that such features existed in traditional African society just as they did among all peoples at the period of simple tribal economy. But hostile propaganda has presented a distorted image. Prior to the European conquest of Southern Africa, the indigenous peoples had developed their own independent culture and civilisation. They mined and smelted iron, copper and other metals and fashioned them into useful implements. They had developed a number of handicrafts. Their system ofextensive agriculture and livestock breeding was well-suited to the type of country and the tools at their disposal. It produced a surplus sufficient to maintain full-time specialist workers, smiths, doctors and others. Their system of government, though simple, was essentially democratic and popular in character. The hereditary chiefs were assisted in their functions as law-givers and judges by the senior people of the tribe, and important decisions affecting the whole tribe were always referred to a general meeting of the people -the Tswana and Sotho Pitso, the Xosa and Zulu Imbizo. Private property in land was unknown, and food and shelter were freely shared, even with strangers.

When Whites first appeared they were welcomed courteously. But when the colonists began their ceaseless acts of armed aggression, the African people resisted bravely to defend their cattle and their land from robbery and their people from enslavement. They took up spear and assegai against the bullets of the invader with his horses and wagons. The Xosa people, under leaders such as Ngqika, Ndlambe, Hintsa and Makana, the Zulus using Chaka's battle tactics, under Dingaan, Cetywayo and Bambata, the Basotho under Moshoeshoe, and in the North, the Tswana, Pedi and other African peoples, fought back bravely against the Boer and British invaders. The Coloured people, too, struggled valiantly. Revolts took place and the Coloured community led by the great Adam Kok, established their own independent Griqua Republic. But, tribal society and a rural economy could not provide the material basis for successful warfare against an enemy with a more advanced economy and more destructive weapons. The impact and penetration of White missionaries and traders paved the way for military conquest. Disunity amongst the various African peoples prevented the development of a common front of resistance. The farsighted vision of Moshoeshoe did indeed encompass this idea, and he sent emissaries to the Zulu and Xosa people, and to Adam Kok, to propose such a united front. But Moshoeshoe's idea of a grand alliance came before its time. Time and again in their wars of conquest against African peoples, the British and Boer imperialists were able to play off one tribe against another and to enrol African auxiliaries. The discovery of diamond fields at Kimberley and goldfields on the Witwatersrand had profound and far-reaching consequences. Foreigners flocked into South

Africa. Great British and European finance houses exported vast sums of investment capital to South Africa. To seize complete control over the gold of the Transvaal, British imperialism invaded the two Republics, and after a cruel war, in which the Boers defended themselves with great heroism and resourcefulness, brought them within the British Empire. One of the pretexts for Britain's aggression had been the oppression of the African people under the Republics. Yet, following the British victory, the colonial status and subjugation of the indigenous peoples was continued and even intensified. The goldmining interests were now the true rulers of the country. They had only one interest in the African - to force him into labour on the mines at minimum rates of pay. They found the harsh colonial policy ofthe Republics admirably suited to this purpose. The poll tax and pass systems were intensified. Dispossession of the Africans from the land was speeded up. Not a single move was made to introduce- into the northern colonies even the minimum citizen rights which had been conceded to the non-Whites in the Cape. In the oppression, dispossession and exploitation of the non-Whites, British imperialism and Afrikaner nationalism found common ground. This was the basis for the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. Dominating the all-White parliament, the representatives of the wealthy Boer farmers and the imperialist mine-owners joined in an unholy alliance to squeeze the last drop of cheap labour out of the African people. The Land Act of 1913

ended African land ownership or tenancy except in the Reserves which were deliberately designed to be insufficient to support the population, so that the menfolk would be driven forth by hunger to work in White-owned enterprises. The state developed the contract system of migrant labour, separating the wageearner from his family, so that the employer would not have to pay for the maintenance of the worker's wife and children. The democratic, co-operative basis of tribal society was broken down, and the entire African people turned into a rightless community of impoverished peasants and under-paid forced labourers in White-controlled farms, mines and factories.

South Africa is not a colony but an independent state. Yet masses of our people enjoy neither independence nor freedom. The conceding of independence to South Africa by Britain, in 1910, was not a victory over the forces of colonialism and imperialism. It was designed in the interests of imperialism. Power was transferred not into the hands of the masses of people of South Africa, but into the hands of the White minority alone. The evils of colonialism, insofar as the nonWhite majority was concerned, were perpetuated and reinforced. A new type of colonialism was developed, in which the oppressing White nation occupied the same territory as the oppressed people themselves and lived side by side with them.

A rapid process of industrialisation was set in train, especially during the two world wars. South African heavy industry and secondary industry grew to occupy first place on the Continent. This process had profound effects on the country's social structure. It concentrated great wealth and profits in the hands of the upper strata of the White population. It revolutionised the economy, transforming it

from a predominantly agricultural into an industrial-agricultural economy, with an urban working class, mainly non-White, which is the largest in Africa. But no commensurate benefits ofthis industrialisation have been enjoyed by the masses of non-White people.

On one level, that of 'White South Africa', there are all the features of an advanced capitalist state in its final stage of imperialism. There are highly developed industrial monopolies, and the merging of industrial and finance capital. The land is farmed along capitalist lines, employing wage labour, and producing cash crops for the local and export markets. The South African monopoly capitalists, who are closely linked with British, United States and other foreign imperialist interests, export capital abroad, especially in Africa. Greedy for expansion, South African imperialism reaches out to incorporate other territories -South West Africa and the Protectorates.

But on another level, that of 'Non-White South Africa', there are all the features of a colony. The indigenous population is subjected to extreme national oppression, poverty and exploitation, lack of all democratic rights and political domination by a group which does everything it can to emphasise and perpetuate its alien 'European' character. The African Reserves show the complete lack of industry, communications, transport and power resources which are characteristic of African territories under colonial rule throughout the Continent. Typical, too, of

imperialist rule, is the reliance by the state upon brute force and terror, and upon the most backward tribal elements and institutions which are deliberately and artificially preserved. Non-White South Africa is the colony of White South Africa itself.

It is this combination of the worst features both of imperialism and of colonialism, within a single national frontier, which determines the special nature of the South African system, and has brought upon its rulers the justified hatred and contempt of progressive and democratic people throughout the world.

All Whites enjoy privileges in South Africa. They alone can vote and be elected to parliament and local government bodies. They have used this privilege to monopolise nearly all economic, educational, cultural and social opportunities. This gives the impression that the ruling class is composed of the entire White population. In fact, however, real power is in the hands of the monopolists who own and control the mines, the banks and finance houses, and most of the farms and major industries. The gold and diamond mines are owned by seven miningfinancial corporations and controlled by a handful of powerful financiers. These seven corporations are closely linked with British and American imperialist interests. They control capital investment in mining alone of R490 million, and employ almost 500,000 workers. In addition, they dominate large sections of manufacturing industries. They are linked with the main banks, two of which control assets of over R2,000 million, mainly in the form of loans to industry, commerce and the state. They own vast tracts of arable land and mining rights in almost every part of the country. In agriculture too monopoly dominates. 4 per cent of the farms make up an area amounting to almost four-tenths of the total

White-owned farmland. Thus, in mining, industry, commerce and farming, monopolists dominate the.country's economy. They are also closely linked with state monopoly capital ventures, such as Iscor (Iron and Steel), Escom (Electricity) and Sasol (Petrol).

These monopolists are the real power in South Africa. The special type ofcolonialism in South Africa serves, in the first place, their interests. Low non-White wages; the reserves of poverty; the compound labour system and the importation of hundreds of thousands of contract tabourers from beyond our borders; the pass laws and poll tax and rigid police control of labour and of movement-all are designed to keep their profits high. In 1961, these seven mining corporations and their subsidiaries made a working profit of nearly R212 million and paid out dividends of R101 million to shareholders.

The South African monopolists act as allies and agents of foreign imperialist interests. One quarter of the capital of the seven mining-financial groups is owned abroad, mainly by British and American investors. In 1958, dividends of R43 million were paid out abroad. The two biggest banks, Standard and Barclays, are largely controlled from Britain, and in recent years United States capital investment in South Africa has grown rapidly, exceeding all other American investments in the rest of Africa put together.

Effective economic domination in South Africa is thus exercised by an alliance of local, White monopoly interests in mining, industry and agriculture, together with foreign imperialists and representatives of state monopoly capitalism. These interests have conflicts among themselves, which are reflected in the main White political parties and groupings. But they find common ground in the perpetuation of the colonial-type subjugation of the non-White population.

The system of colonial domination over and robbery of the non-White masses is not in the genuine, long-term interest of the workers, small farmers, middle-class and professional elements who make up the bulk of the White population. White domination means more and more police and military expenditure to burden the taxpayer and divert men and resources from useful production. It means that the poverty-stricken masses are unable to form an adequate market for South African industry and agriculture. It means more and more dictatorial police-state measures, the extinguishing of civil liberties for Whites as well as non-Whites. It means a South Africa despised and shunned by the whole world, subjected to economic, diplomatic, cultural and other forms of isolation, boycott and sanctions. It means a future of uncertainty and fear. The maintenance of White supremacy involves ever-increasing repression and violence by the government, resistance by the oppressed people and the steady drift to civil war. Only the complete emancipation of the non-White peoples can create conditions of equality and friendship among the nationalities of South Africa and eliminate the roots of race hatred and antagonism which are the greatest threat to the continued security and existence of the White population itself. The national liberation of the non-Whites which will break the power of monopoly capitalism is thus in the deepest long-term interest of the bulk of the Whites. Progressive and far-seeing Whites ally themselves

unconditionally with the struggle of the masses of the people for freedom and equality.

On the whole, the White workers represent an 'aristocracy of labour'. The monopolists have extended numerous concessions to them. They receive relatively high wages. Non-white miners receive an average of R144 a year plus food and compound housing; White miners R2470. African male farm workers average R68 a year; Whites R1050. Whites have a monopoly of the best paid jobs, and of entry into skilled trades. They are invariably given positions of authority over nonWhites. The relatively high standards of life and wages enjoyed by White workers represent, in reality, a share in the super profits made by the capitalists out of the gross exploitation of the non-Whites. Systematically indoctrinated with the creed of White superiority, the White worker imagines himself to be a part of the ruling class and willingly acts as a tool and an accomplice in the maintenance of colonialism and capitalism. However, in reality, the White worker, like the non-White worker at his side is subjected to exploitation by the same capitalist owners of the means of production. White workers' wages in general are high in comparison with those of non-Whites. But many categories of White workers are paid little more than non-Whites, and also struggle to support their families. The

White worker is subject to the insecurity of the capitalist system, with its constant threats of depression, short-time and unemployment. The division of trade unions on racial lines weakens all sections of workers in their constant struggle with the bosses for better pay and conditions and shorter hours of work. The fundamental interests of all South African workers, like those of workers everywhere, lie in unity: unity in the struggle for the day-to-day interests of the working class, for the ending of race-discrimination and division, for a free, democratic South Africa as the only possible basis for the winning of socialism, the overthrow of the capitalist class and the ending of human exploitation.

More than two-thirds of the South Africans are people of indigenous African descent. Living and working in all parts of the country, they form the basic population and are at the same time the main victims of colonialism; the most oppressed and exploited of all. The former divisions of the African people along tribal lines, and their classification into chiefs and commoners, are breaking down with the collapse of the tribal system. This system was suitable for the simple, selfcontained economy of the past, based on subsistence farming and common ownership of land. There is no place for it in a modern exchange economy based on largescale industry and mining, on the farming of products for sale on the market. The Nationalist Party government, following the maxim: 'Divide and Rule', is attempting to revive tribalism and tribal divisions. Their attempts cannot succeed. The African people of this country are moving inevitably and consciously towards the formation of a single, modern nation.

There are no acute or antagonistic class divisions at present among the African people. Most of them are wage-workers in industry or agriculture. There are no large-scale African employers of labour. The professional groups, mainly teachers, do not, as a rule, earn salaries or live differently from their fellow-Africans. Even

the people of the Reserves, especially the men-folk, spend much of their lives as migrant wage labourers on the mines, in agriculture or industry.

One-third ofthe African people live on the Reserves. The largest of these are the Transkei and Ciskei, in the Cape Province, but there are also other scattered areas widely separated in the other three provinces. The Nationalist government speaks ofthe Reserves as the 'homelands' of the African people, but so far from being able to sustain additional population, they are grossly overcrowded already and far too small to maintain their present population of 3 / million. Most Africans on the reserves are not independent peasants and have no land or insufficient to make a living. To support their families and avert starvation, most of the men in the primp of life are usually away working for White employers, and leaving the farming to old people and womenfolk. The smallness and the overcrowding of the Reserves leads to soil exhaustion. There is no opportunity for intensive farming, crop rotation, and scientific cattle pasturing, because there is not enough land. The Reserves are the most backward and undeveloped areas in the country, typical of colonial Africa. They lack industries, communications and power resources. There is no capital for improvements or mechanisation.

Under its preposterous 'Bantustan' scheme the Nationalist government is proposing to partition South Africa. They pretend to be conferring 'independence' and 'self-government' on the Reserves, which they have rechristened 'Bantu Homelands', and thus to justify treating Africans in the remaining 87 per cent of South Africa as 'aliens' and 'temporary visitors'. They present this porposal as a concession to the African people and to world opinion. Africans and all freedom-loving people reject this proposal with contempt and indignation. There are no grounds, in history or in reality, for the Nationalists to claim any part of South Africa exclusively for Whites. Africans live in every part of our country; their labour has gone to develop its farmlands and its cities, its mines and industries, its railways and harbours; they claim every inch of South Africa as their homeland. The 'Bantustan' scheme is not only undemocratic and opposed to every principle of self-determination, it is also fraudulent. Though they pretend they are giving land to Africans they are not giving them any additional land at all - in many cases they are actually taking away land from them. The Nationalist Party promises independence and self-government to the Reserves, but the socalled 'Bantustan' schemes are both dishonest and impractical. The Nationalists have no intention of conferring any genuine independence on any group of nonWhite people. Even if they were compelled to make concessions in this direction, the land area of the Reserves is too small, the economy too backward, and completely lacking in capital to allow for the possibility of any real independence for these areas.

The government is attempting, through the 'Bantu Authorities' system to enforce a return to tribalism, using chiefs who are prepared to collaborate, and deposing and deporting those who refuse. The effect is actually to hasten the breakdown of tribal institutions. Those chiefs who collaborate with the government have become the most hated group in the countryside, relying on dictatorship

and terror, contrary to African traditions, to enforce the laws of the White authorities on the unwilling people. The people of the Reserves are boldly calling the government's 'Bantustan' bluff. They are fighting bitter struggles, including armed struggles, against the Bantu Authorities. The peasant in the countryside today is not the unsophisticated tribesman of the previous century. Millions have at some time or other come to work in the towns. They have come into contact with the challenging outlook and the advanced methods of organisation of the trade unions, the Congress movement and the Communist Party. These 'new peasants' have awakened the countryside, transforming the African peasantry from a reserve of conservatism into a powerful ally of the urban working class in the struggle against White colonialism, and for freedom, land, equality and democracy.

Millions of agricultural labourers and labour tenants are employed on Whiteowned farms throughout the country. These are the most exploited workers in South Africa. They work without any protection from labour laws, from dawn to sunset, at hard and exhausting labour, for wretchedly low wages. The food they are given is too little, it is always the same, and it is an unhealthy diet. On most

farms the housing for them is worse than what is provided for the farm animals. The use of convict labour, and compound labour, and other forms of forced labour, is common on farms in many parts of South Africa. Farmers and their foremen frequently employ physical violence against African farm labourers, beating them with sjamboks, often to death. Wages for farm labour are the lowest in the country. Agricultural labourers are not really free workers. They are tied, often for life, to a particular farmer because of the operation of the labour tenancy system, the pass laws and in particular the so-called 'trek-pass', the Native Service Contract and the Masters and Servants Acts. Organisation of agricultural workers' unions and other bodies for farm workers is also made exceptionally difficult because of the close supervision maintained over them by the farmers.

The 400,000 African labourers working on the gold and coal mines have to do the most backbreaking, dangerous and unhealthy work, for wages which are a scandal and a disgrace in an industry which distributes millions of rands annually t~o its shareholders. They are separated, for long periods, from their wives and families. A large proportion of them are 'imported' from territories outside the Republic, the Protectorates, SW Africa, the Portuguese Colonies, Nyasaland, Tanganyika and elsewhere, although conferences of African states have decided to work towards ending this practice. The migratory labour system leads to a continual turnover of personnel, making the organisation of mine workers a difficult task and the mine owners go to great lengths to stamp out the development of trade unionism among them. Especially since the great strike led by the African Mineworkers' Union in 1946, they are subject to constant surveillance by police, spies and informers.

The special character of colonialism in South Africa, the seizing by Whites of all the opportunities which in other colonial countries have led to the growth of a national capitalist class, have strangled the development of a class of African capitalists. All positions of economic strength and influence are held as the jealously

guarded monopoly of members of the White group alone. There are very few Africans who make profits by the exploitation of labour power. In some areas there are some independent African farmers, producing for the market along 'capitalist' lines. But, as a rule, the holdings are so small that they can be and are cultivated by the farmer himself and his family. There is quite a substantial number of African traders and shopkeepers. Because they have to contend with innumerable colour bars and special restrictions, and because their capital is usually too small, their businesses are rarely very big or very profitable. In a great many cases, in fact, the shop is in the hands ofnon-African bondholders or wholesalers, ofwhom the shopkeeper himself' is little more than an employee. African businessmen are not allowed to own fixed property. They may not trade in the centres of the cities, the main areas of commercial activity, but are relegated to the African townships and the outskirts. They are subjected to the pass laws and all the restrictions and insecurities imposed on all Africans. An African businessman is not allowed to open a branch elsewhere or to trade anywhere outside his place of residence. The interests of the African commercial class lie

wholly in joining the workers and rural people for the overthrow of White supremacy.

The intellectuals and professional groups among the Africans share with their people all the hardships and indignities of colonialism. The largest group, the teachers, receive salaries far below those of their white colleagues, and comparing unfavourably with those of many African industrial workers. They have to work in appalling conditions, in overcrowded classrooms, lacking modern equipment, teaching half-starved children. The Nationalist policy of 'Bantu Education' imposes upon them syllabuses designed to indoctrinate their pupils with servility and apartheid theories, and containing a minimum of genuine educational content. They are compelled to teach in the African languages although there are no adequate text books in these languages. Under the Nationalist regime there has been a catastrophic fall in the standard of African education. The few places once open to African students for professional training in some White universities, have been closed. The new 'tribal colleges' set up instead by the Nationalist government are a travesty of institutions of higher education. They have no facilities to train architects, engineers, scientists, dentists or technicians in most fields. Passports for those who wish to study abroad are usually refused. Opportunities for cultural development among Africans are restricted to a minimum. Nearly all public libraries, theatres, concert halls and other cultural facilities are reserved for Whites and the few for non-Whites are inferior. The exceptionally sharp contradictions of South Africa, and their own conditions of life, which are a challenge to their self-respect and human dignity, face the African intellectuals with a clear-cut choice. Either they align themselves with the struggles of the masses, or else they accept the role of assistants and agents in maintaining White colonialism. To their credit, many African professional men, teachers and even chiefs have sacrificed all hopes of privilege and advancement in order to join wholly with their people.

The workers of the towns, the Africans employed in factories and in transport, in steelworks and power stations, in shops and offices, comprise the most dynamic

and revolutionary force in South Africa. The wages of urban African workers, in relation to their high living costs, are scandalously low. They are forced to live far from their places of work, involving exhausting and expensive journeys by bus or train. In shops and factories they are relegated to the most arduous and least rewarding work. Pass laws and urban areas legislation make the tenure of their jobs and their residences precarious, and they are subjected to never-ending raids and surveillance by the police. It is illegal for African workers to strike and their trade unions are unrecognised and vigorously discouraged by the State. Even when employers are prepared to enter into collective bargaining with African workers, the State intervenes to stop it. Despite these and many other disabilities, and the daily struggle for existence, this class, the most numerous and experienced working class on the African continent, has time and again shown that it is the vanguard of the African people. It has built up a number of stable and effective trade unions, devoted to the cause of African liberation and of workers'

unity on our continent and throughout the world. African workers constitute the core of the African National Congress and the Communist Party. They have repeatedly come out on nationwide political general strikes and have been the leading force in every major struggle of the liberation movement. Disciplined and taught the lessons of organisation and unity in the harsh school of capitalist production, driven by their conditions of life into united struggle for survival, this class alone is capable, in alliance with the masses of rural people, of leading a victorious struggle to end White domination and exploitation.

The Coloured and Malay people, a population of 11/z million living mainly in the Western Cape Province, are a national group comprising workers, farm labourers, professional people and small businessmen. Like all non-Whites, the Coloured people are subjected to many forms of racial discrimination, reflected in low standards of living, education, housing, nutrition and health. Coloured workers, despite a tradition of crafsmanship which is the oldest in the country, find access to senior posts is withheld from them and given to Whites; Coloured farm labourers work and live under wretched conditions, Their pay is scandalously low, and on the wine farms is partly made up by a liquor ration - the 'tot' system, which undermines their health. Coloured teachers and other state employees are paid much less than their white counterparts for doing the same work.

Nevertheless, for many years, this commnity occupied a privileged position in relation to the Africans. The White rulifg group extended various concessions - such as a qualified franchise, trade union rights, property rights-in order to prevent the emergence of a Coloured national consciousness, and the formation of a united front of oppressed non-White peoples for equality and the ending of White colonialism. This policy was not without success. But, with the deliberate removal by the Nationalist government, one after another, of all the privileges extended to the Coloured people in the past - the abolition of the common roll franchise, the introduction of apartheid and job reservation, White baasskap in the trade unions and separate university education - working class and democratic leaders have come to the fore.

The Coloured people are rejecting apartheid and moving towards the path of struggle, side by side with African and other freedom fighters.

The Indian community, of halfa million, are mainly the descendants of indentured labourers who came to work in the Natal sugar fields a century ago. From the earliest times all sorts of degrading and discriminatory restrictions have been placed on South African Indians, restrictions which they have resisted in many historic struggles. Today there is a substantial class of Indian industrial and agricultural workers, especially in Natal, but also, increasingly in the Transvaal. There is also a considerable class of Indian merchants, factory owners and small shopkeepers. The Indian workers face appalling problems of unemployment and overcrowding in slum conditionsl Indians do not enjoy voting and other democratic rights. Indian businessmen, and all sections of the community, are subjected to innumerable disabilities, especially relating to land and property ownership and economic and educational opportunities. They are not allowed to

move from one Province to another without special permits, and are completely debarred from the Orange Free State. The Nationalist government has applied the Group Areas Act with particular ferocity against the Indian communities in the cities and small towns, uprooting them from their homes and livelihood and threatening to 'resettle' them in isolated areas where they face complete ruination. The Indian people have turned their backs on the reformist bourgeois leadership which counselled paths of compromise with oppression and the seeking of sectional privileges regardless of democratic principle and the fate of the masses. They have unreservedly joined in the many united struggles of the African and other oppressed peoples over the past two decades.

4 THE FORCES OF CHANGE

The system of colonialism and racial oppression in our country is powerfully challenged and will be overthrown by the unified struggle of national liberation and working class movements that have grown, developed in experience and maturity and become steeled in many years of complex and difficult struggle.

The impact of capitalism destroyed the traditional economy and fabric of African tribal society. It scattered and disarmed the tribal armies. It turned the chiefs from people's leaders into instruments for implementing the laws devised by Whites. But the spirit of the African people was not broken. Patriotic African intellectuals, with the backing of many chiefs, began forming a new type of organisation, a national political organisation of the African people. A number of such bodies was formed, and in 1912 these united to form the African National Congress. The establishment of the ANC is a profoundly important landmark not only for South Africa, but for our continent as a whole. It was the forerunner of similar bodies in very many other countries of the Continent, movements which led the African revolution, and today take part in African Governments. As a national liberation organisation, the ANC does not represent any single class, or any one ideology. It is representative of all the classes and strata which

make up African society in this country. With the advance of members of the working class, together with revolutionary young intellectuals, to leading positions in the ANC, the organisation steadily developed and went forward in its policy and methods of struggle. Congress has steadfastly rejected narrow nationalism, Black chauvinism, anti-Communism and other outlooks which are harmful to the people's cause, It was precisely on these issues that the right-wing PanAfricanist Congress broke away from the ANC to form a rival organisation. The ANC has formed a firm alliance between itself and patriotic organisations of the Indian and Coloured people, the democratic Europeans and the non-racial Trade Union movement-the Congress Alliance. Even though driven underground since 1960, the ANC has carried on the struggle.

The representative organisation of the Indian people is the South African Indian Congress. For many years, under the leadership of representatives of the wealthy commercial classes, the Indian Congress contented itself with sectional struggles, aimed at maintaining and improving the status of its community alone as a minority group. But in the middle forties, a dynamic new leadership, representing

the mass of exploited Indian workers and peasants, as well as radical intellectuals who had absorbed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and identified themselves with the working class, pointed out that the future of the Indian community in South Africa was dependent upon the establishment of conditions of true democracy for the country as a whole. The struggle of the Indian people was one with that of the African national movement for freedom and equality for all in this country. This new policy and leadership was accepted by the great majority of the members of the South African Indian Congress, and since that time this Congress has taken full part in the major struggles of the Congress Alliance.

The pioneer Coloured political movement, the African People's Organisation, conducted militant campaigns and pursued a radical united front policy, but this tradition was not maintained. For many years, leadership of the Coloured people's organisations and trade unions was dominated by middle class elements, who either collaborated openly in the maintenance of White supremacy, or -under the cover of wordy denunciations of 'Herrenvolkism'-preached a policy of abstention from political activity and hostility to the African national liberation movement. In recent years the Nationalist government's attacks on their longstanding rights have led to a revival of militancy among the Coloured people. The masses of Coloured working people and radical youth are turning increasingly towards the Coloured People's Congress, an ally of the African National Congress.

There has always been a minority of Whites in South Africa who fought against racial oppression and courageously came out for the rights of the oppressed. The African people will never forget the memory of such democrats, Christians, liberals and Communists as van der Kemp, Pringle, Olive and W.P. Schreiner, Ivon Jones and S.P. Bunting, who swam against the stream of racialism. From its formation in 1953 until it was outlawed in 1962, the Congress of Democrats represented the most advanced and progressive section of the White population. In spite of unceasing persecution by the State which banned and restricted the greater

part of its membership, the COD joined all the major campaigns of the people for freedom, and shared all the trials and tribulations of the other members of the Congress Alliance.

This alliance headed by the African National Congress, which has been joined by the non-racial Congress of Trade Unions, has adopted a revolutionary democratic programme, emanating from the masses, the Freedom Charter which envisages profound democratic changes in every field of South Africa's political, social, economic and cultural life. During the grim years of the Nationalist regime, the Congresses have conducted one stirring campaign after another - the May Day and June 26 strikes of 1950 and many general strikes in the years that followed, the campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws and the Congress of the People are examples. In its foreign relations, the Congress Alliance has done much to bring the outrages of apartheid to the attention of the outside world, and to evoke acts of international solidarity which have greatly inspired and encouraged the peoples of our country.

The labour movement of South Africa has reflected, in an especially acute way, the profound international cleavage of the working class between reformists and revolutionaries, social-democrats and Communists. It began almost exclusively as a movement of the White skilled workers. During the first quarter of the present century the White working class fought many a bitter and stirring struggle against the monopoly capitalists. The miners and other White workers of the Witwatersrand formed armed commandos to defend themselves against the attempts of the Smuts government in 1922 to smash their strike by force. But, led by Right-wing renegades from socialism and bribed by concessions and privileges extended to them by the monopolists, the great majority of the White workers repudiated the principles of socialism and working class unity. So far from joining hands with their oppressed and exploited fellow-workers of a dark skin colour, they have turned their backs on them and joined in an alliance with the White capitalists and wealthy farmers to maintain White colonialism and to subjugate and exploit the non-White peoples. The years since 1922 have seen a steady decline in the militancy and class-consciousness of the White workers. The once powerful Labour Party is dead. The White trade unions-with a few honourable exceptions- collaborated in the implementation of apartheid in industry and job reservation. In fact, most of these unions have become little more than societies to preserve a White monopoly ofskilled jobs. For the most part, the White workers of this country support their capitalist rulers and exploiters in the maintenance of White supremacy and colonialism.

The labour laws of South Africa, accepted in the main by the White trade unionists, have compelled the African workers to form their own trade unions. In spite of all the disabilities under which they have to function, these unions have played a notable part in raising the wages and improving the conditions of the workers. They have educated the workers in the spirit of class unity and international solidarity. Following exclusion of African trade unions from the White-dominated Trade Union Council in 1956, these came together with workers of other races

who remained loyal to the principles of trade unionism, to establish the South African Congress of Trade Unions. SACTU has consistently campaigned to organise the hundreds of thousands of unorganised workers, particularly the Africans. It has opposed every manifestation of racialism and White privilege in the economic life ofthe country and in the trade union movement. It has endorsed the Freedom Charter and played an important part in the Congress Alliance. The Congress of Trade Unions has consistently upheld the principle of working class internationalism as expressed by the World Federation of Trade Unions. It has opposed the efforts of the so-called International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to split the workers' movement in Africa and elsewhere. SACTU is a foundation member of the All-Africa Federation of Trade Unions.

Established on July 30, 1921, the Communist Party of South Africa was the first Marxist-Leninist Party on the African Continent. It was itself based mainly on the International Socialist League, which in 1915, under the leadership of men like

Bill Andrews, had broken away from the SA Labour Party over the issue ofopposition to the imperialist war. It spread socialist teachings among the people and strove unceasingly against racialism and for the unity of the working class. It demanded complete freedom and equality for the African and other subject nationalities and led the workers and oppressed people in struggles, many of them historic, against pass laws and unemployment, against fascism at home and abroad, and for a democratic South Africa. The Communist Party brought about profound changes in the thinking, political outlook, demands, forms of organisation and methods of struggle of the oppressed and exploited people of this country. Members of the Party worked hard to build up the trade union movement, the African National Congress and other organisations of the people. Hated, slandered and persecuted by the ruling classes, the Party grew to become the outstanding champion of the oppressed and working people in every struggle against exploitation and national oppression. Nevertheless, despite its great achievements and struggles, the Communist Party ofSouth Africa proved incapable of surviving under illegal conditions. Legalistic illusions had penetrated into the ranks of the Party, including its leading personnel. The Party was unprepared and unable to work underground. These errors culminated in the dissolution of the Party upon the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act by the Nationalist Government in 1950. Under this law hundreds of 'listed' Communists were victimised, banned, banished and forced to resign from organisations they had given their lives to build.

The Nationalists boasted that they had 'destroyed Communism in South Africa.' It was an idle boast. Defying the Nazi laws of the Nationalists, the most steeled and determined Communists of South Africa came together in 1953 to form the South African Communist Party, to carry forward and raise still higher the banner of the Communist movement under the new and testing conditions of illegality. Combining legal mass work with the illegal work of building the Marxist-Leninist Party as the disciplined vanguard of the fight for freedom, democracy, peace and socialism, the South African Communist Party is the

heir to the tradition created by the Communist Party of South Africa. It is a tradition of unflinching struggle against oppression and exploitation, for unity of the workers and freedom-loving people of our country, irrespective of race and colour.

The South African Communist Party is the party of the working class, the disciplined and advanced class which has no property stakes in present-day South Africa and has been the core and inspiration of other classes in every struggle of our time. The working class seeks a close alliance with the rural people, and with the urban middle classes and intellectuals in the national democratic revolution. Only under its leadership can the full aims of the revolution be achieved. It is to enable the working class to fulfil this historic mission that the workers have founded and built their own political party, the South African Communist Party. The historic task of the Communist Party is the abolition of the capitalist system, and through socialist transformation of the economy of the country, to attain a

classless Communist society. However, at a time when the majority of the people are subject to the most vicious and degrading national oppression, when White colonialist reaction imposes a rule of terror on the whole population and sacrifices the people's living standards on the altar of White supremacy, the central and immediate task of the Communist Party is to lead the fight for the national liberation of the non-White people, and for the victory of the democratic revolution. The Party will strive continuously for the building and strengthening of a united front of national liberation, the unity of Communists and nonCommunists, the unity of freedom-loving people of all nationalities and all anticolonialist classes in the national democratic revolution. The South African Communist Party is a part of the world Communist movement. It participates in meetings of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and abides loyally by their common decisions. True to the principles of working class internationalism, the Party works for the unity of the workers of the whole world, and especially of the Marxist-Leninist parties. The Party works for the. unity of all anti-imperialist and sane forces in the world in the life-and-death struggle against a devastating nuclear war, for peaceful co-existence of nations of whatever stage of social development, for universal and complete disarmament. This policy coincides with the fundamental interests of the people of our country. It is in harmony with the aims of the independence and integrity of our country and of all-African co-operation and unity. The structure of the Party is based on the principles of democratic centralism. While demanding strict discipline, the subordination of a minority to the majority and of lower Party organs to higher organs, and the prohibition of all factions within the Party, it upholds the principle of democratic election of all leading organs of the Party, collective leadership and full debate of policy. The curtailment of some aspects of democratic procedure is inevitable under illegal conditions; this temporary situation must be compensated for by all members, regarding it as their duty to participate in the formulation of policy and by the leadership, encouraging and making it possible for them to do so.

5 THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The Nationalist Party, which has governed South Africa since 1948, has brought this country to the verge of revolution. The Afrikaner nationalist movement, which was always corrupted by White chauvinism, has today lost all trace of the anti-imperialist element it once had, during the period of its struggle against British rule. Dominated by the Afrikaner capitalist class and large-scale farmers, the Nationalist Party is controlled by the fascist 'Broederbond' secret society. Deeply influenced by the Nazi movement in Germany, it adopted many of Hitler's ideas and worked for a fascist victory in the second world war. The Nationalist Party has become the instrument of the most racialistic and imperial. istic sections of the capitalist class. The declaration of a Republic in May 1961 in no way lessened the dependence of the South African economy on British and American finance-capital. The Republic left the British Commonwealth not by choice of the Nationalist Government but because the unpopularity of its racial policy among the African and Asian member countries faced it with expulsion. In all major

questions of international policy the Nationalist government identifies itself with the most aggressive elements of international imperialism in the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Japan. It is dependent on financial and armaments aid from these countries to maintain its rule in South Africa.

The Nationalist Party relies on violence and terror to maintain itself in office. It has disfranchised the few non-Whites who once enjoyed the vote and otherwise altered the electoral system to ensure that it cannot be removed by Parliamentary means. It has outlawed workers' and liberation organisations, meetings, newspapers and other publications, and resorted to arbitrary bannings, deportations, arrests, confinements and house-arrests of freedom-fighters. It has closed the door to every possibility of peaceful advance of the non-White peoples to social, political and economic rights. It is mobilising and arming the White population for the express purpose of 'shooting down the black masses.' Already its police have committed massacres of unarmed Africans, such as those of Sharpeville and Langa, which have shocked the whole world. A powerful international movement has developed, supported by African, Asian and socialist governments, for the diplomatic, economic, cultural and sporting isolation of South Africa, and for boycotts and sanctions against the Republic. The policy of the Nationalist government has brought about a permanent and deepening crisis in the country.

The other White parliamentary parties can offer no way out of this crisis. The United Party, traditionally the instrument of the gold-mining interests and the English-speaking capitalists, laid the basis for all the excesses of the Nationalists during the many years in which it governed South Africa prior to 1948. As the main 'opposition' group in Parliament it has steadily retreated before Nationalist reaction. It is compromised by its own anti-democratic class character and afraid lest genuine opposition to the government might result in disturbances which would adversely affect business and the confidence of foreign investors. It vies

with the Nationalists in appealing to the racial prejudices of the White voters. It has actively or passively assisted the Nationalist Party at every stage ofits march to fascism.

Disgusted with the surrender of the United Party and alarmed at the dangers to the country's stability and future presented by Nationalist policy, a number of former UP MPs and members broke away in 1959 to form the Progressive Party. Backed by influential imperialist interests, such as the Oppenheimer mining group, and supported by a section of urban, middle-class Whites, the Progressive Party seeks to avert the coming democratic revolution in South Africa by offering a 'qualified' franchise to middle-class non-Whites and concessions to ease the intolerable burden of apartheid.

A more radical tendency among progressive middle-class and intellectual circles is represented by the Liberal Party. This Party proposes a universal franchise, but since it expressly confines itself to 'parliamentary and constitutional methods', it suggests no realistic or convincing method to obtain this. Its insistence on antiCommunist and anti-socialist policies and its failure to attack the roots of

raceoppression in the economy of the country seriously lessen the Liberal Party's usefulness and effectiveness. Its adherence to the 'West' in the cold war continually conflicts with its opposition to the Nationalist government, and makes the liberation movement doubt its reliability as an ally in the struggle. The deep-rooted crisis in South Africa cannot be resolved by the Nationalist government, using methods of force and violence or attempting to deceive home and world opinion with fraudulent schemes of 'Bantu self-government.' Nor can it be resolved by a mere change of government to another section of the White ruling class which would make superficial concessions while leaving the essence of the colonial system and monopoly control intact. The crisis springs from the fundamental contradictions of South African society: between the oppressed people and their rules; between South African colonialism and the world-wide movement ag'nst colonialism and imperialism; between the working class and the rural masses, together with the middle classes, on the one side, and the handful of monopoly capitalists on the other.

This crisis can only be resolved by a revolutionary change in the social system which will overcome these conflicts by putting an end to the colonial oppression of the African and other non-White people. The immediate and imperative interests of all sections of the South African people demand the carrying out of such a change, a national democratic revolution which will overthrow the colonialist state of White supremacy and establish an independent state of National Democracy in South Africa.

The main content of this revolution is the national liberation of the African people. Its fulfilment is, at the same time, in the deepest interests of the other nonWhite groups, for in achieving their liberty the African people will at the same time put an end to all forms of racial discrimination. It is in the interests of the White workers, middle class and professional groups to whom the establishment of genuine democracy and the elimination of fascism and monopoly rule offers the only prospect of a decent and stable future.

The main aims and lines of the South African democratic revolution have been defined in the Freedom Charter, which has been endorsed by the African National Congress and the other partners in the national liberation alliance. The Freedom Charter is not a programme for socialism. It is a common programme for a free, democratic South Africa, agreed on by socialists and non-socialists. At the same time, in order to guarantee the abolition of racial oppression and White minority domination, the Freedom Charter necessarily and realistically calls for profound economic changes: drastic agrarian reform to restore the land to the people; widespread nationalisation of key industries to break the grip of White monopoly capital on the main centres of the country's economy; radical improvements in the conditions and standards of living for the working people. The Communist Party pledges its unqualified support for the Freedom Charter. It considers that the achievement of its aims will answer the pressing and immediate needs of the people and lay the indispensable basis for the advance of our country along noncapitalist tines to a communist and socialist future. To win these aims is the

immediate task ofall the oppressed and democratic people of South Africa, headed by the working class and its party, the Communist Party.
In their long and difficult struggles the national liberation organisations of South Africa, including the Communist Party, have always sought peaceful methods of struggle. In the past they have counselled non-violent methods not because they are cowardly or believers in pacifist illusions but because they wished to avoid the bitterness and bloodshed of civil war. But the ruling class has invariably replied to non-violence with violence; to peaceful protests with suppression and police massacres of unarmed men, women and children. The Nationalist government has closed, or is closing, every channel of legal protest and normal political activity. It is openly preparing for civil war.
In the face ofthese provocations, the liberation movement has had to reconsider its attitude towards 'non-violence' as a universal principle. The patience of the people is not endless. They are determined to win freedom in our lifetime. They would prefer to achieve their liberation by non-violent means. But today they are left with no alternative but to defend themselves and hit back; to meet violence with violence. The Nationalists are forcing a solution upon South Africa in which patriots and democrats will take up arms to defend themselves, organise guerilla armies and undertake various acts of armed resistance, culminating in a mass insurrection against White domination. In such a conflict, however long and costly, the fighters for freedom must win, for they will enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of our country and the whole world.
The Communist Party considers that the slogan of 'non-violence' is harmful to the cause of the democratic national revolution in the new phase of the struggle, disarming the people in the face of the savage assaults of the oppressor, dampening their militancy, undermining their confidence in their leaders. At the same time, the Party opposes undisciplined acts of individual terror. It rejects theories that all non-violent methods of struggle are useless or impossible, and will continue to advocate and work for the use of all forms of struggle by the people,

including non-collaboration, strikes, boycotts and demonstrations. The Party does not dismiss all prospects of non-violent transition to the democratic revolution. This prospect will be enhanced by the development of revolutionary and militant people's forces. The illusion that the White minority can rule over a disarmed majority will crumble before the reality of an armed and determined people. The crisis in the country, and the contradictions in the ranks of the ruling class, will deepen. The possibility would be opened of a peaceful and negotiated transfer of power to the representatives of the oppressed majority of the people.
Whether its end is brought about through such a peaceful transition or by insurrection, the vicious type of colonialism embodied in the present Republic of South Africa cannot long endure. Its downfall and the victory of the South African democratic revolution are certain in the near future.
The Communist Party unreservedly supports and participates in the struggle for national liberation headed by the African National Congress in alliance with the

SA Indian Congress, the Congress of Trade Unions, the Coloured People's Congress and other patriotic groups of democrats, women, peasants and youth. With them, it demands the immediate summoning of a sovereign national convention to draw up and promulgate the constitution of a state of national democracy in South Africa. It considers that it is important and urgent for all the forces and movements for freedom to agree upon all their main goals and aims at this time.

It is in this situation that the Communist Party advances its immediate proposals before the workers and democratic people of South Africa. These are not proposals for a socialist state, They are proposals for the building of a national democratic state. These proposals are put forward within the framework of the Freedom Charter which the Party considers to be suitable as a general statement of the aims of a state of national democracy. Our proposals are not directed towards communists and socialists alone, but are submitted as a basis for discussion for all democratic and patriotic people, and in particular for members and supporters of the national liberation and trade union movements.

IMMEDIATE PROPOSALS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

l State Structure

The Party stands for a unitary South African state with a Republican form of government. All local and national representatives in legislative bodies should be subjected both to election and recall by universal, equal, direct, adult franchise, without regard to race, colour, sex or property, educational or other qualifications whatsoever. The Party declares that the revolutionary people of South Africa cannot merely take over existing State and government institutions designed to maintain colonialism, but must destroy them and create new people's institutions in their place. The Senate and all institutions based on property or other undemocratic qualifications must be abolished.

New territorial administrative regions should be established, enjoying full powers of local government corresponding to the progressive traditions and the wishes of the people of each area, but conforming to the overall character and laws of the people's democratic state.

Every vestige of apartheid and racial discrimination should be scrupulously removed from every field of state service and public life. Every rank of the Civil Service, ofthe army, navy and air force, ofthe judiciary, police, municipal services and other public institutions should be open to all South Africans. The aim of the state should be to replace all officials who are disloyal to democratic non-racial principles. Special measures should be taken rapidly to promote African and other non-White personnel, so as to ensure that all state institutions are fully representative of the nature of the population of South Africa.

El Civil Rights and State Security

The state must guarantee the fullest liberty of speech and thought, of the press and oforganisation, of conscience and religion, to all citizens. The people's freedom of movement must be guaranteed. Racialistic and counter-revolutionary propaganda

must be forbidden. People must be free to discuss and debate all schools of democratic and progressive opinion.
In order to preserve and extend the gains of the revolution, particularly in the conditions of South Africa, the utmost vigilance must be exercised against those who would seek to organise counter-revolutionary plots, intrigues and sabotage, against all attempts to restore White colonialism and destroy democracy.
While extending the greatest measure of democracy to the people, and ensuring their fullest participation in the public life of the country, a vigorous and vigilant dictatorship must be maintained by the people against former dominating and exploiting classes. Towards this end, the Party will propose the disbandment of the police and military forces maintained by White colonialism. A new people's militia and people's liberation army, composed of and led by trusted representatives of the people, must be created.
The Party will work unceasingly to oppose the development of any form of cult of individual leadership, of illegal and arbitrary methods, or of misuse of power in any way. It will uphold proper legal and judicial procedures, and fight to protect the security of the citizen, the inviolability of his home, his privacy and his correspondence.

Cl Economic Development

In order to ensure the rapid development of South Africa as a well balanced industrial-agricultural country, overcoming the lopsidedness caused by colonialism, to abolish unemployment, and to ensure continuously rising material and cultural standards of the people, the Party advocates the large-scale, planned development of the economy of the country, controlled and directed by the state.
In order to ensure South Africa's independence, the Party will press for the strengthening of the state sector of the economy, particularly in the fields of heavy industry, machine tool building and fuel production. It will seek to place control

of the vital sectors of the economy in the hands of the national democratic state and to correct historic injustice, by demanding the nationalisation of the mining industry, banking and monopoly industrial establishments, thus also laying the foundations for the advance to socialism.
At the same time, the state should protect the interests of private business where these are not incompatible with the public interest. It should offer assistance, by way of state loans, to non-monopolist producers, in return for a state share in their undertakings, thus paving the way for a gradual and peaceful transition to socialism.
The state should encourage and develop the initiative, talents and crafts of the people and provide opportunities and the fullest encouragement for those who show inventiveness, mechanical skill and other socially useful talents.

Dl Agriculture

In order to rally the support of the great masses-of rural people, to raise their living and cultural standards and to rectify the injustices committed by the colonialists in seizing most of the land of South Africa, the revolutionary state must take immediate and drastic measures to restore the land to the people. The

Reserve system, and any laws restricting land ownership on a racial basis, must be abolished.

All land must immediately be confiscated which is in the hands of financial monopolies and land speculators, absentee-owners, farmers who use convict labour or indentured compound labour, and other idlers, exploiters and parasites who allow the land to lie idle while the masses starve. This confiscated land must be placed in the hands of those who live and work upon the land. At the same time, the state should guarantee security of tenure to peasant farmers and smallholders whq fruitfully cultivate the land by their own labour. All agricultural land transactions should be regulated to avoid accumulation of the land once again in the hands of the rich.

Radical reform must be undertaken in regard to all communally-held and tribally-held lands, with respect to land tenure and social relationships. Backward tribal and other relationships should be replaced by democratic institutions. Special attention should be given to building industries in these areas, electric power stations, modern roads and railways, and all other things required to enable them soon to catch up with the economic and cultural development of the rest of the country. Advanced and efficient agricultural methods and techniques should be introduced.

The state should encourage the widespread development of democratically administered co-operative and collective farms rather than individual peasant smallholdings. Vigorous measures should be taken to mechanise and electrify farming operations, to conserve water supplies and create large-scale irrigation schemes, to encourage scientific livestock breeding and the diversification of crops. The state should aim at the development of a prosperous cultured and progressive rural community, close in its standards of living and education, social outlook and interests, to the people of the towns and cities.

El Labour and Social Welfare

As the party of the working class, the Communist Party demands the protection and substantial advancement of the workers' standards ofliving, housing, working conditions, wages, leisure and recreation. It proposes that all workers, including farm, mine and domestic workers, be entitled to full trade union rights and the protection of labour laws, including a national minimum wage, annual paid holidays, sick leave, unemployment and workmen's compensation benefits for all, and adequate safety regulations in all mines, factories, farms and other places of work.

The Party demands that the state provide special protection for women workers, the removal of all restrictions against married women employees, and the provision of adequate maternity leave before and after birth. The Party will fight for full and equal rights for women in every aspect of state, social and private life. It will work for the elimination of polygamy. It will fight vigorously against all vestiges and manifestations of contempt for or unequal treatment of women, or their being regarded as mere cooks, domestic servants, nannies and housekeepers.

It will fight for the admission of women on an equal basis to every sphere of state, industrial, commercial, agricultural, scientific, academic and professional life.
The Party proposes that a state medical service be instituted providing free preventative and curative medical and health services to all, including hospitals, medicines, spectacles, dentures and all other aspects of a comprehensive health service.
The Party proposes the provision of free meals at school to all children; that all workers be guaranteed cheap transport to and from work and that the state provide adequate pensions, without discrimination, to all old people. It demands adequate allowances for all who are unemployed, disabled, orphaned, or otherwise unable to earn a living.
The Party demands the abolition of all residential segregation and the provision of adequate housing for all, with special attention to the needs of those living in slums.
El Education
There must be no segregation in education. All children must receive free primary and secondary education from the state. Standards of education must be the same for all children, irrespective of race, home language or economic status, and designed to develop citizens imbued with a love of their people, their country and humanity.
There must be equal opportunities for all to receive higher education and specialised technical training. However, in order to correct the legacy of colonialism, priority must be given to the training of African and other non-White specialists in every field.
The state must organise a campaign among the masses for the complete elimination of adult illiteracy.
All teachers must be guaranteed decent standards of living and the right to take part in public life. They must be enabled to attain the highest qualifications

and their remuneration and promotion must be on the basis of qualifications and merit alone.
El National Rights
In view of the ravages wrought by the White colonialists, the Party demands exceptional measures to uphold the rights, dignity, culture and self-respect of all national groups inhabiting our country.
All languages used by the people of South Africa should enjoy equal rights and status. In local administrative regions, organs of local government, laws and courts, the language used should normally be that spoken by the majority of the people in that region.
The state should encourage in particular the unity of all South Africans. At the same time it should encourage and stimulate the development of healthy, nonantagonistic national consciousness and legitimate pride among all sections of the people. It should encourage the development of national cultures, art and literature.

While standing for a united South African state, the Party recognises the rights of all national groups in' the country to develop and to determine their own future. To enable these rights to be realised, the Party demands the abolition of the Reserve system and the even development of agriculture, industry and communications throughout South Africa.
Freedom of movement must be an inviolable right of all citizens and all citizens must enjoy equal rights and status in every part of the country.
Vigorous measures must be taken to train and promote non-Whites, especially Africans, as managers and directors of industrial agricultural, mining and commercial enterprises; as professors, doctors, chemists, architects, scientists and engineers; as leading personnel of every sort.
While regarding as its main task in the sphere of national rights, as being to correct the injustice and crime perpetrated against the African majority, the state must also safeguard and guarantee the rights of minority groups, whether European, Coloured, Indian, Chinese or any other descent. The state must protect the rights of all citizens equally, and vigorously oppose and suppress all senseless acts of revenge which have their roots in the past. All manifestations of racialism, including the use of derogatory terms to designate people of various national groups, must be prohibited by law.
11 Foreign Relations
The national democratic state of South Africa should be fully independent. It should base its policy on the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. South Africa should aim to strengthen the United Nations and make it more democratic and effective as an instrument of peace. It should work for universal disarmament and the abolition of war as a means of settling disputes between nations.
South Africa should not join any imperialist military alliance or power bloc, or allow any imperialist bases to be set up on its territory.

A democratic South Africa should aim at the closest and most fraternal relationships between all African states, towards a united Africa.
Democratic South Africa must seek the closest and most brotherly relations upon a basis of complete equality between our country and its neighbouring territories of South West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Mozambique and Rhodesia. It must proclaim and scrupulously observe the right of self-determination and independence of South West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.
A free South Africa will render every assistance to all other Africans in their struggles to liberate themselves from colonialism.
A democratic South African state should enter into diplomatic, cultural, commercial and economic arrangements with all countries irrespective of their social system, seek to conclude equal and mutually beneficial agreements with them and to strengthen the ties of friendship and brotherhood amongst the peoples of the whole world.
DOCUMENT 116:

'The Revolutionary Way Out', statement by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, The African Communist, April-June, 1963.

Things are coming to a head in South Africa. We are very fast coming to a big crisis in our history. The Nationalist government is tightening the screws and driving apartheid and oppression to the limits of the people's endurance. The people are fighting back. As, one after another, the Government stops legal and peaceful channels of protest and resistance the oppressed masse's are turning to methods that are illegal and non-peaceful. They are looking to illegal organisations like the African National Congress and the Communist Party for leadership and liberation. Violent outbreaks of one sort or another are becoming more and more common. Sometimes, as in the case of the operations of Umkhonto we Sizwe, these outbreaks are purposeful, effective and carefully planned on a nation-wide level. But very often, as hunger, persecution and police terror drive one section of the people after another to desperation, we find unplanned, spontaneous acts of resistance and retaliation taking place on a local level, and the development of bodies like 'Poqo' with its outlook of blind revenge on Whites.

Former leaders of the break-away Pan-Africanist Congress now living in exile, such as P. Leballo in his recent notorious Maseru speech, have attempted to claim the 'Poqo' movement as a part of their organisation. This claim is made for the purpose of boosting the fallen prestige of PAC, which no longer exists as an organised force in South Africa itself. It does not bear serious examination. PAC may well have given rise to Poqo, by spreading the concept that spontaneous outbursts of people's violence are a suitable means of struggle, and by whipping up anti-White chauvinism amongst African patriots. But having produced the

atmosphere in which Poqo has grown, neither PAC nor anyone else can claim to control or to lead it. For Poqo is, in essence, an uncontrolled and violent reaction to oppression, not an organised political movement with an ideology and long term policy accepted by all its adherents. Outbreaks ascribed to Poqo, such as those at Paarl and the Bashee River, were not planned by the PAC or any other national organisation: they were semi-spontaneous reactions of men oppressed beyond endurance, inspired to action by rudimentary political aims of the Poqo movement.

Leballo's wild claims of '150,000 members' preparing for 'imminent revolution' which were designed to terrify ill-informed whites, have provided the Nationalist government with the very pretext they have been seeking with which to justify new extreme measures of repression and militarisation. Irresponsible PAC talk has been grist to the Nationalist government's mill.

The reaction of the Nationalist Government is two-fold. On the one hand it steps up and makes harsher its innumerable acts of tyranny and oppression. On the other it is openly preparing to crush by force the resistance and rebellion which these acts must inevitably call forth.

There is no freedom of criticism, of organisation, of speech and meetings, of the press. Every spark that still remains after Nationalist rule is vigorously stamped

out. The army and the police force are being rapidly expanded and merged with one another. A drive is being made to panic the entire White population and enrol all its adult members into some sort or other of police and military part-time units. A wild and lying propaganda is spread in which every sort of opposition or protest to the Nationalists-ranging from spontaneous 'Poqo'-type outbreaks, to the dignified protests of the Liberals and the Black Sash-are labelled as 'Communism' and subjected to savage penalties. Leaders or former leaders of national liberation, trade union and other democratic movements are subjected without trial or charge to house-arrests and a wide variety of other administrative penalties, prohibitions and bans.

Verwoerd and Vorster are steadily turning the country into an armed camp: ruled by decree and martial law. They are heading for civil war. Without doubt these ruthless measures of the ruling class, born of panic and desperation, have taken a heavy toll of all who, in the past, have had the courage to stand up publicly for the people's rights. They have greatly narrowed any hope of peaceful change to a free South Africa. They have succeeded in intimidating some opponents of the Nationalists and causing them to waver in their faith in the victory of the' people over the oppressors. But the great mass of our people, particularly the African workers and peasants, are not intimidated. They are determined to win their freedom, whatever it may cost. And they know that freedom will be won. The White minority dictatorship cannot last.Whether it is looked at in relation to the rest of Africa and the outside world, or in relation to the balance of long-term forces in South Africa itself, the position of the Verwoerd government is hopeless.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WORLD

For a number ofyears the Africa, National Congress and its allies have conducted a sustained and tireless campaign to expose the facts about apartheid to the outside world and to call for solidarity with the freedom struggle of the South African people. An important milestone in this campaign was the decision taken by the last General Assembly, by a majority of more than two-thirds, requesting memberstates to boycott and isolate the Verwoerd regime in view of its persistent and shameless violations of the UN Charter. The Security Council was also asked to consider the expulsion of South Africa.

The Nationalist government makes light of these weighty decisions and claims they will never be put into effect. They are relying on the big financial interests in the imperialist countries with heavy stakes in South Africa. But, in the long run, these interests cannot prevail over the anger and indignation felt by the vast AfroAsian, socialist and democratic majority of mankind against the outrages of this Nazi white supremacy regime.

It is true that, as yet, the General Assembly resolutions, the Afro-Asian resolutions on the boycott of South Africa and other important decisions have not been treated with proper respect by all states and governments. Even countries which supported these decisions, including some African, Asian and socialist countries, have themselves failed to carry them out consistently.

However, it would be wrong to think that because of these failings the decisionsthemselves are 'unworkable' or cannot be made effective. The same pressures which led to the decisions being taken will, sooner or later, lead to fully practical steps to carry them into effect. In one field after another, whether in diplomacy, commerce, sport or culture, world opinion is challenging South African apartheid and inflicting defeat after defeat on this hateful concept. The movement for solidarity with the people of our country is a sustained and protracted campaign. In this campaign the decision of the General Assembly marks an historic turning point from which further great advances can and will be made.

Looked at from the viewpoint ofthe historical process, the South African regime is steadily and swiftly being driven into a position of isolation, in which the armaments, capital and other forms of material and moral support which sustain it from abroad will one after another be cut short.

THE BALANCE OF FORCES WITHIN

Even more important, inside South Africa itself- in spite of the massive-appearing and ever-growing state machine of domination and repression -the balance of forces is steadily changing in favour of the people and their liberation forces, and against the oppressing minority.

A minority, however heavily armed, cannot prevail over the great majority ofthe people when the majority is organised, determined and clear in its purpose. Every new act of tyranny and oppression by the government calls forth acts of

revolutionary protest and resistance by the masses. Often such acts may be unplanned, desperate and unsuccessful. They may be answered by heavy and costly reprisals. But in the process the forces of liberation are being forged. They are becoming more steeled in their determination. They are building effective and indestructible organisations. They are achieving ever greater clarity of purpose and direction.

The violent clashes which have occurred in the Cape and elsewhere are signs of the growing revolutionary upheaval in our country. The so-called 'Poqo' operations are a reaction against unendurable oppression, and one cannot doubt the courage and patriotic feelings of those who took part in such actions as the storming of police stations. But at the same time many of these acts show negative and harmful features. Planned badly, or not at all, they have the nature ofspontaneous outbursts: acts of desperation not acts of responsible and thoughtful revolutionaries. They reflect a grave political backwardness, their only basis often being a crude, terroristic policy of hitting back and indiscriminate reprisals against the white community. Such a policy is far removed from the outlook of the advanced elements of the African people, as it has been formed in the long experience of struggle for national liberation headed by the African National Congress, the trade unions and the Communist Party. At the same time, these acts of desperate retaliation have a positive side, although they cannot succeed in their objectives and although they involve heavy reprisals, setbacks and temporary defeats. For from these defeats the people are drawing the

conclusion, not that resistance is futile, but that it should be planned, purposeful and principled. The leaders of the African liberation movements have not merely taken a negative or critical attitude towards the 'Poqo' type outbreaks. They have acknowledged that exclusively non-violent methods are no longer of use. Indeed it is notable that at the recent Moshi Afro-Asian Conference in Tanganyika, a spokesman of the African National Congress publicly announced support for and Congress connection with the fighting organisation, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Such statements, and the increasing activities of Umkhonto itself, show that the African people and their leaders are rapidly absorbing the lessons of the abortive 'Poqo' outbreaks: that they understand the duty of experienced and responsible leaders. They do not in any way seek to dampen or discourage the revolutionary spirit abroad among the youth, the workers and peasants and the oppressed people generally. Instead they aim to harness that spirit, not to reckless adventures, but to effective, planned action. Only such a dynamic and militant policy can avoid the repetition of fruitless acts of violence, instigated by desperate organisations of the 'Poqo' type, or even provoked by the authorities, and involving unnecessary bloodshed, reprisals and setbacks.

Another important lesson which the oppressed people are fast learning from the present crucial phase of our history is that every attempt to redress or rectify a local or partial grievance is necessarily connected with, and can only be won by, the defeat of the Nationalist government itself, and the ending of White minority rule. Where every protest and every demand is met merely by bloody suppression by

the state, it becomes clear to one section of the people after another tht the state itself is the obstacle to any sort of advance, and that no sort of happy or tolerable future is possible without the removal of this tyrannical state and its replacement by one which embodies the will of the majority of the people.

Does this mean that it is useless to campaign on any sort of local issue or partial grievance, and that the time has come to forget about such immediate questions and speak only in general terms of freedom? No: that would be wrong: such a conclusion could only be reached by parlour -politicians who live in isolation from the people and their daily needs and problems. Real liberation leaders who are close to and part of the masses cannot escape their duty to take part in their everyday struggles for higher wages, against pass laws, group areas and mass evictions, against Bantu Authorities and Bantustans, whether these struggles are on a local or a national scale.

But it does mean that in future every local struggle will more and more tend to broaden out into a nation-wide struggle. It means that where the state and its police and military attempt to suppress strikes and demonstrations by force and violence the people are more and more going to be organised and prepared to defend themselves and to strike back. It means that each campaign on a specific issue, whether it be the crucial struggle against the Government's newest 'Bantu' laws; the workers' demand for a living wage; the peasants' struggle for land and against Bantustans will inevitably develop into a struggle for state power, for the

right of the people of our country to govern the country according to the principle of 'one man, one vote'.
The best guarantee of the speedy victory of the South African revolution is that the seasoned and devoted leaders of the most representative and influential liberation organisation, the African National Congress, have grasped the essentials of this situation and courageously advanced a correct policy. It is now their historic task and responsibility -despite all the difficulties and dangers of work under illegal conditions and Nationalist terror - to convey this policy to the people and to organise them in action to carry it out. In this hard task the ANC can count, as in the past, on the unqualified support of our Party and all its members.
It is within the general framework ofthis outline that certain specific and critical problems should now be considered.

THE PASS LAWS - A NEW ROUND OF STRUGGLE

The pass laws have always been a weapon in the hands ofthe white colonialist state to oppress and exploit the African people. But the government is now intensifying and worsening the pass system in a way which changes its character. Pass laws have become much more than a source of constant irritation and humiliation, leading to summary arrests, raids and fines. In the Western Cape the pass laws are being used to evict Africans forcibly from the entire area and to return them to starvation in the Reserves. The government openly states that its aim is to close the entire Western Cape to Africans. And this is just a beginning. It is the intention to

follow out the same aim, area by area, throughout the country. It is for this purpose that the pass laws have been extended to apply to African women, more and more of whom are being endorsed out of urban areas. The latest 'Bantu' legislation recently introduced in parliament makes the aim clear. It is to turn all Africans into 'foreigners' in the 'white' areas -that is the main urban and industrial centres of South Africa. Here, Africans are to be deprived of all rights of residence, labour and family life. All Africans are to be turned into migrant labourers, forced by hunger from the crowded, starving Bantustans to temprorary jobs under compound and contract conditions in 'White South Africa'.
The working out of this policy has already led to the desperation and bitterness of the Africans in the'Western Cape. It will do so everywhere. The fight against pass laws is not a 'Western Cape' issue alone. It is a basis for nation-wide political action and resistance. In present conditions this cannot be just a repetition of previous anti-pass campaigns aimed at the curtailment or abolition of pass laws. To-day the fight against pass laws has become a fight for the right to live and work in that 87 per cent of our country which is arrogantly claimed as 'White South Africa'. It is a fight against deportation to the Bantustans and the seizure of the rest of the country. It is a fight for citizenship, for land and freedom. Events are forcing the people into struggle against the pass laws. They cannot do other than resist. But unless the people see this resistance as a whole, as an inseparable part of the general struggle of the oppressed people for freedom, serious mistakes

may be made. Even though conditions are desperate, responsible leaders cannot merely follow the policies of desperate and impatient men who grow reckless and clamour for any sort of action regardless of the consequences. Serious revolutionaries cannot engage in desperate adventures without thought to the future.

The new round of struggles against the pass laws poses most acute problems for the people and their leaders; but all these problems can be overcome if they act in a way that is both militant and principled, without yielding to desperation tactics or opportunistic concessions to backward elements. Consider the position where, faced with intolerable pressures by the application of the pass laws, the African people of some areas decide upon mass pass burning followed by a local general strike. Clearly, if they are ready for such action, militant leaders cannot and should not restrain the people. It would be wrong and in present conditions unrealistic to tell them to wait for some future 'national day of action' which may never materialise. Action must be taken on local initiative when and where the masses are ready to respond; their action will inspire the people elsewhere and draw them into action too. But one cannot overlook that any action anywhere is almost certain to be answered by savage reprisals from the government, the police and the military. Unless alternative proposals are adopted and prepared for, such reprisals could lead to blind rioting and to indiscriminate 'Poqo'-style attacks on white civilians and property. But such an outcome cannot be regarded with approval or favour by African patriots dedicated to the cause of freedom. Riots and pogroms can only

lead to massive state retaliation, a serious political set-back for our cause and its prestige at home and abroad and a crushing defeat of the people. Freedom fighters must not flirt with ideas or remain cowardly silent in the face of them. That way lies disaster for our people and the cause of South African freedom.

Revolutionarie5 fight against and oppose such ideas and tactics, not because they are violent, but because they are wrong; because they are unprincipled, because they aim only to produce terror for the sake of terror. The people of this country will not be roused to struggle by such actions, which hold out no prospect of the overthrow of the state of oppression but only prospects of widescale bloodletting. Instead the people will be driven into inactivity.

The answer to government terror is not wild rioting, but organised and planned mass selfdefence and resistance. Police and military vehicles against peaceful passburners or strikers cannot succeed if the brave and disciplined young freedomfighters are organised and prepared to stand up in defence of the homes, the lives and the security of their own people.

Today in many parts of the country, government policy is driving people into resistance to a stage where they are clamouring for action. Local leaders cannot lag behind the people, or they will cease to be leaders and the blind force of destruction and revenge will take over. But local action must always be principled, in accordance with the established policy and general direction of the national leadership. No desperation: no adventurism: but firm, resolute and

revolutionary action! That should be the watchword of the oppressed people and their leaders in the difficult days ahead. That is the policy of the Communist Party.

THE FIGHT FOR WAGES

How can we live, how can we keep our families, on the miserable wages we are paid? To the millions of low-paid workers, especially the Africans, in the factories, shops and other businesses in the towns, no question is more pressing than this.

Everybody, even many employers' organisations, agree that Africans are paid far too little. Yet hardly anything - for most workers nothing at all - is done to raise the wages. The result is terrible poverty. Whole families live close to starvation. The worker cannot manage to feed his family, to buy clothing, to pay for rent, transport, taxes, school fees and all the other expenses out of his wages. His wife is forced to go out to work and often neglect the children, and still there is not enough. Often the neglected and hungry children turn to crime. Always there is trouble with the police. Always the answer is the same - we have no money.

Why are African wages so low, when Europeans get far more pay for doing much less work? African workers are seriously considering this question -and finding the correct answer. It is not that they are less capable and efficient workers: it is that they are discriminated against on racial grounds. Their trade unions are not recognised: their strikes are illegal. Even when certain employers would be prepared to negotiate with the workers they are stopped from doing so out of fear of the government.

Why are the government and the White bosses so determined to keep African wages at starvation level, to stop any big and important increases anywhere? It is because the whole economic structure of the country, the phoney 'prosperity' of the country, the big profits for White local and foreign capitalists, all rest on the foundation of the twisted political and social superstructure of South Africa, of apartheid and all the vicious anti-African practices of the government.

That is why it is impossible to look at the wage demands of the African workers from a purely economic and trade union point of view. Every strike of African workers, even in one factory, is immediately looked at as a political and police matter. The government and the bosses and the mine owners and the farmers are very keenly aware that a real big jump up in wages for one group of workers, even in one trade or industry, will inspire the millions of underpaid workers elsewhere, in industry, in commerce, on the mines, on the farms, to demand and fight for more money for themselves, too.

The workers are very well aware of this as well. That is why it is so rare to see a strike of workers, these days, in one factory or one industry. It is not that they do not have plenty of reason for striking: it is because they know that if one group of workers come out on strike on their own, all the forces of the state and the police will be brought in to hammer them, to arrest them, to victimise and deport them. That is why, when African workers think or talk about striking for higher wages, it is in terms of a general strike for general demands rather than the traditional

trade union patterns of each section fighting piecemeal for its particular demands in each particular industry or trade. And this is a sound and healthy approach: for although conditions may differ in detail from one industry to another, all African workers in general are subjected to colonial-type exploitation on the same miserable standard of pay. To meet this situation what is needed is the greatest possible united action of the majority of the working class.

This does not of course mean that the workers and their trade union leaders should not undertake strikes and other actions, whether legal or illegal, in a single industry or even a single factory. Where the need arises and the workers understand and are prepared for the consequences, they will take industrial action. And they will be correct to do so, for a single victory, even a small one, in a single strike, may be enough to spark off and inspire a whole series of similar actions among other workers, a process which the authorities may be unable to subdue.

What it does mean is that in the present period the advanced section of the workers should take a forward and militant line of policy in the fight for a living wage. They should inspire the workers with confidence in their own strength and unity. They should strive to broaden out every militant struggle for higher wages with a view to including every category ofworkers in regional and national general strikes.

Finally, they must aim to see that the workers are made fully aware of the fpolitical aspect of their fight for decent wages, conditions and opportunities of work. Fundamentally the fight of the African worker for a living wage is part and parcel of his struggle for citizenship and trade union rights. To win this fight it is

necessary to destroy White minority rule and establish a state of national democracy.

The fight of the urban workers for more wages is part of, and merges with, the fight of the whole people for the right to live and work in this country, the fight for land and freedom, the fight to win the national democratic revolution. The workers are not and cannot be separate from this great movement: in fact they are its heart and soul and its natural leader.

RURAL AREAS AND 'BANTUSTANS'

The rural areas are no longer the placid backwaters of the country. They are becoming storm centres. The government itself is attempting to enforce its unacceptable policies against the resistance of the people. At the same time it is evicting militant men and women into the country areas from the towns, on a large scale. Both these attacks are having the effect of raising the tempo of revolutionary struggle in the countryside.

Especially in the Transkei and Zululand the government's attempts to force through its Bantustan schemes have already brought about an explosive situation. Some areas are close to civil war. The issue is becoming very sharp and clear. The issue is not what sort of Bantustan constitution should be adopted, it is whether the people will accept any type of'regional self-rule' which means a surrender of their rights to citizenship Within South Africa as a whole. More and more people

are understanding that there is no liberation by way of accepting Verwoerd's mess of pottage, by way of separating the Transkei or any other area from the rest of the country. The only way is that of struggle for the overthrow of white minority rule and the liberation of South Africa, our country.
Events are proving the correctness of the policy and decisions of our last National Conference, which, despite campaigns by others for a more 'democratic' or 'genuine' Transkeian constitution, demanded the total rejection of Transkeian separation and called for unity in the struggle of the whole country for total liberation.
The liberation movement encourages and assists the rural people in their struggles, and helps to prepare and train their most revolutionary people for action. But here again, wild, ill-planned adventures can and should be avoided. Blended with the patriotic and revolutionary spirit of the rural people we are increasingly seeing the effect of that knowledge of organisation and experience of tactics, strategy and planning which has been gained in many years of political struggle in the towns. The African National Congress itself is turning more strongly than ever to the countryside. It is building new ANC branches and strengthening existing ones. The aim is not to displace such popular and respected traditional leaders as Sabata Dalindyebo, or to put forward Congress members as competitors for local leadership and authority, but to assist the local people and to unite the radical and anti-government forces in successful local action. Even though many traditional leaders may not share the Congress outlook, their

resistance to the government is leading along the same road-a direct challenge to white supremacy and its eventual overthrow by the people. The struggles of rural people against local oppression and on a local basis cannot by itself bring about the collapse of the Bantu Authorities system. For this, what is needed is a united, nation-wide fight by the people of the country and the towns together, to overthrow white supremacy. But these local struggles are a starting point which can ignite the South African revolution. They inspire the country and show that the powerful giant of apartheid can be resisted and checked, where men are ready, organised and united, and where they fight back. To-day the Nationalist government has a great advantage in arms and the organised state machine. But the people are stronger in numbers and conviction in the rightness oftheir cause. In the course of struggle they will gain also the organisation that is necessary for victory. The government and its running dogs, like Kaiser Matanzima, who aspires to the sorry role of the Tshombe of the Transkei, is inflicting a reign of terror to make the people submit. They have for three years maintained a 'State of Emergency' in the Transkei. They have kept hundreds of people in jail without charge or trial. Their 'homeguards' assault African patriots, rape women, kill, burn down huts, turn farmers off their lands to starve. They are armed and backed by white police and military.
But history teaches us -and Transkei patriots are proving it again -that neither terror nor force of arms can subdue the spirit of an awakened people. The Mountain Committees and the Xhosa fighting tradition is reconquering the

Transkei from the invaders: and as has happened before, those without arms will learn how to obtain and to use the weapons they need for freedom. The Communist Party is basically an organisation of urban workers. But it is fundamentally a principle of our policy to build the closest ties of friendship between the workers and the peasants. Especially in a country like ours, where such close links already exist between the Africans in the towns and their brothers in the platteland, it is the duty of every member of our party to assist the rural people in their bitter struggles and to show in practice that the staunchest ally of the peasant masses is the industrial working class of South Africa. Our workers must strengthen their personal ties with the countryside: they must work with the greatest sympathy, tact and patience, not to divide the rural people but to unite all patriotic forces among them for the overthrow of minority rule and ownership, and the transfer of the land and the government of the whole of South Africa to the whole of the people.

'ORGANISATION DECIDES EVERYTHING'

It is a usual tactic of fascists and other reactionaries to present a terrifying and completely distorted picture of'Communism', and then to label and smear all critics, all advocates of change, as 'Communists'. The Nationalist Party are expert students of Hitler and McCarthy in these tactics. The African National Congress in particular has been made the victim of these smearing methods.

In its press and radio propaganda, the Nationalist Party paints an absurd picture, that the Communist Party has 'captured' the African National Congress and other liberation organisations, that it 'controls' these movements and decides their policy for them. This propaganda, which is aided by people like the PAC and certain leaders of the Liberal Party, flies in the face of truth and commonsense. The Communist Party has no desire to 'control' or dominate any other organisation, and it is ridiculous to imagine that the leaders of the ANC and its allies, who daily face persecution and even death to maintain the existence and independence of their organisations, would tamely submit to dictation from our Party or anyone else.

Certainly there is a large area of agreement between the Communist Party and the ANC on policy and strategy. But this is certainly not because either organisation controls the other: it is because like the ANC, we of the SACP, as stated in our Programme, regard as our 'immediate and foremost task' a united front of national liberation to destroy white domination and achieve a national democratic revolution, whose 'main content... will be the national liberation of the African people'. It is not remarkable that the policy of our Party should coincide with the aims and aspirations of the majority of the people and their organisations-indeed this is a tribute to the correctness of Marxist-Leninist theory and its application by our Party to the realities of the South African situation.

Our political policy is correct: it can be understood and accepted by the national liberation movement and the masses of the people. But it is not enough for the leaders to have a correct policy. It is necessary that an adequate machinery must exist to convey this policy to the people and to enable them to carry it out

effectively. That is exactly what is missing in the present situation in this country. It is true that the smashing attacks of the government have crippled and made almost impossible the means of propaganda and organisation which have been used in the past. The Nationalists are out to smash all organisations that oppose white domination, to stop their leaders from speaking, writing or meeting one another, to victimise, jail and exile them. Every day some new blanket or individual ban is announced, issued by the Minister ofJustice. But all these handicaps can be overcome by careful and intelligent organisation that recognises that new conditions need new methods and approaches. Failure to take necessary organisational steps would lead to a dangerous gap opening between the people and their leaders.

The period when it was possible to organise wide-scale open and lawful activity for freedom is nearing its end. It is still possible to find new organisational and propaganda methods to carry on the fight. But the methods which served so well in the past are no longer good enough. Most of the work of the liberation and democratic movements is unlawful. Whatever chances remain for carrying out legal mass work of education and organisation must be used to the full. But such chances have become so limited that they form only a minor side of the work that has to be done. The freedom movement has been forced into the position where illegal work is the major side of its activity. All ideas on organisation must now be

reconsidered. The main job of the movement is to make its illegal work more effective, more efficient and more successful in reaching the masses of the people and evading repressive action by the authorities.

With the struggle rising in intensity, the most vicious punishments are being meted out to everyone who is known or even suspected to be involved in underground activity. Points of law and court procedures are thrown to the winds, as the state and the judges put the preservation of white supremacy before every consideration of justice, fairplay and the legal tradition. In these conditions, carelessness and recklessness become serious crimes against the people.

OUR PARTY

A tremendous responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the South African Communist Party. In the strengthening and the leadership ofour organisation rests the key to victory. Our Party is the most experienced and seasoned in underground work. It is guided by and imbued with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism which has been proved time and again to be the only correct revolutionary ideology.

Our Party can only fulfil the great tasks which now face it if it is greatly increased in membership, effectiveness and in the understanding and self-sacrificing work of each individual member.

Our inspiring new Programme - South Africa's Road to Freedom - provides us with an invaluable tool to raise the political level of our membership and to attract and enrol many new members. It must be made the basis of a vigorous and

dynamic campaign of education both within the Party itself and amongst revolutionary workers and intellectuals who have not yet joined our ranks.
We do not want and never have wanted to enrol members into the Party who are not ready for it or who are likely to prove unstable or unreliable. But the time has come when we must discard the conservative approach which regards any worker who has not yet fully absorbed the teachings or perhaps merely the vocabulary of Communism as 'not ready' or 'unsuitable'. Thousands of people are today able to absorb the straightforward message of our Programme and are ready to fight and die for it. It is imperative that we find a way to reach these people and draw them into our ranks.
To do all these things properly it will be necessary for all our members not only to give their time and their devoted work to the Party, but also to help raise more money and to make the fullest personal financial sacrifices that they can. At a time when every revolutionary is facing imprisonment or even death, there is no sacrifice from which we can shrink.
As a result of the present 'state of siege' mentality of the ruling classes, and the massive resources being devoted to 'security', to police activities, terror intimidation and surveillance of known Leftists, the work of our Party, spearhead of the advanced working class, becomes far more difficult and dangerous. To meet the dangers we need to be filled with unshakeable courage and confidence in our Party, our class, our people and our cause. We have every reason for confidence.

FORWARD TO VICTORY!
Events in South Africa are moving towards a crisis, culminating in a direct clash, between the forces of reaction, apartheid and barbarism organised by the state, and the forces of liberation.
As the struggle grows more acute, the bravest and most resolute men and women will come forward to lead the people in the path of struggle and victory. The people will organise and fight back on every front- against pass laws, Bantustans and group areas, against starvation wages, against mass evictions, against police state terrorism. They will take bold local initiative against grievances: merging every local and partial struggle into a mighty river of people's insurrection that will sweep away minority baasskap and win people's rule in a free South Africa!
The Nationalist government cannot succeed in its attempts to check the awakened people of our country in their irresistible drive to freedom; they can only succeed in making that struggle more bitter and bloody. Should they persist in this course, the only effect can be that the present outbreaks of sabotage and violence will develop into full-scale civil war, beginning with guerilla operations in various parts of the countryside and culminating in an armed insurrection of the whole oppressed people throughout the country.
It is not the Communists and it is not the oppressed non-White majority who have chosen this path: it is the ruling classes, the Nationalist Party, backed up and encouraged by the United Party, and the big capitalist interests. They are out to keep big profits, stolen land and White privileges, even at the cost of a continuous

reign of terror that turns our whole country into one big concentration camp, even at the cost of many innocent lives, both non-White and White.
There is only one way out of the misery and bloodshed of Nationalist rule and White domination-the revolutionary way out. Our people will never submit to terror and intimidation; they will unite, organise and prepare to fight back. Death and sacrifices cannot deter patriots who are determined to win freedom; who have decided that it is no longer possible to live like slaves and be treated worse than dogs.
Down with the Verwoerd Government of starvation, tyranny and death!
Down with apartheid and partition of South Africa!
Forward to a united, free South Africa; the whole country for the whole people!
Unite for Land, Freedom and the Right to Live!
DOCUMENT 117:
'Stand by our Leaders', statement on Rivonia arrests by Editorial Board of The African Communist, July-September, 1963.
On July 11, 1963 'special branch' policemen -Vorster's Gestapo - raided a house in Rivonia, near Johannesburg, and arrested 18 men and women. Those arrested include Walter Sisulu, former general secretary of the banned African National

Congress, who was in hiding after being sentenced to six years' jail for carrying on ANC activity, Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba, who until outlawed were known as outstanding leaders of the ANC in Port Elizabeth, ex-treason trialist and house-arrestee, 'Rusty' Bernstein, and noted Indian youth leader Ahmed Kathrada.
The arrested people are all being held in jail under the notorious '90 day' section of the 1963 General Laws Amendment Act, which provides for detention without charge or trial, without visitors or access to lawyers. The police announced that this was one of the 'most important round-ups so far', and that they had 'smashed the underground headquarters of the African National Congress'. Other police statements indicate that charges may be framed under the 'Sabotage Act', which could carry a death sentence.
THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF 'THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST' HAS ADOPTED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT
It would be a mistake to underestimate the gravity of the latest news from South Africa. In capturing Walter Sisulu and his brave companions the Fascists have dealt a bitter blow at South Africa -the real South Africa that strives and longs for freedom.
We may now expect the biggest frame-up in South African history - not excluding even the marathon treason trial of 1956-61. And, let there be no mistake, such a 'trial' would take place in conditions infinitely worse than were then the case. Since that time the South African white supremacy state has taken long strides towards a Nazi-type police dictatorship ofnaked lawlessness and terrorism. With a press that has been effectively muzzled or suppressed, a cowed and subvervient judiciary, andarmed with 'laws' that contradict the very concept of legality, Nazi Vorster will no doubt go all out to make the 'trial' a demonstration to whip up to

hysteria the fear and panic of the White population and to terrorise the non-Whites into submission to slavery.
The lurid imaginations of the special branch of the police will be given free rein-certainly they are already hard at work fabricating 'evidence' of fantastic plots - in court proceedings which will be nothing but a travesty ofthose in civilised countries. It cannot be excluded by any means that even the death penalty may be demanded by South Africa's bloodthirsty rulers and we must say with all soberness and realism that the very lives of Walter Sisulu and those who have been arrested with him, many of whose names have become household words in South Africa as brilliant and fearless champions of democracy for all, are now in mortal danger.
Only one thing can avert this ghastly tragedy and save these fine South Africans-true sons of our people, African, White and Indian-from judicial murder. And that is a mighty tide of solidarity and determination through all the world of all who value justice and human rights. This applies in the first place, of course, to the people of South Africa themselves. And already they have begun the slogan 'Free Sisulu!' has appeared on the walls of Germiston and other South African towns.

To the millions upon millions of true friends of South African freedom throughout the world we appeal at this time to raise a mighty campaign of solidarity which even the hardened fascists of South Africa will not be able to resist. The peoples of Africa and the world have already shown so much understanding and friendship for the cause of Free South Africa. To all of them we say: Walter Sisulu, great African patriot, and his friends are your brothers. We look to you to join with us in the struggle to save them, just as much as if your very own brother or sister were now in Verwoerd's dungeons.
When the Treason Trial began, the people of our country rallied behind the slogan STAND BY OUR LEADERS! Defying police bullets vast masses of brave men and women demonstrated before the Johannesburg Drill Hall; all over South Africa the people demonstrated, protested, came out on mass strikes. Today it is not only South Africans who say 'Stand By Our Leaders' - for the cause of Walter Sisulu and his fellow-victims of Verwoerd fascism is the cause of the whole world; it is on the conscience of every free man and woman everywhere.
We cannot doubt that the enemy will go all out to make use of this incident in an attempt to spread demoralisation, lack of confidence and disunity in the ranks of those who stand for and believe in freedom. They must not and shall not be allowed to succeed in this purpose. If the enemy is banking on splits in our ranks at this crucial stage he has forgotten what sort of people we South African freedom fighters are, non-Communist and Communist alike.
The masses of our people know very well that these leaders and all others who have been captured by the enemy in the cause of freedom are their champions. They know that they have risked and sacrificed everything to realise the aspirations which are common to the entire African people and indeed to the great majority of the population as a whole. They are the heroes of the masses, and this new blow of thehated dictators only makes them more precious to and loved by

the masses. The people know that the prisons of Vorster are filled with those whose only crime was that they fought fearlessly and brilliantly for freedom, and they regard them as casualties captured on the field of battle.
No doubt errors may have been committed -what great struggle is without mistakes?-and those whose duty it is to do so will no doubt in due course soberly examine these in order to draw the necessary lessons from them. But it is necessary to rebuff those who dare to criticise 'recklessness' from the shelter of their own passivity, and to remind them that without daring men, ready to take necessary risks, there will be no end to the tyranny.
This is no time for despondency or recriminations: it is a time for renewed dedication, unity and solidarity among all who hold the cause of our people dear. Anyone who, from whatever subjective motives gives way at this time to backbiting and groundless speculations, or indulges in splitting tendencies of any kind, is in fact playing the game of the enemy. Now more than ever is the time to close the ranks, to cement still closer the unity built up and achieved in long and glorious years of common sacrifice and struggle. Thus- and only thus- can we show that the rejoicing of Verwoerd and Vorster

 is premature and misplaced - and turn this setback into a victory. Vorster boasts that he has 'destroyed' the freedom movements of our country-which he calls 'subversive'. You are wrong, Mr Vorster. These movements can never be destroyed, because they are a part of the people, flesh of their flesh, blood of their blood. Every fresh blow can only serve to strengthen us, to bring our great movements closer to one another and closer to the people.
We shall avenge every criminal act you commit against our heroes and our leaders. We shall redouble our efforts to work with passion, devotion and singleminded discipline to speed the day of liberation and retribution.
Long live Walter Sisulu!
Long live all fighters for freedom in the jails of the criminal Verwoerd regime!
Mayibuye i' Afrika!
Editorial Note:
The above statement was issued before ANC leader Nelson Mandela, already serving a five-year jail sentence for his leadership of the 1961 strike and leaving the country illegally, was joined with the other accused. In 1964 all the accused, with the exception of 'Rusty' Bernstein who was acquitted, were sentenced to life imprisonment for 'sabotage'.
DOCUMENT 118:
'Strive for World Communist Unity', statement by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, The African Communist, January-March, 1964.
UNITY IS OUR DIRECT CONCERN
For some time our Party has been gravely perturbed at the differences within the world Communist movement. The points in dispute have been multiplied and sharpened, and the methods of discussion have become intolerably acrimonious and uncomradely. In some fraternal Parties factions and breakaway groupings have resulted from differences in the world movement. Differences about Marxist

theory have not been confined to the Communist Parties, but have spread into international organisations and gatherings of peace, labour, national liberation and other progressive movements embracing both Communists and nonCommunists. Even State relations between socialist countries were affected, with serious effects on their economic development and endangering the solidarity of the socialist camp.

We cannot take a detached View of this problem. Our Party is taking part in a grim struggle against the fascist apartheid regime, known, hated and despised by the whole world. Our people have embarked on the path of armed resistance rather than submit to the tyranny and degradation of continued White minority

domination; foremost leaders of the South African people are being arbitrarily arrested, tortured andmurdered by the Verwoerd-Vorster dictatorship.

Our struggle against apartheid is not only of local, but also of crucial international importance. The fight against the special form of colonialism existing in South Africa is an integral part of the struggle for the liberation of the whole African continent from colonialism in all its forms: the continuing African Revolution for freedom, unity and rapid social progress. The fascist South African regime with its powerful military machine, built up with the aid of the imperialists, poses an urgent threat to African independence and security and to world peace. Solidarity with the struggle against apartheid, the international isolation of the Verwoerd regime, and the severing of its links with imperialism which sustain it and enable it to continue its rule of oppression -these questions have become a focus of international attention, discussion and activity: a rallying point of the forces of peace, national liberation and socialism everywhere. Unity of the progressive forces of the world will hasten the liberation of our people. Disunity prolongs the agony of South Africa.

The heart and soul of the unity of the anti-imperialist forces, both on an international scale and within each country, is the Communist movement. Fruitless and protracted disputes among ourselves both distract us from our great common aims and retard the achievement of unity of all anti-imperialist forces. For that reason in particular we South African Communists are vitally concerned with the world unity of our movement. International Communist unity is a correct slogan, an essential for the security and progress of the socialist camp, the defence of peace and the advance of national liberation everywhere. For us South African Communists it is also an urgent practical necessity affecting our work in many different ways.

SOME OF THE PROBLEMS UNDER DISCUSSION

In considering some of the specific problems under discussion, we are guided by our own independent judgment; by our understanding of Marxism-Leninism and our experience of forty-two years ofstruggle ofour Party in extremely complicated and difficult conditions. Throughout the history of our Party we have been accused by the capitalists and others of being blind followers or agents of 'Moscow'. These were baseless and unworthy slanders. Communists in all countries have faced prison and death because they have the ability to think for

themselves and the courage to say what they think. We supported the main lines of policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union because we considered they were correct, in the interests of the Soviet people, of the workers and oppressed people of our own country and of the whole world. We did not allow slander or persecution to deter us from expressing our views. In the same spirit we defended anti-imperialist struggles in all parts of the world, including the heroic Chinese revolution. History has vindicated the correctness of our understanding and judgment, on which we continue to rely today in considering various matters of international debate.

It is being suggested today that the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has abandoned revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in favour of revisionism, and that the policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems involves capitulation to imperialism and the abandonment of wars of national liberation. We do not believe these suggestions are in any way justified.

We considered, and still do, that the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Programme it adopted for the building of Communism, were outstanding contributions to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory. These conclusions are embodied in our own Programme, The Road to South African Freedom, which was adopted at our Fifth National Conference in 1962 after the fullest discussion among all of our members.

The policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, as the basic line of foreign policy of the socialist countries is not something new, that has been advanced in the past two or three years. It was put forward by Lenin, and it has been elaborated since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in present day conditions. This concept was approved in the clearest terms by the meetings of fraternal Parties in 1957 and 1960. Our own Party participated in, approved and endorsed these decisions, and carried them out in its practical work. In our view the peaceful resolution of the Cuban crisis and the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty on atomic tests are positive results bf this concept and proof of its validity; they were events which lowered international tension and helped to prevent the imperialists from plunging the world into the ultimate horror and disaster of a general thermo-nuclear war.

We regard the Moscow Treaty as a positive achievement of the progressive forces all over the world, including South Africa, which have long been campaigning for the ending of nuclear tests. The treaty puts a stop to the dangerous contamination of the air and the oceans. It helps, and is a step forward in, our continuing struggle for the abandonment and destruction of all nuclear weapons, and for eventual general, complete and controlled disarmament. We vigorously condemn the French government which intends to go on with nuclear tests on the soil of our continent and elsewhere, poisoning the air we breathe. And we regret very much that the Chinese comrades, by belittling and attacking the Moscow Treaty, weaken the international exposure and isolation of French imperialism on this matter.

We South Africans, like all fighters for African freedom, are keenly conscious of the solidarity, the support both moral and practical, rendered to our struggle by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We reiiember Suez; we remember Algeria; we remember the innumerable occasions when our cause has been championed by the socialist countries; we know of their unqualified backing for African freedom today. No sincere African patriot will ever forget these things. The plain facts of present-day history disprove any suggestion that the Soviet Union, or the policy of peaceful co-existence, or the demand for disarmament hamper or retard the national liberation of colonial or formerly colonial peoples.

As stated in our Programme, universal disarmament would not only free our generation from the nightmare of a catastrophic nuclear war; it would also 'greatly assist the cause of national liberation by striking the arms from the hands of the imperialists'. It is not the African patriots, fighting an armed struggle with inferior weapons, who are adversely affected by our campaign for disarmament; it is the powerfully-armed enemies against whom they fight. It is the imperialists and the armament-manufacturers, in particular it is the Verwoerds, the Salazars, the Chiang Kai-Sheks and their like, who profit from international tension and the cold war. International tension and the cold war facilitate the continuing support of these condemned regimes by imperialism, on the grounds that they are 'bastions of the West, of anti-Communism'. Already a certain lessening of tension has brought about a situation where an international arms embargo on South Africa could be passed by the United Nations, and a further relaxation of cold war pressures could enable this embargo to be enforced. Ending the cold war would help towards the liquidation of the remaining islands of colonialism and fascism both through mass political struggle and armed revolution.

The national liberation movements of countries which are fighting colonialism and neo-colonialism and the heritage of colonialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America are not alone in their struggles. They share common aims and aspirations with the working people of the socialist countries and the developed capitalist countries. They have a common enemy: international imperialism. There is a profoundly necessary and healthy trend for all the progressive movements ofall countries to merge in a mighty stream for peace and the liberation of all mankind. Our Party is vigorously opposed to any tendency to isolate our national liberation movements from their allies and brothers in the socialist countries, and from the militant labour and progressive anti-imperialist movements in the capitalist countries. Such tendencies are fraught with the gravest dangers.

We in South Africa have striven ceaselessly to preserve and uphold the character of our people's struggle for freedom as a united movement both of the oppressed non-whites and the progressive whites. It is not the Communists, not the national liberation leaders, but Verwoerd and his kind, enemies of mankind, who try to divide people on lines of 'colour'. They try to present a picture of an inevitable conflict, in South Africa and all over the world: not a conflict between workers and capitalists, between oppressor and oppressed, but solely one between the so-called 'white' and 'non-white' races. It 'is the duty of all Communists and other

antifascists, everywhere, to fight uncompromisingly against any such utterly false, dangerous and anti-human ideas.

DIVISIONS CAN AND MUST BE HEALED

We believe strongly that the principles and interests which the world Communist movement and the socialist countries have in common are far more fundamental, permanent and binding than any temporary differences on day-to-day policy which have arisen or may again arise. We are sure that time will prove this view to

be correct, and that these long term and fundamental factors will reassert themselves. We are vigorously opposed to any 'theory' that a split, an organisational cleavage in our movement is inevitable, necessary or 'healthy'. The only ones who would welcome such a theory are the imperialists, and those confused elements, unprincipled careerists and adventurers, Trotskyists and others who are always ready to profit by differences between serious revolutionaries in order to establish a platform for themselves.

Honest anti-imperialist fighters outside the ranks of the Communist movement, trade unionists, peace workers and others are dismayed by the sharp differences that have arisen in our movement and by the unseemly methods used to express them. They do not wish to be drawn into our dispute, and they demand urgently that we settle our problems among ourselves and get on with the innumerable practical tasks they and we have in common.

In the past, our great Communist movement has known many attempts to split it and to divert it from the path of Marxism-Leninism. Such attempts, for example, were made by elements like the anarchists and the Trotskyites. For some time they gained a certain amount of support among sections of the 'ultra-Left' middle-class intellectuals who always attach themselves to the revolutionary movement, and whose character was so brilliantly analysed by Lenin in his masterly essay: 'LeftWing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder. Again, on many occasions, opportunist, Right-wing tendencies developed in the working class movement, especially in the imperialist countries, based on the sharing of a portion of the imperialists' superprofits with the 'aristocracy of labour' as the price for their support. But all these erroneous concepts and theories have been tested and proved false by the unfolding of history, they have been rejected by the revolutionary working class and the anti-imperialist masses. Marxism-Leninism has been proved by history to be the only correct revolutionary theory, and Communism the only alternative to capitalism with its poverty, exploitation and oppression; its crises, chaos and wars. Moreover, we Communists, coming from all over the world, and with widely differing conditions of life and work, have reached, on the basis of MarxismLeninism, an extraordinary degree of unanimity. We have agreed on the new problems with which life has faced us, on the characterisation of our new epoch and on the most pressing and urgent problems of the world we live in today. The only differences which remain among us are those relating to the detailed interpretation of agreements we have already reached.

There is thus no basis, in theory or in fact, in differences of class or national interest or outlook, for any split within our ranks. It would be idle to pretend that serious divergencies have not already taken place, and serious damage caused, by disagreements among us Communists, and by uncomradely methods of debate. But the damage is not irreparable. Our pressing need for unity must override all our differences. The immediate problem is: what is the way out of this situation? How can we Communists heal the breaches and restore unity, comradeship and confidence among all of us?

We think the first step is to bring to an end the unseemly type of unrestrained

'all-in' controversy we have been witnessing, regarding any methods as permissible for 'victory'. In reality there can be no 'victory'; all the Communists must be the losers. There can be no possibility of calm and rational debate. Issues are multiplied out of reason; the air is filled with recriminations and angry insults; state relations between socialist countries deteriorate to the point where economic development and even security are adversely affected; our friends are repelled; destructive factional struggles spread inside every Party; only the enemy rejoices.

We do not think any useful purpose will be served by discussing who was to blame for this deplorable state of affairs, or who started it. What is important is to make a new start, a new drive for unity. And we are sure that the first essential step is to bring to an immediate end the period of debate of our differences outside the ranks of the Communist movement itself.

By this we do not mean, of course, that we should not discuss our differences; without discussion and interchange of views there can be no agreement. But we do mean that the discussion should be brought under control; that before further discussions we should have agreement on exactly what subjects are to be discussed,

*and by whom, and in what manner.

We are of the opinion, in general, that detailed discussions should be limited to those directly concerned. In particular we think that the detailed interpretation of questions of Marxist-Leninist theory should never be submitted for debate or arbitration to non-Communists.

We think that all of us should scrupulously observe certain rules of comradely discussion. It is impermissible to ascribe views to others which they have not expressed, or which are derived by inferences and out-of-context quotations. Nor is it permissible to ascribe improper and un-Communist motives to comrades with whom one disagrees.

We think that questions regarding the internal policy of any Party should not as a rule be generally debated by fraternal Parties. If one Party has criticism to make of the internal policyofanother it should be made in a private and comradely manner.

We would urge, with all due modesty, that on the basis ofsome such preliminary understanding, and on the basis of ending the public controversy, discussions should be held between the leaderships of the socialist countries as a means of preparing the way for a general discussion by the whole Communist movement.

Without an understanding and discussions of this kind we do not think any useful purpose would be served by a big meeting of all the Parties at the present time. For our part, we shall do all we can to strive for unity in the world Communist movement. We shall discuss every issue on its merits, regardless of who puts forward any viewpoint. And we shall contest vigorously any viewpoint which disunites, diverts or confuses the Communist and working class movement, the anticolonialist African Revolution and the great struggle for South African freedom.

We call upon all South African Communists to defend the unity of our Party, based on our Marxist-Leninist Programme, and to fight ruthlessly against any sort of factionalism, which in present day conditions of illegality and repression endanger the very existence of our Party and the lives of all our members.

In the name of our great world movement, as well as of our noble fight for South African freedom, the cause of all progressive humanity, we appeal to all the leaders and members of our fraternal Parties to strive for a new beginning, an overwhelming campaign for unity.

Long live Communism! Long live the unity of the world Communist movement!

DOCUMENT 119:

Letter from the Central Committee of the SA Communist Party to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, February 15, 1964.

Dear Comrades,

In terms of our Central Committee statement, Strive for World Communist Unity, adopted unanimously last December, we are writing to you to appeal most earnestly for a reconsideration of, and a fresh approach, to this great and serious subject.

As you know, our Party is in the midst of a bitter and exacting struggle, embracing both violent and non-violent forms, against the ruthless and murderous Verwoerd fascist regime which is closely associated with the main imperialist powers.

It is hardly necessary to emphasise the major international significance of the struggle against apartheid. At almost every important international or Afro-Asian meeting, whatever its character, attention is sharply focussed on the challenge to world peace and human rights presented by the present South African government. The whole world is being made conscious of this problem, not only because of the objective situation and the crimes of the Verwoerd regime, but also because of the tireless work in the international field of our Party and its allies in our united front of national liberation, headed by the African National Congress. We are deeply conscious of and grateful for the substantial international support and solidarity shown towards our people. The imperialists who back the South African white minority regime are increasingly being exposed and isolated on this issue; instead of open support as in the past they are more and more driven to a policy of hypocritical verbal condemnation of apartheid; it is becoming increasingly difficult for them to continue to arm and finance the special type of colonialism that exists in South Africa. Such international solidarity raises to a

high level the fighting spirit of the oppressed and working people of our country and brings nearer the victory of the national dmocratic South African revolution. In the forefront of this great campaign of solidarity with the oppressed masses of South Africa have always been the forces struggling for world peace and national liberation, and in the-first place the most determined opponents of colonialism and racialism in the ranks of the world communist movement in every country. Everything that strengthens the unity, effectiveness and influence of these forces has a

direct positive bearing on our own struggle at home; everything that disunites these forces and diverts them from their agreed common objectives can only prolong our struggle and suffering of the abominable apartheid regime.
Perhaps because of these factors, and also because of our close association with revolutionary and progressive forces throughout Africa, our Party is particularly conscious of the urgent need to restore unity of our world communist movement which is the keystone of unity of all forces aiming at peace, national liberation and democracy. We know from practical experience that the open and harsh polemics which are continuing in the ranks of the world communist movement are doing damage in our noble cause, which is at the same time the cause of all advanced and progressive mankind.
The revolutionary workers and peasants of South Africa, as of the other African countries, are, frankly, dismayed at the clash which seems to be steadily widening between some of the Parties of Communism, and particularly between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We have been greatly inspired by the heroic struggle of the Chinese people, under the leadership of your Party, which has led to the liberation of the vast masses of Chinese people from the corrupt and oppressive rule of the local bourgeoisie and landlords who sold their country to foreign imperialists. We are filled with the greatest admiration for the achievements of the Communist Party of China, overcoming tremendous difficulties and advancing with unfailing determination to eliminate human exploitation and to build socialism in China; and we are convinced that all African countries can and will learn valuable lessons from your experience in surmounting the obstacles left by a past of semi-colonialism and feudalism to construct a modern socialist society.
At the same time, we are profoundly conscious of the tremendous debt owed by the people of Africa, and by the people of all countries, to the Party of Lenin, the Communist Party ofthe Soviet Union. We know that the vast progressive changes which are sweeping through the world, the awakening and emancipation of Africa and Asia, the existence and ever-increasing strength of the socialist camp, the prospects which now exist of a world free from the nightmare of a new world war and a nuclear war, all owe their origin and inspiration to the great socialist revolution of 1917, to the unswerving fidelity of the Bolshevik Party to the principles of revolutionary Marxism, to the self-sacrificing heroism, in peace and in war, with which the Soviet people built up the industrial base for socialism, defeated the menacing bid of German, Japanese and Italian fascism for world

conquest, and proved for all time the superiority of the socialist system. We know the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the most formidable bastion against imperialism and war, against colonialism and neo-colonialism, as a Party which has unfailingly fulfilled its duty of proletarian internationalism and the faithful friend of all people fighting for their national rights and independence.
It is because of our profound feelings of solidarity with these two great Parties, and with all our fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties, that we so warmly welcomed the repeated statements of Comrade Chou En-Lai, during his recent African tour,

that the imperialists would never succeed in driving a wedge between the Soviet Union and China, and that the two countries would stand shoulder to shoulder. It is because of the very same feelings that we are distressed to see that, nevertheless, the polemics are continuing unabated, and that bitter attacks are still being made on the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in various Chinese publications for alleged 'revisionism' and 'betrayal' of the cause of Communism and national liberation. We earnestly assure you comrades that these attacks and divisions are seriously damaging the cause of Marxism-Leninism in Africa. They are giving ammunition to the colonialists and their agents to attack both China and the Soviet Union, and the working class and revolutionary forces generally. They are sowing confusion and division in the ranks of the progressive national liberation movements. All sorts of careerists and adventurers are speculating on receiving personal benefits through splits among us Communists and rejoicing over them. And what is true of Africa is also true ofother parts of the world as well.
That is why we are now appealing to you, comrades, in all humility and earnestness, to heed the solemn appeal of our Central Committee and to do all in your power to heal the rift and to bring to a rapid conclusion this unhappy period of unrestrained polemics -polemics in which, as our Central Committee statement points out: 'there can be no "victory"; all the Communists must be the losers.' Our Party is not numerically a very large detachment of the international Communist movement. Yet it has maintained over the past forty-three years an unflinching and glorious record of struggle against one of the most vicious bastions of reaction in the world; it has through its influence and publications rendered a not unimportant contribution to the spreading of Marxism-Leninism in Africa. At the present time history has placed our Party in the front line of the world struggle against colonialism. Many of the best and bravest leaders of the South African liberation movement, including foremost leaders of our Central Committee have been captured by the enemy and are facing death at the hands of Verwoerd's executioners.
Comrades, in the name of these heroic leaders, as well as of the millions of oppressed people in our country, we are appealing to the leaders ofyour Party who have unfailingly supported our cause. Let us all as Communists make a new start towards unity by putting an immediate end to the public advertisements of our differences and by discussing them among ourselves with the utmost goodwill, scrupulous honesty and true comradeliness, in order to reach complete

understanding on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and the correct approach of the previous unanimous decisions and documents of the world Communist movement.
With Communist greetings,
Yours fraternally,
Editorial Note:
No reply was received to this letter. Later the Communist Party of China adopted a policy of hostility towards the SA Communist Party and also towards the African

National Congress, promoting the Pan Africanist Congress and other dissident groups in Southern Africa as the 'enuine' representatives of the liberation movement.
DOCUMENT 120:
'Zimbabwe', SACP Central Committee statement after Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence, The African Communist, 4th Quarter, 1965.
The attempt of Ian Smith's 'Rhodesia Front' to seize unlimited power over the four million Africans of Zimbabwe must be effectively and vigorously resisted by the peoples and governments of Africa and the whole world.
This is emphatically not a private dispute between the British Government and the Smith gang. It is a matter of direct immediate concern of the people of Zimbabwe and of the neighbouring countries, not least the fourteen million Africans and other oppressed non-whites in the Republic of South Africa.
We cannot leave the solution of this question to British imperialism, which has never been and is not now the friend of African freedom and independence. It was Britain which imposed the undemocratic 1961 Constitution, which put the reins of power into the hands of Smith and his racist colleagues.
It was Mr Wilson and his so-called Socialist Cabinet which appeased the Smith gang with one unprincipled concession after another and finally gave them the green light with a promise not to use violence in the event of an illegal declaration of so-called independence.
Even now, while formally denouncing the usurpers as 'traitors' and 'rebels', the British Government limits itself to the empty and legalistic formality of 'dismissing' the Smith Cabinet, while refusing either to bring them to heel by force or to allow others to do so.
It is not only racialistic concern for white-skinned 'kith and kin' which underlies the shameful policy of Britain. Imperialism is concerned to avoid a truly democratic solution in Zimbabwe, which would give a further impetus to the anticolonialist African Revolution and bring it to the banks of the Limpopo River. This would endanger the investors' paradise which apartheid and cheap African labour have created in the Republic of South Africa.
We express the fullest solidarity of the oppressed and democratic majority of South Africans with our four million brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe.

We call on all our people to give the fullest support to their cause and to prevent by all means in our power Verwoerd from giving any military or economic aid to the Smith gang designed to frustrate the will of the people ofAfrica and the world. We appeal to the British working class and democrats to show their solidarity with the Africans of Zimbabwe by demanding that the Government act immediately to arrest the illegal Smith Cabinet, release all political prisoners and detainees, and implement a democratic constitution based on One Man One Vote, for the independence of Zimbabwe.

Smith's act is a declaration ofwar on Africa. We call on all leaders and peoples of Africa to stand firm behind the oppressed masses of Zimbabwe to overthrow the racist minority dictatorship at this crucial turning point for African unity and independence.
Kick this Smith gang out!
Long Live Free, Independent and Democratic Zimbabwe!
Long Live Freedom for Southern Africa!
Editorial Note:
Brain Fischer, son of a Judge President and grandson of a former Prime Minister of the Orange Free State, Rhodes scholar, Oxford graduate and eminent Queen's Counsel, was also a member of the Communist Party, which he joined in the late 1930s. With his qualifications and background, he could have attained any height in South Africa's legal or political structure, but he was a man of principle and courage and never wavered, not only in his resistance to the injustices of apartheid, but also in his support for the basic principles of Marxism and the programme of the Communist Party which he believed held out the bestpromisefor the achievement of a just society in South Africa.
As a barrister Bram Fisiher played a leading role in the defence team in the treason trial of 1956 to 1961 and again in the Rivonia trial of 1964 in which he helped save Mandela and his colleagues from the death sentence. On September 23, 1964, he was himself arrested and charged with membership of the illegal Communist Party. Released on bailpending his trial, he went underground in January 1965 leaving a note to the court in which he explained:
'Cruel, discriminatory laws multiply each year, bitterness and hatred of the Government and its laws are growing daily. Unless this whole intolerable system is changed radically and rapidly, disaster must follow. Appalling bloodshed and civil war will become inevitable because, as long as there is oppression of the majority such oppression will be fought with increasing hatred. I can no longer serve justice in the way I have attempted to do
during the past 30 years-I can only do it in the way I have now chosen'.
After 11 months working in the underground structure of the Communist Party and Umkhonto we Sizwe, Brain Fischer was captured by the police on November 11, 1965, and this time faced with 15 charges including 'sabotage'for which he was eventually sentenced to life imprisonment in May 1966. In jail he was subjected to appalling treatment by the authorities and eventually his health broke down, but it was not until he was suffering from the terminal effects of cancer that

he was released into the care of his brother Paul in Bloemfontein. Even though dying, Brain Fischer was placed under house arrest and allowed no contact with the outside world except for his immediate family. He died in his sleep on the morning of May 8, 1975.
In an obituary statement, the African National Congress said:
'He died as he lived -fighting and sacrificing his all for the liberation of the oppressed people in racist South Africa. He sacrificed wealth, fame, comfort, high position, a

privileged life in an already privileged white society for the hazardous role of working
with our cadres in the underground movement.'
In April 1967, Brain Fischer was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize.
DOCUMENT 121:
Extracts from court speech of Brain Fischer on March 28, 1966.
I am on trial for my political beliefs and for the conduct to which those beliefs drove me. Whatever labels may be attached to the fifteen charges brought against me, they all arise from my having been a member of the Communist Party and from my activities as a member. I engaged upon those activities because I believed that, in the dangerous circumstances which have been created in South Africa, it was my duty to do so.
The laws under which I am being persecuted were enacted by a wholly unrepresentative body, a body in which three-quarters of the people of this country have no voice whatever. These laws were enacted, not to prevent the spread of communism, but for the purpose of silencing the opposition of the large majority of our citizens to a Government intent upon depriving them, solely on account of their colour, of the most elementary human rights: of the right to freedom and happiness, the right to live together with their families wherever they might choose, to earn their livelihoods to the best of their abilities, to rear and educate their children in a civilised fashion, to take part in the administration of their country and obtain a fair share of the wealth they produce; in short, to live as human beings.
My conscience does not permit me to afford these laws such recognition as even a plea of guilty would involve. Hence, though I shall be convicted by this Court, I cannot plead guilty. I believe the future may well say that I acted correctly.
WHY I JOINED THE COMMUNIST PARTY When I consider what it was that moved me to join the Communist Party, I have to cast my mind back for more than a quarter of a century to try and ascertain what precisely my motives at that time were.
Marxism is a system of philosophy which covers and seeks to explain the whole range of human activity, but looking back, I cannot say that it was Marxism as a social science that drew me originally to the Communist Party, just as little, presumably, as a doctor would say that he was originally drawn to his own field of science by its scientifically demonstrable truths. These only become apparent later.

In my mind there remain two clear reasons for my approach to the Communist Party. The one is the glaring injustice which exists and has existed for a long time in South African society, the other, a gradual realisation as I became more and more deeply involved with the Congress Movement of those years, that is, the

movement for freedom and equal hurhan rights for all, that it was always members of the Communist Party who seemed prepared, regardless of cost, to sacrifice most; to give of their best, to face the greatest dangers, in the struggle against poverty and discrimination.

The glaring injustice is there for all who are not blinded by prejudice to see. This is not even a question of the degree of humiliation or poverty or misery imposed by discrimination on one section of the community. Hence it cannot be justified by comparing non-white standards of living or education in South Africa with those in other parts of the continent. It is simply and plainly that discrimination should be imposed as a matter of deliberate policy solely because of the colour which a man's skin happens to be, irrespective of his merits as a man, a worker, a thinker, a father or a friend.

Yet the injustice of the system does not in itself explain my conduct. All White South Africans can see it. The vast majority of them remain unmoved and unaffected. They are either oblivious to it or, despite all its cruelty, condone it on the assumption, whether admitted or not, that the non-White of this country is an inferior being with ideals, hopes, loves and passions which are different from ours. Hence the further tacit or open assumption that he need not be treated as a complete human being, i.e. that it is not 'unfair' to make him carry a pass, to prevent him from owning land; deprivations which if applied to Whites, would horrify all and cause a revolution overnight. ,

Though nearly forty years have passed, I can remember vividly the experience which brought home to me exactly what this 'White' attitude is and also how artificial and unreal it is. Like many young Afrikaners I grew up on a farm. Between the ages of eight and twelve my daily companions were two young Africans of my own age. I can still remember their names. For four years we were, when I was not at school, always in each other's company. We roamed the farm together, we hunted and played together, we modelled clay oxen and swam. And never can I remember that the colour of our skins affected our fun, or our quarrels or our close friendship in any way.

Then my family moved to town and I moved back to the normal White South African mode of life where the only relationship with-Africans was that of master to servant. I finished my schooling and went to University. There one of my first interests became a study of the theory of segregation, then beginning to blossom. This seemed to me to provide the solution to South Africa's problems and I became an earnest believer in it. A year later to help in a small way to put this theory into practice, because I do not believe that theory and practice can or should be separated, I joined the Bloemfontein Joint Council of Europeans and Africans, a body devoted largely to trying to induce various authorities to provide proper (and separate) amenities for Africans. I arrived for my first meeting with

other newcomers. I found myself being introduced to leading members of the African community. I found I had to shake hands with them. This, I found, required an enormous effort ofwill on my part. Could I really, as a White adult, touch the hand of a black man in friendship?

That night I spent many hours in thought trying to account for my strange revulsion when I remembered I had never had any such feelings towards my boyhood friends. What became abundantly clear was that it was I and not the black man who had changed, that despite my growing interest in him, I had developed an antagonism for which I could find no rational basis whatsoever.
I cannot burden the Court with personal reminiscences. The result of all this was that in that and in succeeding years when some of us ran literacy classes in the old Waaihoek location at Bloemfontein, I came to understand that colour prejudice was a wholly irrational phenomenon and that true human friendship could extend across the colour bar once the initial prejudice was overcome. And that I think was lesson No. 1 on my way to the Communist Party which has always refused to accept any colour bar and has always stood firm on the belief, itself two thousand years old, of the eventual brotherhood of all men.
The other reason for my attraction to the Communist Party, the willingness to sacrifice, was a matter of personal observation. But there could be no doubt of its existence. By that time the Communist Party had already for two decades stood avowedly and unconditionally for political rights for non-Whites and its White members were, save for a handful of courageous individuals, the only Whites who showed complete disregard for the hatred which this attitude attracted from their fellow White South Africans. These members, I found, were Whites who could have taken full advantage of all the privileges open to them and their families because of their colour, who could have obtained lucrative employment and social position, but who, instead, were prepared for the sake of their consciences to perform the most menial and unpopular work at little or sometimes no remuneration. These were a body of Whites who were not prepared to flourish on the deprivations suffered by others.
But apart from the example of the White members, it was always the communists ofall races who were at all times prepared to give of their time and their energy and such means as they had, to help those in need and those most deeply affected by discrimination. It was members of the Communist Party who helped with night schools and feeding schemes, who assisted trade unions fighting desperately to preserve standards of living and who threw themselves into the work of the national movements. It was African communists who constantly risked arrest or the loss of their jobs or even their homes in locations, in order to gain or retain some rights. And all this was carried on regardless of whether it would be popular with the authorities or not.
What I have had to say about Marxism is also directly relevant to the indictment. I am charged with performing acts calculated to further the objects of communism, to wit, the establishment in South Africa of a despotic system of government based on the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a gross misstatement of my

aims and those of my party. We have never aimed at a despotic system of government. Nor were any efforts ever directed to establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat in this country. It is necessary therefore for me to explain what we have worked for.

It is true that we say that the ultimate remedy for the evils I have described, and the many other evils which exist today, lies in a change to a socialist system. Socialism is a system under which the means of production are owned by the people. Under that system production takes place not for profit but for the benefit of the people as a whole and in accordance with a planned economy. It is therefore not subject to ups and downs and the fluctuations of a capitalist economy. It can ensure full employment at all times and will therefore abolish fear. The distribution of goods produced takes place according to the needs and the contributions of those who produce and the needs of those who cannot work - the children and the aged. Total production can be increased rapidly until it eventually reaches a stage where socialism itself (where each worker is paid' according to the work he performs) changes into full communism. Under communism a superabundance of wealth entitles all to receive according to their needs. All this, we maintain, goes hand in hand with an ever widening democracy and an ever increasing degree of individual freedom and participation in the control of the country. But, as far as South Africa is concerned, these are matters which the future will settle.

SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

As I have already indicated we have never put forward socialism as our immediate solution. What we have said is that immediate dangers can be avoided by what we always refer to as a national democratic revolution, that is by bringing our state at this stage into line with the needs of today, by abolishing discrimination, extending political rights and then allowing our peoples to settle their own future. This is fully demonstrated by our Programme which right at the outset says at page 4:

As its immediate and foremost task, the South African Communist Party works for a united front of national liberation. It strives to unite all sections and classes of oppressed and democratic people for a national democratic revolution to.destroy White domination.

The main content of this revolution will be the national liberation of the African people; carried to its fulfilment, this revolution will at the same time put an end to every sort of race discrimination and privilege. The revolution will restore the land and wealth of the country to the people and guarantee democracy, freedom and equality of rights and
opportunities to all.

And then again, at page 53 where it puts forward its 'immediate proposals', it makes clear that they are put forward within the framework of the Freedom Charter for urgent discussion by a National Convention, not in order to establish a socialist State but for the building of a national democratic state.

There are sound reasons for doing this. South Africa has already advanced too far along the path which will lead us directly to war to wait for the advent ofsocialism in order to save it from that horror. One has only to look at this country's military budget to realise that. From a military expenditure in 1946 of R 18,350,000 it has risen to R229,400,000 in 1965 -an increase of more than 12-fold. This exceeds the highest amount spent when the country was actually at war-the sum of R204,000,000 which was the amount of our military expenditure in 1944.

Moreover, as I have already indicated the point at which, as history shows us, a system breaks down, is just that point at which it displays its greatest weakness and there can be no doubt that in the past few decades, the greatest weakness in the present system has been displayed in the imperialist sector, i.e. that sector in which one people tries to rule and dominate another. This is the point at which it has already broken down.

Over the past twenty or thirty years the weakest link in the imperialist system has been its inability to deal with the wants of the colonial peoples. There it has bred its own downfall because on the one hand it created mass poverty and economic instability, and, on the other, developed intense feelings of nationalism. What imperialism succeeded in doing in the colonies in the 20th Century was to produce the worst evils which the industrial revolution produced in England in the early 19th Century plus a deep sense of national consciousness. Hence in those parts of the world -India, Africa and the East -the so-called revolution has taken place but in different forms. Four empires have had to dissolve themselves and have been compelled to grant poli tical independence to some thirty or forty states just as Britain was compelled to grant the vote to the so-called 'lower' classes last century. But with three or four notable exceptions these States have achieved their independence peacefully and without having to resort to any form of violence. South African State propaganda suggests that this was due to some mystical decadence in the West. Nothing could be further from the truth. Britain, France, Holland and Belgium have not in a couple of decades become soft or decadent. Far deeper forces hive come into play which left them with no alternative but to do what they have done. The combination of the new nationalism and the urge to take control of their own economic future proved in the new States to be irresistible.

It should indeed not be difficult for South Africans to understand this process. In one sense we Afrikaners were the vanguard of this liberation movement in Africa. Of all former colonies we displayed the greatest resistance to Imperial conquest, a resistance which a handful of freedom fighters carried on for three years against the greatest Empire of all time. We failed then. A few decades later, without having once more to resort to arms we succeeded in gaining our independence because it was impossible to stop us. And we did not say thef, whichever date one chooses to regard as the date when we achieved freedom (whether in 1907, 1910, 1931 or 1961), that we had obtained freedom because the West had become decadent. We knew that we could not be resisted. Now, as we communists see it, those who rule South Africa are trying to do just those things which imperialism

could achieve in the 19th Century but which are impossible in the second half of the 20th. That attempt must lead inevitably to disaster.
There has always, since the days of slavery, been racial discrimination in South Africa. I suppose, at the beginning, when people enjoying a more advanced civilisation come into contact and intermingle with those not so fortunate, this is inevitable, though according to the tenets of true Christianity it should not be so. Today we know, from experience in other parts of the world, that it is possible to make an illiterate people literate and to 'civilise' them in one or at most two generations

provided those who hold the State power are prepared to devote sufficient resources to that object-even if that entails sacrifices in other directions. That course South Africa never took. For 150 years it hesitated. Then the White rulers chose a road which led in an entirely opposite direction. To preserve 'civilisation' one would think it prudent to spread it as rapidly as possible. Instead our rulers elected as far as possible to retain it as a White monopoly.
Deliberately we chose the path of 'segregation' which, whatever changing appellations we may give to it, was and is a policy intended to keep the non-Whites in a state of permanent inferiority and subjection -an inferiority which is political, social and economic. This in itself constitutes a grave menace.
THE 'SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM' ACT
If this is correct-and all the world except South Africa knows it is-then my conduct in recent years must be viewed in relation to the results which have been. produced by the ruthless and persistent application of the Act, which in order to mislead, has been entitled the 'Suppression of Communism' Act.
As the Congresses, the Communist Party and many others correctly prophesied in 1950 when this Act was before Parliament, its true purpose was not to suppress tie political and economic principles of Marx, Neither at that stage nor at any stage since then has a socialist revolution been on the agenda in South Africa. Its true intention was and is to prevent the growth of two ideas accepted throughout the whole civilised world today: the idea that all men should have a say in the manner in which they are to be governed and the idea that it is possible for men of different races to live and work together in harmony and peace -to co-operate for the good of all. That the prophecies of 1950 were correct has been demonstrated beyond doubt by the experience of the past sixteen years. I believed when I joined the illegal Communist Party that South Africa had set out on a course which could lead only to civil war of the most vicious kind whether in ten or fifteen or twenty years. Algeria provided the perfect historical example of that. I believed moreover, and still believe, that such a civil war can never be won by the Whites ofthis country. They might win some initial rounds. In the long run the balance of forces is against them, both inside and outside the country. In Algeria, a close historical parallel, a French army of half a million soldiers backed by one of the world's great industrial powers could not succeed. But win or lose, the consequences of civil war would be horrifying and permanent. Clearly it is

imperative that an alternative 'solution' be found, for in truth civil war is no 'solution' at all.
Here I believed and still believe that socialism in the long term has an answer to the problem of race relations-that is, a socialist state. But by negotiation, other immediate solutions can be found. They must, however, not be imposed but worked out in co-operation, and that is what the Communist Party has stood for.
I have said that the problem is at heart an economic one. In 1930 we had hurriedly to assemble a 'White Labour' policy to protect White employment

during a crisis. Today we have prepared in advance up-to-date machinery for that purpose: we have job Reservation and Bantustans to which superfluous Black labour can be endorsed; we have forbidden African trade unions so that African workers will be without protection; we have removed all their representatives from our legislative councils so that they shall be voiceless in a new crisis.
But whatever may have been achieved in the 1930s, this can never be a solution for a crisis today. Thirty years of industrialisation have passed since then. An enormous class of African industrial and urban workers has been created. The capacity of the Reserves to accept and keep people alive has grown ever smaller, while the numbers to be accommodated have grown ever greater. We cannot go back to 1930. To try to do so would lead immediately to starvation and want, to unrest and violence. This policy in a crisis is one which would fail before it had started.
Therefore an alternative must be found. We must start at the other end. We must find a system which creates work and banishes the fear of unemployment. Tbat I believe can be found in a carefully conceived plan along the lines of the Freedom Charter with a fair division of political and economic power. All the peoples of South Africa must be given a voice in their own affairs and in the whole of the country which they work in and they must be taught that races can live and work together in harmony. Had our White political leaders during the past thirty years preached the possibility of inter-racial co-operation instead of using every means of destroying any belief in it, we might already have reached a position of safety. South Africa would certainly by now have achieved a unique leadership amongst the States of Africa and would undoubtedly have influenced the history of the whole of this Continent and the future of the White man's position in it. Instead we stand completely isolated from over 200 million people, hated by all.
And so, in the circumstances, who was there to preach this co-operation but the Congresses and the Communist Party? And if one believes that these things can only be achieved by political means, what party was there to join but the illegal Communist Party? Moreover, such ideals are not achieved by theorising only. To convince people one must put them into practice. Over the past two or three decades it has been the Congresses and the Communist Party who have demonstrated in practice that men and women of different races can work together without difficulty on the basis of complete democracy and who have produced leaders prepared to sacrifice everything-even their lives-to achieve this idealpeople who have actually hammered out a policy, the Freedom Charter, in

terms of which there will be room for all to exercise their rights. With these leaders no one need fear that he will be 'driven into the sea'. I speak from practical experience. I have worked with every Congress.leader in South Africa. With these beliefs I had no alternative but to break the law.
I must now deal further with the allegations made in the evidence led by the State. Before doing so, I have one more thing to say as to my motives. I estreated bail on the 25th January of last year. Had I wanted to save myself, I could have done so by leaving the country or simply by remaining in England in 1964. I did

not do so because I regarded it as my duty to remain in this country and to continue with my work as long as I was physically able to do so. The same reasons which induced me to join the illegal' Communist Party induced me to. estreat bail. By 1965 they had been magnified a hundred-fold. All protest had been silenced. The very administration of justice had been changed by the 90-day law and by the 'Sobukwe' clause which in a vital respect had usurped the functions even of the court trying me. My punishment was no I nger in the sole discretion of that court.

1I SPEAK AS AN AFRIKANER'

During the previous decade too-and n-)w I speak as an Afrikaner- something sinister for the future of my people had happened. It is true that 'apartheid has existed for many decades' with all that it cntails in shapes ranging from segregation and the deprivation of rights to such apparently trivial things as the constant depicting in our Afrikaans newspaper cartoons of the African as a cross between a baboon and a 19th Century American coon. What is not appreciated by my fellow Afrikaner, because he has cut himself off from all contact with non-Whites, is that the extreme intensification of that policy over the past fifteen years is laid entirely at his door. He is now blamed as an Afrikaner for all the evils and the humiliation of apartheid.
Hence today the policeman is known as a 'Dutch'. That is why too, when I give an African a lift during a bus boycott, he refuses to believe that I am an Afrikaner. All this bodes ill for our future. It has bred a deep-rooted hatred for Afrikaners, for our language, our political and racial outlook amongst all non-Whites -yes, even amongst those who seek positions of authority by pretending to support apartheid. It is rapidly destroying amongst non-Whites all belief in future cooperation with Afrikaners.
To remove this barrier will demand all the wisdom, leadership and influence of those Congress leaders now interned and imprisoned for their political beliefs. It demands also that Afrikaners themselves should protest openly and clearly against discrimination. Surely, in such circumstances, there was an additional duty cast on me, that at least one Afrikaner should make this protest actively and positively even though as a result I now face fifteen charges instead of four.
It was to keep faith with all those dispossessed by apartheid that I broke my undertaking to the Court, separated myself from my family, pretended I was someone else, and accepted the life of a fugitive. I owed it to the political prisoners, to the banished, to the silenced and those under house arrest, not to

remain a spectator, but to act. I knew what they expected of me and I did it. I felt responsible, not to those who are indifferent to the sufferings of others, but to those who are concerned. I knew that by valuing above all their judgment, I would be condemned by people who are content to see themselves as respectable and loyal citizens. I cannot regret any condemnation that may follow me. In these circumstances history will not blame those Congress leaders who in some way or other came together in July of 1961 and devised the scheme by which

the Spear of the Nation was to be brought into existence under the control of one of its ablest and most responsible leaders, Nelson Mandela.
I must emphasise the basic ideas which then prevailed:
To do nothing and simply accept apartheid would have meant total and unconditional
surrender to ideas which were and still are intensely hated.
To proceed to personal violence against Whites or White leaders Would have been to negate all the Congresses had ever stood for: the establishment of racial harmony and cooperation.
Therefore there was devised a plan which it was hoped might help to achieve the required results without injury to person or to race relations: viz., the formation of a small, closely knit, multiracial organisation which would practise sabotage against carefully selected targets, targets which could be attacked without endangering life or limb but which, because of their nature, would demonstrate the hatred of apartheid. For this purpose therefore targets were to be Government installations and preferably those which, if
successfully attacked, would disrupt the process of governing.
Two further ideas were of importance in this scheme. One was that the leaders of Umkhonto gave the assurance that it would not depart from its self-imposed limitations without prior reference to the political movement. In the circumstances the ANC and the Communist Party took no steps to prevent their members joining Umkhonto.
The second was that the organisation was not only to be secret but was to be selfcontrolled by men selected by Mandela, was to finance its own affairs and was to be kept entirely separate and distinct from the Congresses and the Communist Party. This was of equal importance. The Congresses and the Communist Party still had important political functions to fulfil as several exhibits clearly indicate - the functions of political education and organisation, of making use of every political opportunity which presented itself to advance the cause of freedom and democracy.
The Congresses and the Communist Party did not wish to have their membership held liable for every act of sabotage nor, and this was of crucial political importance, did they want their members to gain the idea that once sabotage commenced, political work should cease. This separation of organisations was always maintained. I had no hand in the founding of Umkhonto and I was never a member. I became aware of its existence, and I did not disapprove.

It was never believed that a fundamental change in South African policy could be brought about by sabotage alone. What was hoped by those who devised the plan was that it would highlight the evergrowing dissatisfaction and that steady political work by the Congresses and the Communist Party would have to continue to try to bring about a change.
Nowhere are these principles more clearly stated than in the Umkhonto Manifesto (Exhibit A.F. 188) which says:
We of Umkhonto we Sizwe have always sought to achieve liberation without bloodshed and civil clash. We hope, even at this late hour, that our first actions will awake everyone to a realisation ofthe disastrous situation to which Nationalist policy is leading. We hope

that we will bring the Government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both the Government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the
desperate stage of civil war.
I should say at this stage that the Communist Party has always in this country and elsewhere been rigidly opposed to individual acts of violence. Such acts are regarded by communists as acts of terrorism which achieve nothing. Communists are not, of course, opposed to violence on principle. They are not pacifists. They do, however, believe that in general it is the working class which suffers most from violence and war and hence that wherever possible this is to be avoided.
We in the Communist Party never believed that South Africa was ripe for a socialist revolution. That is precisely why in our programme we aim in the first place only at democracy and the abolition of racial discrimination and leave entirely open the manner in which and the time when socialism may eventually be achieved in this country, for, of course, it is clear from all the theoretical Marxist statements today, that communists do not believe that violence is the only method by which socialism can be achieved.
The plan put forward by Umkhonto appeared to us to be of an entirely different character from that type of terrorism of which we all disapproved in principle and in practice. It was to be a demonstration. It might achieve its object of making the White voter in South Africa reconsider his whole attitude. If it succeeded in that it would succeed without loss of life or injury to persons, the very things which stimulate race antagonism. It might in addition have the effect ofdeterring extremists, whose numbers and influence were growing at an alarming rate, from undertaking precisely that kind of terrorism which we have always fought to prevent. It may in fact have succeeded in this respect if one remembers that but for Umkhonto the pattern for the future of this country may have been set by the Paarl riots and the Bashee River murders.
FROM NATIONALISM TO COMMUNISM
The last subject I want to mention is personal. Therefore I hesitated before deciding to do so. But I shall not be giving evidence or making a statement in mitigation and perhaps I should acquaint the Court with one aspect of my background.

I was a Nationalist at the age of six, if not before. I saw violence for the first time when, sitting on my father's shoulder, I saw business premises with German names burned to the ground in Bloemfontein including those of some of my own family. I can still remember the weapons collected by my father and his friends who were bent on preventing a second outbreak. I saw my father leave with an ambulance unit to try and join the rebel forces. I remained a Nationalist for over twenty years thereafter and became, in 1929 the first Nationalist Prime Minister of a student parliament.
I never doubted that the policy of segregation was the only solution to this country's problems until the Hitler theory of race superiority began to threaten the world with genocide and with the greatest disaster in all history. The Court will see that I did not shed my old beliefs with ease.

It was when these doubts arose that one night, when I was driving an old ANC leader to his house far out to the west of Johannesburg, I propounded to him the well-worn theory that if you separate races you diminish the points at which friction between them may occur and hence ensure good relations. His answer was the essence of simplicity. If you place the races of one country in two camps, said he, and cut off contact between them, those in each camp begin to forget that those in the other are ordinary human beings, that each lives and laughs in the same way, that each experiences joy or sorrow, pride or humiliation for the same reasons. Thereby each becomes suspicious of the other and each eventually fears the other, which is the basis of all racialism.
I believe no-one could more effectively sum up the South African position today. Only contact between the races can eliminate suspicion and fear; only contact and co-operation can breed tolerance and understanding. Segregation or apartheid, however genuinely believed in, can produce only those things it is supposed to avoid: inter-racial tension and estrangement, intolerance and race hatreds.
Alt the conduct with which I have been charged has been directed towards maintaining contact and understanding between the races of this country. If one day it may help to establish a bridge across which White leaders and the real leaders of the non-Whites can meet to settle the destinies of all of us by negotiation and not by force of arms, I shall be able to bear with fortitude any sentence which this Court may impose on me. It will be a fortitude strengthened by this knowledge at least, that for twenty-five years I have taken no part, not even by passive acceptance, in that hideous system of discrimination which we have erected in this country and which has become a by-word in the civilised world today.
In prophetic words, in February 1881, one of the great Afrikaner leaders addressed the President and Volksraad of the Orange Free State.
His words are inscribed on the base of the statue of President Kruger in the square in front of this Court. After great agony and suffering after two wars they were eventually fulfilled without force or violence for my people.
President Kruger's words were:

'Met vertrouwen leggen wij onze zaak open voor de geheele wereld. Het zij wij overwinnen, het zij vij sterven: de vrijheid zal in Afrika rijzen als de zon uit de morgenwolken.'*
In the meaning which those words bear today they are as truly prophetic as they were in 1881. My motive in all I have done has been to prevent a repetition of that unnecessary and futile anguish which has already been suffered in one struggle for freedom.
*With confidence we place our case before the entire world. Whether we are victorious or whether we die, freedom will arise in Africa like the sun from the morning clouds.

DOCUMENT 122:
'Chief Albert John Lutuli', a tribute to the late PresidentGeneral of the African National Congress, The African
Communist, Fourth Quarter, 1967.
Chief Albert John Lutuli, President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa, died at 2.30 in the afternoon of Friday, July 21st, 1967. At about 10 o'clock that morning the Chief took a short-cut by walking on a railway bridge across the Umvoti River near his home. A fast-moving goods train hit him from behind barely sixteen paces from the end of the bridge and safety. He was rushed to Stanger Hospital where he died. In so tragic a manner South Africa lost one of her greatest sons.
The death of Chief Lutuli has been officially called an accident. Perhaps so. But it was an accident that could only befall a man whose sight and hearing were impaired. In fact Chief Lutuli's sight had troubled him for some time. Medical assistance was not available on the tribal farm reserve to which he was confined by order of the South African government. Urgent applications to the authorities for permission to enable him to leave the reserve to undergo an operation in Durban forty miles away, were ignored for months. When finally permission was given four months later too much time had been lost. He was truly a victim of the fascist apartheid regime.
All over the world the memory of Chief Lutuli was mourned. In the United Republic of Tanzania flags were flown at half-mast on July 24th and the Kenya National Assembly observed two minutes' silence during its session. A memorial service was held at the Arnautoglo Hall, Dar-es-Salaam conducted by the Bishop of Masai, the Rt. Rev. Trevor Huddleston (who shared with the late Chief Lutuli and Dr Y.M. Dadoo the distinction of IsitWalandwe, conferred on all three at the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955). Government and TANU leaders, members of the diplomatic corps, leaders and members of liberation movements and hundreds of Tanzanian citizens attended this service. It was followed by a meeting addressed among others by Mr A. Masha of TANU, Dr Eduardo Mondlane of FRELIMO and Mr Moses Kotane the Treasurer-General of the ANC.
In London a memorial service conducted by the Dean and by Canon L.J. Collins was held at St Paul's Cathedral. The following evening, August 1st, saw a

memorial meeting presided over by Mr Robert Resha of the ANC executive. The speakers included the Minister of Transport, Mrs Barbara Castle, formerly president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, who assured those present that there would not be 'another South Africa' in Rhodesia. Others who spoke there were the Zambian High Commissioner, Mr A. M. Simbule, Lord Collison of the TUC, Isltwalandwe Dadoo, and Idris Cox, a leading member of the British Communist Party, well known for his interest in and dedication to African freedom.

358 South African Communists Speak

From heads of state and representatives of African and Socialist countries, from individuals and political leaders throughout the world messages of condolence poured into the offices of the African National Congress.

MAN OF THE PEOPLE

Until the last Chief Lutuli was a true man of the people. Ever modest and disliking any sort of pomposity or pretentiousness, Chief liked best to move with the common people. Before arbitrary government bans confined him to his home at Groutville, it was a familiar and moving sight to see this great man walk to the bus stop outside Durban railway station and board the segregated bus packed with African workers bound for Stanger.

Though the late Chief Lutuli will always be remembered primarily as a statesman, and the leader of his people in the great struggle against apartheid, he was in fact associated with an extraordinarily wide range of activities.

As a peasant-farmer he founded the co-operative of sugar-cane growers at his home which grew until it united all African sugar growers in Natal. An enthusiastic sports lover, he played a leading role in the work of the Natal African Football Association. It was perhaps in that organisation that the Chief developed his remarkable capacity to remain vital and alert throughout an all-night meeting, a faculty at which exhausted colleagues at meetings of the liberation movements were often to marvel at in later years.

In the Natal African Teachers' Association, the South African Christian Council and cultural and traditional organisations, Chief Lutuli played an important part.

POLITICIAN AND LEADER

Chief Lutuli first attracted attention as a national leader during the struggle for a militant policy within the Natal Provincial ANC. Chief Lutuli sided with the workers and the youth who were demanding changes in policy and strategy. In 1951 he was elected Provincial President of the ANC in Natal, and as head of the Natal delegation attended the National Conference of the ANC at Bloemfontein that year. This was the conference that considered and adopted the report of the Joint Planning Council of the ANC and the South African Indian Congress which called for the organisation of the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, Chief Lutuli presided at the conference session which considered the report. The debate was a memorable one whose outcome was to set the tone of South African politics for the next decade. The National Conference held the following year elected Chief Lutuli President-General of the ANC.

THE LUTULI ERA

It is not easy to assess the part played by one man of Lutuli's stature in a movement led by many talented and able men. He was not the type of leader who walked alone, making his own decisions, communing only with himself, carried along on a wave of personal adulation. He was, par excellence, the self-effacing leader, a believer in collective wisdom and democracy, who led without selfdramatisation by sheer force of personality and ability within a committee of many talented colleagues.

Since the jubilee of the ANC in 1937 the organisation had steadily gained in strength and definition of policy. The process of building a single nation out of the different African peoples begun in 1912 was more or less completed in 1943 when the federal structure of the ANC was replaced by the highly centralised Xuma constitution. From then on the question of alliances with other national groups and revolutionary forces came more and more to the fore.

Inspired by the events of the Second World War, especially the defeat of fascism by the Soviet Union, demands arose on all sides for the adoption of militant methods of struggle. It was also apparent that the international climate after the Second World War was highly favourable for peoples struggling against imperialism for freedom and independence.

The Lutuli era was one of great ferment in mass action, ideas and organisation. The Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats emerged and a new militant non-racial trade union centre-the South African Congress of Trade Unions-was born. The most powerful women's movement in our history made its appearance. The Congress Alliance led by the African National Congress was formed.

Stern battles were fought against oppression. National strikes involving hundreds of thousands of workers; economic boycotts; giant demonstrations; civil disobedience campaigns; big rural revolts made this the stormiest period in the long history of the national liberation movement. The clash of ideas was no less fierce. Debates raged on such matters as the forces of the united front; nationalism and internationalism; socialism and capitalism; strategy and tactics of the struggle; the role of Communists within the national liberation movement; methods of struggle. The uniquely organised Congress of the People which adopted the Freedom Charter was itself a nationwide campaign of discussion in which the mass of the people participated.

Chief Lutuli in countless speeches and writings made his position clear on the whole range of problems that agitated the country. And always that position was one of principle.

It was during the Lutuli years too, that the massive international solidarity movement in support of freedom in South Africa was built. Today, as we survey the international scene it is difficult to realise that there was a time when South Africa and its racist policy was considered 'respectable'. The struggles waged under the leadership of Chief Lutuli attracted world-wide attention and led to

the formation of anti-apartheid organisations in many countries. The United Nations General Assembly and Afro-Asian conferences resolved to quarantine the apartheid regime by economic, diplomatic and other boycotts. Even the British Commonwealth could no longer tolerate the South African regime as a member. Thus, by the end of the 'fifties the foundations were laid to a firm revolutionary united front of all oppressed national groups and classes. There was a common programme -the Freedom Charter. There was an organisational machinery which was vast, complex and effective. There was comradeship born of common struggles and battles won and lost. There was enormous international goodwill and support for the struggle of the people against apartheid.

Up to 1961 literally millions of people had participated in militant mass actions against oppression in one way or another. Until then the policy of the African National Congress did not extend to the use of military methods of struggle. This was a matter of declared policy arising from an assessment of the situation in South Africa. Chief Lutuli as the leader and spokesman of the organisation expressed this policy. It was not his policy-it was that of the ANC. In 1958 at the first conference of the All-African People's Conference held in Accra the ANC expounded its policy on this question of methods of struggle in some detail. The ANC there opposed the idea of non-violence being treated as a rigid 'principle' and put forward the view that whether the struggle was to be violent or non-violent was a matter of policy to be decided from time to time by the leadership in each country.

The reaction of the White rulers of South Africa to the struggle became more and more violent. In the rest of Africa the independence movement swept forward to the banks of the Zambesi and Limpopo Rivers. In the light of these changes the leadership of the ANC unanimously came to the conclusion that the time had come for armed resistance to be added to the methods previously employed. Thus was created Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961 as military support of the ANC. Today, as units of Umkhonto we Sizwe and those of ZAPU jointly face the armed forces of White supremacy, the greatest contribution of the Lutuli era- tle foundation of a liberation army-begins to make its impact.

MISTAKEN TRIBUTES

In addition to the many generous and warm tributes to our late Chief which appeared on the occasion of his passing away, were some, particularly in the West, who tried to depict him as a sort of pacifist or 'moderate' in contradiction to his more revolutionary colleagues. This was a grave injustice to the man who was chosen time and again as the unchallenged leader of the African National Congress in the most militant period of its history precisely because of his own uncompromising patriotism and firm revolutionary spirit. Such distortions were well answered by Idris Cox speaking at the above-mentioned London Memorial

Meeting. 'Chief Lutuli had long been convinced that every possible means should be used in the struggle against apartheid, whether by peaceful or by violent means' and he continued to cite some of the words of Chief's lecture at Osio

University in December 1961 on the occasion of the award to him-the only African ever to be thus honoured-of the Nobel Peace Prize:

Ours is a continent in revolution against oppression. And peace and revolution make uneasy bedfellows. There can be no peace until the forces of oppression are overthrown ...

This goal, pursued by millions of our people with revolutionary zeal, by means of books, representations, demonstrations, and in some places armed force provoked by the adamancy of White rule, carries the only promise of peace in Africa.

Whatever means have been used, the efforts have gone to end alien rule and race oppression.

We South Africans equally understand that much as others might do for us, our freedom cannot come as a gift from abroad. All honest freedom-loving people have dedicated themselves to that task. What we need is the courage that rises with'
danger...

Whatever may be the future of our freedom efforts, our cause is the cause of the liberation of people who are denied freedom... To us all, free or not free, the call of the
hour is to redeem the name and honour of Mother Africa.

LUTULI AND COMMUNISM

Some 'obituary' statements were made not in good faith, but with malice, slanderously carrying even to the grave the vendetta against the Chief, which he had suffered from reaction throughout his life. The lowest point was reached by the fascist head of the security police, Brigadier van den Bergh. He told the South African press that '.. . had ex-Chief Lutuli been a younger or a healthier man he would have denounced communism... he was or. the verge of publicly disowning communism ... He accepted the government's sincerity of
purpose'.

How low they have fallen, these White supremacist hyenas! They failed with all their persecution and pressures to force Lutuli from his principled stand. And now they manufacture lies with which to slander him in his grave.

Chief Lutuli's attitude towards Communism and the Communists in the liberation movement has long been a matter of public record, and would have continued to be so had he not been prohibited by law from any public utterances throughout the last years of his life. Whilst he had his own philosophical and other beliefs which did not always agree with those of the communists, he was adamant on defending their right to serve in that united front of all freedomloving people which constitutes the African National Congress and the Congress Alliance. And he maintained this stand with the utmost firmness despite the most extreme pressures from both the enemy and within his own organisation.

Like all the other Congressites our late Chief withstood the powerful pressures exerted by the state on all the accused to 'disown' or 'denounce' Comminism throughout the long years of the Treason Trial.

Likewise, he recognised the unique contribution Communists had made in the ANC and other sections of the alliance as well as in the liberation press, and respected them for it. He was attacked for this by elements within the ANC and outside it, and gave a forceful reply on many occasions, including the celebrated articles written for the Natal journal Indian Opinion. He wrote:

People seem to be alarmed that there may be a so-called right wing, centre and left wing in
the Congress. To me it is a healthy sign...

No slanders or belittlement can ever efface the tremendous contribution of this great and good man whose memory will always live in the hearts of our people. His loss is a heavy one and will be sorely felt, for as the South African Communist Party wrote in its message of condolence to the ANC:

It is a tragedy for our people that he did not live to occupy the position, for which he was
so eminently qualified, as the first Head of State of free South Africa.

But in a deeper sense, Chief Lutuli can never be lost to us. His spirit, his ideas and his achievements live on. They are in the minds and the hearts of our heroic freedom fighters as they engage the enemy, today in Zimbabwe, tomorrow within the Republic itself, They will be with us after victory when our people commence to build the fair edifice of free South Africa of which Albert John Lutuli dreamed and for which he lived and died.

The greatest monument to his memory will be to hasten the winning of that victory and the building of that edifice. To that the nation must re-dedicate itself.

DOCUMENT 123:

Article in underground leaflet 'Freedom' issued by the South African Communist Party in November 1967 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

November 7th 1967 was a day that was joyfully celebrated all over the world by millions of workers, peasants and freedom-loving people. It was the fiftieth anniversary of the great socialist revolution in Russia; when led by V.I. Lenin and the Communist Party, the working people rose up and put an end to the oppressive rule and robbery of the rich capitalists and landlords.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE'

A new government was set up of Soviets-workers' and peasants' councils. Following the inspiring teachings ofMarx and Lenin the Soviet people set out to

build, for the first time in the world, a new kind of society-SOCIALISM.

The factories, farms and other means of production were taken over from the rich by the people.

A great drive was begun, to build industry and agriculture; to raise the standards of living and education and to improve the conditions of work and life for the people.

Fifty years of socialism have completely transformed the lives of millions of people.

Before 1917, the old Russia, like South Africa today, was the home of poverty and exploitation for the masses. Like this country today there was harsh national and racial oppression, police terror, no freedom for the people. It was a land of backwardness, ignorance and illiteracy.

Now the Soviet Union is a great modern power, leading the world in many fields of scientific, educational and other achievements, where all the many national groups enjoy complete freedom and equal rights.

WHAT IT MEANT TO THE WORLD

Before the 1917 revolution the whole world was dominated by a handful of imperialist powers, like Britain, the USA, Germany and France. By force and terror they had seized whole Continents -Africa, Asia and South America, which they ruled, enslaved and robbed.

The Great October Socialist Revolution meant that for the first time there was a breakthrough in the monopoly of the world by capitalism and imperialism. The Soviet Union challenged the very foundations of imperialism and colonialism. It championed the right of the oppressed people everywhere to independence, the right of all nations to rule themselves and decide their own future.

The achievements and ideas of the Russian Revolution inspired hundreds of millions ofoppressed people in the world to unite and fight for their own freedom.

WORLD WAR II

In the Second World War, the Soviet people and their heroic army bore the main brunt of Hitler's attack. They played the main part in crushing the fascists and saving the world from Nazi domination.

This victory led to great changes in the world. In 14 countries, led by their own Communist Parties, the people overthrew the capitalists and took the socialist road. Today one third of the world's population from Czechoslovakia, in Central Europe, to China, Vietnam and Korea in Asia, and Cuba in America, live in socialist countries.

AFRICA AND ASIA

After the war, hundreds of millions of people in Asia and Africa rose up in rebel-

lion, refusing to be ruled any longer by foreigners. They knew they could rely on the support and assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

But the struggle is not over. It is still going on. The imperialists, led by the United States, are trying their best to bring back the bad old days of colonial slavery.

In Vietnam the American imperialists are engaged in brutal aggression and mass murder to enslave the people.

In Southern Africa, backed by the imperialists, the fascist, anti-African regimes of Vorster, Ian Smith and Salazar of Portugal are viciously oppressing the people, jailing, torturing and murdering our leaders.

But the people are fighting back and winning.

The small Vietnamese nation is bravely standing up to the American army of half a million troops, armed with the latest horror weapons of bombing planes, napalm, gas, chemicals to kill women and children in the villages. They are fighting back and beating the Yankee invaders. In Mozambique and Angola

African freedom fighters are standing up to the Portuguese troops and winning more and more areas for African rule. In Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), fighting is taking place between the armed and heroic young men of ZAPU and the African National Congress of South Africa, joined in a fighting alliance, and on the other side, the security forces of the illegal Smith regime, backed by Vorster's brutes of the SA Police whom we know so well.

The war is beginning for the liberation of our country.

The people of Vietnam will win. The people of Angola, Mozambique, and South West Africa will win. We shall win. Our cause is just. It is supported by the workers, peasants and freedom-loving people of the whole world, including the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

We South Africans join in the world-wide celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Russian Socialist Revolution. It marked the beginning of a process that will not stop until the whole world is free, including our own beloved South Africa, now ruled by white racialist and fascist thugs.

The South African Communist Party says:

LONG LIVE THE SOVIET UNION!

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM AND WHITE SUPREMACY!

LONG LIVE THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION!

DOCUMENT 124:

'The Czechoslovakian Crisis', statement by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, July 29, 1968.

The South African Communist Party is gravely concerned over the turn of events in Czechoslovakia. We fully respect the right of our comrades of the fraternal Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to take radical measures to correct bureaucratic distortions, economic blunders, and wrong methods of ensuring Party leadership. Indeed, our observations showed us that such measures were

long overdue, and their implementation would result in strengthening socialism in the CSSR and thus the entire socialist camp.

A serious and growing threat has arisen from reactionary, anti-socialist forces in the country, based on remnants of the former exploiting classes, and supported by international imperialism. They are conducting a well-planned counter-revolutionary campaign to undermine the achievements of Socialist Czechoslovakia, and the security of the entire socialist community of nations.

The future of socialism in Czechoslovakia is a matter which vitally affects not only the people of that country but the whole of the socialist camp, of the international working class and national liberation movements.

We fully appreciate and share the anxiety of the Soviet Union and other countries of the Warsaw Pact over these developments. It is false and slanderous to paint the situation as if the Soviet Union were resisting the process of'democratisation' in Czechoslovakia and threatening to intervene in the internal affairs of that country.

It is rather a tribute to the internationalism and sense of responsibility of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the leaders of other countries of the

Warsaw Pact that they should offer their assistance in preserving the socialist gains of the Czech and Slovak working people.
The main enemy of the Czechoslovak working class and its Communist Party is the same as that of all progressive forces in the world: international imperialism and the bourgeois and landlord exploiting classes. We urge upon our fellowCommunists of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to mobilise all their resources against these reactionary forces, within and outside the country; to assert Party leadership in the fields of propaganda and information, to rally the masses and unite the Party and working class against the main enemy. We pledge our support to carry out these aims.
We, South African Communists, declare that the future of Czechoslovakia is the concern not only of Europe but oithe progressive anti-imperialists throughout the world. Any weakening of the anti-imperialist front- as we in Africa have learnt from bitter experience -is a setback to our struggle on an international scale, including our own bitter struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa.
DOCUMENT 125:
Further statement on the Czechoslovakian crisis issued by the Central Committee of the SACP on August 23, 1968.
In its statement of July 29th, 1968, our Central Committee expressed grave concern at the direction events were taking in Czechoslovakia. We welcomed the measures to correct serious past distortions of socialist democracy and economic abuses. But we regarded with serious apprehension the use being made of the occasion by anti-socialist and reactionary forces within and outside the country which, without effective reply, could endanger the socialist gains of the

Czechoslovakian working people and jeopardise the security of the socialist community of nations. For this reason we fully understood the concern of the MarxistLeninist Parties of the Soviet Union and other neighbouring socialist countries, and appreciated their efforts to strengthen socialism in Czechoslovakia and rebuff the forces of counter-revolution.
Unfortunately, since that time the situation has deteriorated. Despite agreements reached with the leaders of the Soviet Union and allied socialist states at Cierna nad Tissa and Bratislava, adequate counter-measures were not taken and the dangers of a counter-revolutionary break-through increased rather than diminished -with internal divisions and disorientation apparently gravely weakening the ability of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to check the drift.
In the face ofthese circumstances we understand that a majority ofthe presidium ofthe CP ofCzechoslovakia and the Government appealed to the Soviet Union and other neighbouring Warsaw Pact governments to render aid to them, including the provision of armed forces, to defeat the threat of counter-revolution, of the restoration of capitalism and the opening up of socialist Czechoslovakia to penetration by international imperialism.
We consider the response to this request by the countries and parties concerned to be entirely warranted and necessary. We must deeply regret that affairs in

Czechoslovakia had taken such a turn as to require such unusual and exceptional measures, but we fully support the action of the fraternal Parties of the Soviet Union, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Poland. Had they failed so to respond they would have failed in their duty to the Czechoslovak working people, and risked the loss of Socialist Czechoslovakia, with incalculable consequences to the socialist community and to the cause of national independence, people's power and peace everywhere.

The Czechoslovakian events have been made the occasion for an unprecedented new anti-Soviet campaign by the forces of imperialism, Social Democracy and other elements throughout the world, on the pretext that, for motives of their own, the Soviet and Allied states are interfering in the purely internal affairs of another country.

We believe these allegations to be without foundation. We are convinced that the allied socialist states acted from principled motives and a high sense of responsibility to the international working class and national liberation movements.

The Czech and Slovak people will solve their own internal problems themselves; the allied forces are there to establish the necessary conditions to enable them to do so. We express our solidarity with the Czechoslovak people and our confidence that they will overcome the forces of reaction.

The Central Committee calls upon all our members and supporters to fight vigorously against the anti-Soviet campaign and to strengthen with all their might the fraternal ties within the international Communist movement, and between Communist and non-Communist fighters against imperialism, so as to defeat the world-wide counter-revolutionary offensive of reaction, and to win liberation for our motherland and advance the cause of world peace and socialism.

DOCUMENT 126:

'Freedom Can Be Won', a call issued by an augmented meeting of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, The African Communist, Fourth Quarter, 1970.

How can we, the oppressed working people ofSouth Africa, free our country from white minority domination and win power for the people? This is the main question that faces us all. This was the main question that was discussed by the historic 1970 meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Our people have many serious problems and grievances.

Every non-white in South Africa knows the daily insults and hardships of life in our country.

We are not allowed to vote, not allowed to move freely, told we are 'inferior'.

Racialist lies are even taught to our children under 'Bantu education'.

People are heartlessly sent away like cattle to 'resettlement areas'.

Every African knows well the problem of the pass laws which send a million people to prison every year, and subject every man and woman to brutal terror by the police.

There is the burning problem of land-nearly 90 per cent of the land is in the hands o~the whites, while Africans starve in the reserves or work for next to nothing as farm labourers.
The black worker faces an impossible task of trying to live on starvation wages: he is denied the chance of a skilled job and has no trade union rights, while prices, fares, rents go up all the time.
The Coloured and Indian people are also the victims of apartheid, of Group Areas, Job Reservation and other vicious and cruel laws.
All these grievances and many others are well known to us. We talk about them all the time. But in our hearts we know also that we will never be rid of these evils until we get rid of the main problem- white minority rule.
THERE IS A WAYI
The government and the system it upholds can be overthrown. The whole of world history teaches us that unjust minority governments cannotilast. Over the past twenty years alone, practically the whole continents of Asia and Africa have seen the people winning their right to their own governments.
Freedom can and will be won in South Africa as well.
But we must not deceive ourselves. Our freedom will not drop from the skies. Nor will it be brought to us from outside South Africa. We have hundreds and millions of friends all over the world who want to see South Africa restored to the people of this country. But not all their resolutious and protests will help us unless and until the people of our country stand up and fight for themselves.
How are we to do this?
We must study and understand the situation in our country and its place in the world,

We must organise and unite our forces. We must be resolved to resist, defy and oppose oppression in every form and in every way. .
We must be armed and ready to fight -if need be to die-for our freedom.
UNDERSTANDING THE WORLD
The first step to changing the world is understanding it.
Our struggle for freedom in South Africa is not an isolated one. It is part of world-wide conflict that is going on. On the one side are the forces of socialism, of national liberation and of peace. On the other are the forces of imperialism, of exploitation and of war.
It is this conflict which will decide the future of South Africa and of all men and women everywhere.
We need to understand this conflict because above all we need to understand who are our friends and who are our enemies.
We must look at people's deeds as well as their words!
The imperialist governments, like those of the United States, Britain, France and West Germany, pretend to be opponents of apartheid. But what do they do about it in practice? They help the Vorster regime in every way they dare to: with money, with trade, with arms. Indeed they are partners in the oppression and exploitation of our people. Look around you at all the British, American, West

German and French businesses and factories in our country. They are doing very well out of apartheid, because it means low wages and big profits for their capitalists.
That is why they sabotage every United Nations decision for the boycott of South Africa. To appease world opinion, especially the African and Asian countries, they say they are against apartheid. But who can believe them?

IMPERIALISM

The United States of America claims to be in favour of equality and peace. But for years now they have been carrying on the most cruel and murderous war to subdue the people of Vietnam. Their treatment of the black people in their own country is a disgrace.
The United States, Britain, West Germany and France are imperialist countries, controlled by huge capitalist monopolies. These monopolies are only interested in increasing their huge profits, by dominating other nations, by investing abroad to exploit cheap raw materials and labour, by aggression and war.
Imperialism is the enemy of all humanity.
It is the friend of reaction and racialism everywhere; the friend of neo-Nazi Vorster South Africa. South African imperialism is a part of and closely tied up with world imperialism.
The imperialists have invented the lie of racialism to justify their enslavement

and robbery of most of the world's peoples. They preach that some races are 'better' than others, and that therefore it is all right for two-thirds of the people of the world to live miserable and short lives, deprived of enough food, clothes and shelter, without land, education for their children, security or leisure.
The capitalists find these ideas very useful. Here in South Africa we have seen how racialism has degraded and deformed the white workers. Instead of fighting the bosses, they join with them in oppressing their black fellow-workers, and think only of keeping the African out of a skilled job.
Imperialism - monopoly capitalism - is the enemy of all the people's aspirations for peace and happiness. Above all they hate and fear socialism which will put an end forever to the exploitation of man by man and to every form of racial and colour discrimination.

THE WORLD FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM

When we just look at our own country, it seems that there is nothing but a bitter and endless struggle between us and the oppressors; that they have the backing of the big powers like the United States, Britain, France and Germany.
But this is not the whole picture. We, the oppressed peoples of South Africa, have our friends and allies as well. They are hundreds and millions of working people, people who want peace and freedom, who want national freedom, a better life and socialism. Our common enemy is imperialism.
The people of Vietnam are under savage attack by a powerful and ruthless enemy: United States imperialism, which year after year has been trying by fire and terror and starvation, in which hundreds of thousands have been murdered by Yankee troops, napalm and other weapons, to force them to submit. But the Vietnamese

did not submit and never will submit. They value freedom more than life itself. That is why they cannot be defeated. Their example is an inspiration to us. They are our friends and comrades in arms, and their victories are our victories.
Our fellow-Africans in Egypt have for several years now been under violent attack by the Zionists of Israel, who are armed and incited by US imperialism to do their dirty work in North Africa and the Middle East. But -given generous and powerful assistance by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries-the Egyptian people will not submit to having halfoftheir country occupied. They are fighting back for freedom and independence. They too are our friends and allies.

OUR NEIGHBOURS

Nearest and closest to us are our fellow-Africans in the border countries and further north.
There are the people of Namibia - South West Africa.
We all know that this huge country has been unlawfully seized by the government of South Africa. They have taken the best farmlands and handed them over to white farmers. They have laid their hands on the rich mineral deposits,

 including diamonds and uranium, and sold them to big foreign monopolies. They are forcing the indigenous peoples to undergo the indignity and terror of apartheid.
The brother-peoples of Namibia are not submitting. They are organising and fighting back. They are not waiting for the United Nations which passes fine resolutions-but can do nothing because the US, Britain, France and other imperialist countries sabotage these resolutions. The Namibians are organising for armed struggle for their freedom.
We South Africans support them one hundred per cent. We demand that Vorster and his government quit Namibia. We demand independence and selfgovernment for its people. They are our kinsfolk and brothers; we have the same fight against the same enemy-South African imperialism.
The people of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) are not submitting. The British Government claims that Rhodesia is its colony and that Smith is a rebel. But in practice they have done nothing to put down this phoney 'rebellion'. They talk about sanctions-but everybody knows that South Africa is defying the so-called sanctions and sending the Smith regime everything it needs.
The Zimbabwe people, our brothers and sisters, are not waiting for Britain and the United Nations to free them; they have learnt that the only way to freedom is to fight for it.
The revolution in Zimbabwe has already begun. It probably would have been won already, except for the support of South African arms, troops and policemen.
Our armed guerrillas of Umkhonto we Sizwe have already gone through the fires of battle in Zimbabwe. At Wankie and in other battlefields, together with the fighting men of ZAPU they faced the Smith and Vorster forces and inflicted heavy casualties on them. This is a common fight against a common enemy. This is a beginning of a war for the whole of Southern Africa. It will be a long and bitter war. But in the end we shall win. From each battle we gain experience; for each dead African patriot many more will join to take his place.

PORTUGUESE COLONIES

White South African storm troopers do not only intervene in Zimbabwe. In Mozambique and in Angola they are supporting the Portuguese colonialists in their cruel and long war against the people of Angola and Mozambique.

These colonies, together with Guinea-Bissau, are the last areas of direct European rule left in Africa.

Portugal is one of the poorest and smallest countries in Europe. How does it manage to keep on this bitter and costly war to hang on to its colonies? Mainly because it is supported by the imperialist countries with whom it is associated in NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation)-America, West Germany, Britain, France and others. They help the Portuguese fascists with their arms and money to try to keep their slave regimes in Africa. The White Government of the Republic knows that the people's victories over

Portuguese colonialism are dangerous to its rule here. They are afraid of free African governments on our borders. They help Portugal with weapons, money and even White soldiers from the Republic.

But in spite of his friends and allies, Caetano, the Portuguese dictator, is losing his colonial wars in Africa.

Thousands of square miles and hundreds of thousands of people have already been liberated in these territories. The liberation movements do not only fight and defeat the Portuguese soldiers; they are already ruling in many regions and provinces where the Portuguese soldiers do not dare to go. In these areas the people are building a new life, they have taken over the land and the government.

The people of these countries, the brave soldiers of their liberation armies, led by the FRELIMO of Mozambique, the MPLA of Angola and the PAIGC of Guinea, are our close allies and comrades-in-arms.

It is our duty to help them as much as we can. Their victories are ours as well.

AFRICAN STATES

We are not living in the Africa of the fifties, where the whole map of the continent was painted in different colours to show British, French and other 'possessions' of European countries.

There are now forty independent African states, governed by African Presidents, Prime Ministers, governments and parliaments.

Of course these countries are not all in the same position. Some are big and developing quickly. Many others are small and having been so long misgoverned by foreigners -poor and undeveloped.

Take our neighbours - Lesotho, Swaziland and Botsvana. For many years these countries were governed by Britain which was not at all interested in developing them, in building modern agriculture and industries to give jobs to the Basotho, Swazi and Batswana. They were more interested in keeping these countries backward so that their men would be forced to work in the South African gold mines, where rich Englishmen have many millions of pounds invested.

Today although they are independent in name, they are dominated by their big, bullying neighbour, the Republic of South Africa, where black men are regarded as inferiors, provided by God to work for the white bass.
But the people of these countries have one thing in common. They hate apartheid-they know it all too well, from first hand experience. They will fight to the last man against incorporation by the Republic. When the people of Lesotho had a chance to vote they turned their backs on Vorster's pal Leabua Jonathan. Sir Seretse Khama, President of Botswana, is building a road to join up with Zambia, so that his country will not be so dependent economically on the Republic. And in spite of the bullying threats of Vorster, who is trying to stop it, Botswana is going ahead with that road.
When it comes to the showdown we know that the whole population of these countries are on our side. They can never be free or independent while white supremacy rules in Pretoria-and they know it.

UP NORTH
The people of all the independent states of Africa hate apartheid and white domination in South Africa.
The only African state which openly supports or has dealings with the Pretoria clique is that of Dr Banda in Malawi. Everybody knows that this little tinpot dictator is bribed by the Rand millionaires. Even his own people do not agree with him. They know all too well the hardships and ruthlessness of white domination in our country. Hundreds of thousands of them have come and still come to work on the mines-they know what it is like.
Most free African states have taken a firm stand against white minority rule. Naturally the whole idea and practice of'white superiority' is deeply offensive to African nations who have, in the past few years, managed to throw off foreign domination and are determined to show their people and the world that Africans can govern themselves far better than any other nation could govern them. Apartheid is intolerable to any self-respecting African patriot.
The people of African states are deeply concerned with the sufferings and indignities of their brothers and sisters in Southern Africa. They long to see the ending of white domination south of the Zambesi and Limpopo rivers. But this is not the reason why they are greatly concerned with events in our country.
A THREAT TO AFRICA
What has independence meant to the countries of Africa? Many people are disappointed because they have not made more rapid progress over the past ten years. It is true that many African states have failed to follow up formal independence by truly breaking free from colonialism. The West European and United States capiitatists still have a dominating influence in their economic life-they own their banks, mines and big businesses.
Many of the better-off sections of the Africans-shopkeepers, big farmers and some members of governments -care little for the lot of the masses on the land. They care only to enrich themselves, and are prepared to become partners with the imperialists in exploiting their fellow-countrymen. Imperialism still has a

powerful footing in most African countries. It uses its influence to hold back progress. It bribes and intrigues and backs up reactionary coups and anti-African elements.

But no African wants to go back to the dark days of colonialism.

The people of these countries have gained their independence after many years of injustice, backwardness and humiliation under foreign rule. They do not wish to lose these things now. They must aim at strengthening their independence, developing the wealth of the country to get higher standards of living, and ensuring that their people enjoy a good education, health and security. Most of them want to march forward to a free, socialist Africa. The fascist Republic of South Africa and its imperialist allies threaten all these goals. They are against socialism and want to strengthen capitalism. South African

imperialism wants to extend its powers northwards. They want to lay their hands on the treasures of all Africa, to return the continent to the hell of colonialism, to keep all Africans poor, backward, objects of cheap labour as they are in the Republic itself.

No African state that values its independence can ignore this danger, The Republic has a more highly developed industry (developed largely by African labour!) a bigger and better equipped army, a more powerful state machine than any state South of the Sahara.

Already the Republic is using its big military build-up in the stolen territory, the Caprivi Strip of Namibia, to make bullying threats against Botswana and Zambia. It is using the satellite Banda to make threats and territorial claims against Tanzania and Zambia.

There are many reasons why all African countties should unite. But even ifthere were no reason, they are urgently called on to unite against the threat of aggression from the South.

The African states are beginning more clearly to recognise this threat. They are calling upon the United Nations to bring in stronger steps to stop the imperialist countries selling arms to South Africa. Many of them have threatened to leave the British Commonwealth if the Conservatives resume the sale of arms to South Africa.

They are right to do so. Each African state has a solemn duty to its people and its neighbours to be on guard against South African penetration and aggression; to build up its security and defences, to give positive and increasing aid to South African freedom fighters.

We South Africans also have a duty. We must build up our own strength and resistance, and prepare for revolution. We must solemnly warn the white fascist government that any step against an African state, whether it be little Lesotho, or Zambia or Tanzania, will not be tolerated by the people of South Africa.

THE REST OF THE WORLD

It is not only the African states which are deeply concerned with the future of our country. The whole of Asia is concerned.

The ideology and practice of apartheid are an intolerable insult to all darkskinned persons, whether in Africa, Asia or the Americas. It is intolerable to the great and proud nation of India, 500 million strong, and to the People's Republic ofChina, with 700 million people, that hundreds of thousands of men and women born and bred in South Africa are deprived of every human right merely because their forefathers came from their countries.
Apartheid is an outrage to the labour, democratic and Christian principles in Western Europe and North America. Even though their governments and their rich capitalist investors find it profitable to do business with apartheid and help Vorster with money and weapons, the masses of ordinary working people in these countries do not agree with these practices.

That is why, one by one, white South African teams are being thrown out of every international sporting contest, whether it is the Olympic Games or a cricket tour of England.
That is why next year, 1971, has been set aside by the United Nations General Assembly as a year of protest against racialism everywhere -with the spotlight on apartheid South Africa, the worst example of the lot.
That is why in Britain, France and many other countries a storm of protest is gathering against the supply of arms to Vorster, against emigration of skilled white workers to the Republic to take the bread out of the mouths of our dark skinned workers who are fully capable of being trained to do these jobs.
While we are considering this question, we must also turn our attention to the world Communist movement, and to the hundreds of millions of people -one third of the human race-who live in countries governed by Communist Parties.
WHAT ABOUT COMMUNISM?
The Nationalist Party and its government is most afraid of Communism. They have passed all sorts of laws to 'stop' the ideas of Communism being known and to punish those who uphold these ideas.
They say that Communism is a very bad thing and a danger to the country.
The very fact that these things are said by Vorster and his government makes it hard for any sensible person to believe them. For these men are notorious and habitual liars. They tell the world that apartheid is a good thing, that the 'Bantu' are very happy here, and that South Africa is a democratic country. Everybody knows this is all lies. How can apartheid be good, when it leads to untold suffering and humiliation for all dark-skinned people? How can Africans be 'happy' when their land is stolen, when they are confined to menial and dangerous jobs at starvation wages, when they have no vote or say in the laws of the land? Why should we believe these liars when they say that Communism is bad? Rather we would think that if Communism is bad for Vorster and his racialist government and his bullying police thugs, it must be good for us!
Let us look at the facts.
We know that very many of the South African Communists are in prison today, not for committing any crimes but because they spoke out and stood up for the

rights of the people, against pass laws and Bantu education, for land, votes and freedom for all.
We know that Soviet Russia and other countries governed by Communists have always demanded the rights of Africans, condemned apartheid, and in deeds as well as in words supported and armed our freedom fighters. In Britain, France, America and all over the world it is the Communists who are the strongest supporters of the Anti-apartheid movements, fighting for boycotts of the Nationalist government and all-white sports teams, opposing the sale of arms and other forms of support for white domination in South Africa, Namibia (South West Africa) and Rhodesia.

The Communists everywhere fight against apartheid and every other sort of racialist ideas and practices because the basic ideas of Marx and Lenin are internationalist. That is why these ideas are so hated and feared by the white racialists of Southern Africa. That is why, in every part of the world from Vietnam in the East to Cuba in the Americas, from Egypt to South Africa, the Communists are foremost in opposing imperialism and colonialism.

THE SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE

The Communists are the foremost fighters for a new way of life-socialism. The way we live now is called capitalism. The workers are at the mercy of a few rich men who own the mines, the factories, the land and other means of production. The bosses make them work as much as possible for as little money as possible. In most countries the workers (in South Africa this does not of course apply to Africans) are allowed to form trade unions which help to get better pay and conditions. But even then, the higher wages are quickly swallowed up by higher prices! f
The bosses get rich out of the labour of the workers. This is what we call exploitation. Their profits are really unpaid labour; because the amount we get in wages only covers a small part of the time we work. The only way to stop this state of semi-slavery is to put an end to- private ownership of the means of production. No man should own the factories, mines, banks and so on. They should belong to everybody. That is what we mean by socialism.
This idea is easy for Africans, in particular, to understand. For generations the main means of production in Africa-the land-was not owned privately. The land did not belong to the Chief: it belonged to the people as a whole. Marx, Engels, Lenin and other great men saw that it was not only terribly unjust but also wasteful and harmful to allow a handful of rich parasites to run the business of the country. They pointed out that they did not only run the businesses, but also because of their power and the money they were able to run the state as well, and to decide big questions that should be decided by the people: questions of peace or war; questions of making the laws under which people have to live.
Today it has been proved, in the Soviet Union and many other European countries, in Cuba, an American country, that the ideas of Marx and Lenin are not only just and human, but also that socialism works better than capitalism. Today one human being out of every three lives in a socialist society where there are no

extremes ofpoverty and wealth, where there is no unemployment or illiteracy, where every boy and girl has an equal chance to get a good education and enter any trade, profession or occupation.
Socialism is good for the people -the workers and poor people on the land; for the teachers and other professional people; for nearly everybody. But of course it is very bad for the rich who want to live in idleness on other people's work. They will

lose their power and their privileges, and have to work for their living like everyone else. That is why they hate socialism, and its foremost advocates, the Communists. That is why they tell lies about these things. As they own the newspapers and the radio stations and other means of information, they can spread their lies widely, and many people believe them. But you cannot deceive the people for ever.
Look at South Africa today.
If you would believe the newspapers and the radio you would think that we live in a very rich and happy land.
But we who live in it know that it is a land of suffering and starvation. It can only be ruled by force and terror. It is a land where there are more prisoners in jail per head of the population than any other. More than half of all the people who were executed in the world last year were killed in our country. Yet ours is only a small fraction of the world population. That is your 'happy South Africa'.
PROSPERITY - FOR WHOM?
The fascist government and its friends abroad talk about the 'wave of prosperity' in Sojth Africa. Prosperity -for whom?
Certainly it is true that more goods are being produced in this country than ever before. Some people are getting very rich. Fortunes are being made.
The big businessmen, financiers, mine owners and farmers have accumulated great wealth. So have the foreign firms which have invested in this country.
Even the white workers have benefitted from the boom. They have been given a monopoly ofskilled jobs, and they use this monopoly to hold out for higher wages.
But the masses of non-whites, above all the Africans, have not benefitted at all from the so-called 'prosperity'. In many ways their position has steadily got worse and worse. Prices have gone higher and higher, but not wages.
Look at the gold mines. It has been worked out that taking the fall in the value of money (that is, the steady rise of prices) an African miner gets less today than he did fifty years ago, in 1911!
The gap between the wages of white workers and those of Africans is getting bigger and bigger. On West Driefontein, the biggest mine in the country, each white miner averaged R4250 a year; each African R280 -just about one-eighteenth. Taking the country as a whole African income averages R140 per year; whites R2,100-fifteen times as much.
Africans in the big towns are relatively better off than those in the dorps, the platteland and the reserves. Yet even in Johannesburg the City Council is forced

to admit that nearly 70 per cent ofAfrican families are living below the official 'bread line' of R53.2 per month.
In other words in the middle of this so-called 'prosperity' our people are starving. It is not prosperity at all. It is merely that more and more profit is being squeezed out of cheap non-white labour. IHow can the African workers improve their wages?

We are not allowed to form legal trade unions. The Government has openly said it is out to smash the African trade union movement; and bannings and restrictions have forced the SA Congress of Trade Unions -the best trade union movement this country ever had-for the time being to stop organising openly. For every trade union organiser or official is immediately banned or deported.
All strikes are illegal, and we have seen how when the Durban dockers bravely went on strike to get an increase on their miserable pay, thousands of them were deported out of the town.
Still they did strike. And certainly the workers, even under these conditions of illegality, must and will find ways and means to unite and organise to enforce their demands.
More and more Africans have come into urban and factory jobs over the past ten years; today they are the big majority of workers in every industry. They outnumber the whites in industry by six to one.
Without African labour the work of the country will come to a stop. That is a weapon which the African workers can and must use to get better pay and conditions of work.
We demand the right to form trade unions openly, like workers everywhere else. Until we win that right we shall organise secretly, because we know that any worker who organises openly will be victimised by the bosses and the police. We shall form committees, working at first in a few factories and then spreading to cover whole industries and the whole country. If we all unite together there is nothing the bosses or the government can do to stop us.
But above all, African workers must realise that we shall never get decent conditions until we do away with the white monopolies of votes, of jobs, of power. A government elected by whites will never give us skilled jobs, decent wages and trade union rights and recognition. There is only one way, in the end, to win these things: by revolution: by fighting for a free South Africa, without colour bars; jobs, land, votes and equality of rights and opportunities.
The aim of the workers, eventually, is socialism. The mines, factories, banks, land and big business must be in the hands of the people. They must be owned and run by a state in which the majority -the working people of town and country hold power.
Today, the main task of the working class is to abolish the white monopoly of power, to carry out the national democratic revolution for the liberation of African and other oppressed people.
The workers are not alone in this fight. This revolution serves the interests of all oppressed people, those on the farms and in the reserves, the Africans, the

Indians, the Coloured people and even progressive sections among the whites. It fights under the banner of the united front -represented by the African National Congress and its allies, which is supported by the Workers' Party-the Communist Party.
.But our workers have a special and most important part to play in this fight. They are those who own nothing except their labour power. They have no interest

at all in keeping things as they are. Their conditions of work have taught them the lesson of working together, ofdiscipline and organisation. The whole country - its goods and transport, its daily life - depends on the workers. It is up to them to play a special role in our revolution, to be ever to the fore, the most active and clearsighted, in helping the people to organise, to resist, to fight back and win freedom.
Closest to the workers of the towns are the masses in the countryside.
ON THE LAND
Africans living and working on the land -whether as agricultural labourers on white-owned farms, or in the so-called 'homelands'-have the hardest and most miserable lot of any people in this country.
From 1948 to 1968 mealie production on 'white farms' went up from 30 to 100 million bags. Of course all this work was done by Africans -you hardly see a white man on the farms these days. But the absentee white farmer took all the profits, and the pay of the labourer remained as miserable as ever.
What about the reserves? (Bantu homelands, as the Government likes to call them, though everyone knows the Africans' homeland is the whole of South Africa!)
Here maize and corn production have actually gone down, as a result of overcrowding and lack of land. The people and their cattle as well are literally starving.
What about the jobs the Government promised the people ifthey accepted their lying Bantu Authorities plan? There are no jobs.
There is no 'self-government'. The Transkei 'Parliament' is just a bad joke. Everyone knows that Matanzima can do nothing without the permission of the Bantu Affairs department. He is just a rubber-stamp for the white Government in Pretoria. The government wants to ensure that the Chiefs are no longer the mouthpieces and leaders of the people. It wants to make them just BAD officials with black skins-working for 'boy's' wages.
What are the people on the platteland going to do about it?
They know today, from bitter experience, that they will get nothing from the white man's Parliament by begging and praying.
The only way is to unite and fight back for land and freedom.
The first step is organisation. On the white farms and in the 'Bantustans' the farmworkers must begin to form labourers' unions and other organisations. They must demand better pay and food, more land, more rights.

Of course we know that police spies, informers and stooges are to be found everywhere. That is why the formation of organisations must be careful and skilful.
But what is sure is that once militant organisation begins, the people will respond. They will find their own way ofuniting in each area. What is important is to break the silence of the past ten years. Government terror succeeded for a time in stifling the people's protests. Emergency laws, victimisation and bannings of all known and tried leaders gagged the people. The Government was able to boast

that everything is quiet; the people are very happy and contented. But they are not happy and contented. The 1970's are going to show they are angry and militant; ready fbr revolution.

UNITY FOR FREEDOM

For very many years the ruling class in South Africa tried hard to divide the forces of the oppressed people of South Africa. They tried to get the Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa, Tswana and other African groups fighting among themselves. They tried to set Africans against Indians and Coloured people.
This policy was defeated, especially during the forties and fifties by the African National Congress, which first of all united all Africans -and then formed an alliance with the Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the progressive whites of the Congress of Democrats, and with the non-racial Congress of Trade Unions -a united front against the common enemy: apartheid and white minority rule.
The answer of the police state was to answer reason with force. They banned the ANC and the COD, and they persecuted the other organisations of the Alliance by banning and silencing each of their leaders until these bodies were temporarily silenced.
But what they could not do by force or in any other way was to destroy the spirit of unity in the common struggle which had been built up in so many years of hard work and sacrifice.
The Coloured people have refused to follow those stooge leaders who tell them they are merely an appendage of the dominant white group. They are a national group of their own, with strong ties with the oppressed African majority, the leading force of the coming South African revolution for complete democracy and national liberation for all South Africans, Most Coloured voters boycotted last year's elections for the phoney Coloured Representative Council; most of those who did vote rejected the pro-apartheid stooges. The Coloured people, especially the workers and trade unionists and the revolutionary intellectuals, will find new ways to build organisation and unity, to revive the CPC spirit, and to form close links with their fellow-oppressed non-whites, African and Indian.
The Indian people are being hit ever harder by the monstrous Group Areas Act. As a result of this law, Indians have more and more come into the ranks of the working class, and the unemployed. In spite of massive police intimidation, the time has arrived when a new upsurge of militancy is showing itself among the Indian community, whose best elements are reaching out to take up the torch lit

by Dr Dadoo and Dr Naicker and others, the torch of militancy and unity with the African masses in the common struggle for freedom.
The women of our country, especially those subjected to the double burden of oppression as Africans and as women, have always been prominent in the great national liberation struggles in our country. Today, with the extension of passes to African women, and the terrible difficulties of feeding their families at such high

prices and on such low incomes, the need for womenfolk to be active and organised is greater than ever before. That is why women must enrol as equals and comrades in our fight for a truly free South Africa.
The youth. and students have shown time and again, especially in the past few years, that they are worthy sons and daughters ofthe great traditions of our people. Even in the bush colleges, those glorified prisons, under the shadow of bans and expulsions, students have raised the banner of national liberation and freedom, and many white students in the English-speaking universities have had the courage and democratic spirit to demonstrate for the rights of the oppressed majority. We may look with confidence to the youth, the builders of the new, free South Africa, to uphold the aims ofour national democratic revolution, enshrined in the Freedom Charter, and to sacrifice and fight, if need be, to die, for the cause of liberation.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The greatest organisation of the South African democratic revolution is the African National Congress, undisputed leader of the African majority of our population. From 1912 until 1960, when it was banned by the Nationalist Party government, the ANC openly organised the African people to unite and struggle for their rights. Thousands of ANC members have been arrested, some murdered, many tortured and banned. Many of its famous leaders like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki are serving life and other long jail sentences, others like Oliver Tambo, J.B. Marks and Moses Kotane have b.een sent into exile to continue the work -from outside the country.
Verwoerd and Vorster hoped that the banning would be the end of the ANC. They boasted that the ANC was dead. But every year has seen new trials of ANC leaders. Every year has seen fresh demonstrations, leaflets spread among the people and other forms of activity.
The spirit and the policy of the ANC are known and loved by our people. Its Programme, the Freedom Charter, remains the programme of all freedom-loving South Africans. The black-green-gold of Congress, our Congress anthem Nkosi Sikalel' iAfrika, these are things which our people have not forgotten and will never forget.
Although it is banned and illegal, the ANC remains the core and the heart of the liberation movement in South Africa; all over our country Congress people are patiently, though necessarily at this stage secretly working to bring nearer the day of liberation from tyranny.

FIGHTING. WITH ARMS

Everyone knows that patiently for many years the Congress movement tried by peaceful demonstrations, protests and strikes to bring about a change for the better in the lot of the people. They failed for one reason only: every request, every

protest was met by the white government with force and violence, by more severe oppression, until in the end, throwing even the pretence of democracy and legality overboard, they banned the ANC and relied entirely on brute force to subject the masses.

Faced with this situation, the liberation movement decided that a force of the oppressed people should be built up to meet violence with violence, a force able to lead the masses in armed struggle for their freedom. That force was named: Umkhonto we Sizwe. It announced its birth with planned acts of sabotage in many centres on Dingaan's Day: December 16, 1961.

Plans were made to recruit dedicated young men and send them out of the country for military training. For the first time since the days of the old impis, the Africans of South Africa have a military force at their disposal, armed not with assegais but modern automatic firearms.

Already in alliance~with the guerrilla fighters of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, the freedom fighters of Umkhonto have met the enemy in the field. They have fought with great courage and skill, inflicting heavy casualties on the Smith and Vorster forces.

To build up, train, equip and maintain such a force was a great achievement, carried out under extremely difficult and dangerous conditions.

Ofcourse we have suffered our casualties as well. Brave young sons of Africa fell in the field under enemy attack. At home, thousands have been captured, imprisoned for life like Mandela, or killed like Mini and many others.

But we know that there can be no war without sacrifices and victims. We have resolved to die in battle rather than to submit to slavery. That is why the people have started this war of liberation, from which there will be no stepping back. And because we are ready for anything, no matter how long it takes or how heavy the cost, we shall win our freedom.

Let us make no mistake. The present bosses of South Africa are ruthless, greedy and violent. They have shown that they will not give up their evil teachings and practices of racialism by pleas and protests, either from the people of this country, or by the whole world. There is only one language they understand: force. And we shall not force them to accept freedom and democracy until we can prove that we are stronger, better organised and better fighters than they are.

Yes, we have hundreds of millions of friends, all over the world. They are ready to support and help us get rid of white minority rule.

But before they help us, and in order to enable them to help us, we must first of all learn and begin to FIGHT FOR OURSELVES No one will come from outside.

For twenty years now the United Nations have been passing strong resolutions against apartheid and racialism. The fascist government of the Nationalist Party ignores all of these resolutions; today in 1970 our oppression is harsher than ever before.

PEOPLE'S WAR

All the oppressed people long for freedom. But some doubt whether it can be won

in our lifetime. They look around them and they see that all the power, all the money, all the weapons are in the hands of whites. Our respected leaders, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Bram Fischer, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi and many others are in prison. Others have been sent out by their organisations to work in exile. The ANC and the Communist Party are underground, and meetings, demonstrations, people's newspapers have been stopped for many years. Spies and informers help the police trap anyone who dares to protest or speak of freedom.

How can we, a people without arms, subjected to terror by day and by night, hope to fight back and win?

Yes, it is true the enemy is powerful. They have the armoured cars and the tanks, the planes and the command of the roads and the railways.

But there is a way to fight; to beat the enemy. It is the way of people's war.

The Vorster government jails, tortures, exiles and murders our leaders not because it is strong and confident, but because in reality it is weak and afraid. It is afraid of the people over whom it unjustly rules, who form the great majority of South Africans.

We are stronger than the Government because the liberation movement commands the support of the great majority of the people, while it is supported by only the white minority which is not fighting for rights or freedoms but only greed and privilege. The moment they see they are on the losing side they will desert the fascists.

One by one the advantages of the enemy will be overcome.

We have no weapons?

We shall take weapons from the enemy and make our own weapons: petrol bombs, hand grenades, the simple weapons of the freedom fighter.

We have only a handful of trained men at our disposal?

Those few will train thousands. Our skills in the art of war will improve with experience.

We shall not aim to meet'his troops head on, that is not the way of the freedom lighter. We shall meet them by the methods of guerrilla war: Hit and run.

We shall hit him by surprise, when he least expects it. When he looks for us we shall not be there.

In such a huge country as South Africa, our men will be hard to find. By the time his planes arrive to bomb the guerrilla fighters, they will have melted into the countryside. They will have merged into the people, to whom they belong and of whom they are a part.

For the guerrilla wears no uniform. His strength is that of the people. Always and everywhere, our freedom fighters are among the masses, voicing their demands and defending them against the enemy, his soldiers and police.

Nothing the enemy does is secret, for everywhere the people are watching him and reporting his movements to the guerrillas. This is not a war that is fought on the battlefields only. It is fought in the factories and on the land.
As the clashes grow in number and size, the workers will refuse to work for the

oppressor. They will strike and sabotage his production of weapons and supplies.
The people of the countryside will become more militant and courageous. They will take themselves the land for which they hunger, and arm their own freedom fighters to defend it.
The roads will be bombed and the railways destroyed; by the people in the surrounding areas.
As the enemy's lines are extended, his strength will be sapped.
Already white South African troops are being sent to Zimbabwe, to Mozambique, to Angola. They are patrolling our long borders.
The higher rises the tide of the struggle the more they will be dispersed; the more our superiority of numbers will assert itself.
This is how it has happened in other areas of people's war: in Vietnam, in Algeria, in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea.
Time and space and numbers are on our side. Justice and the outside world are on our side.
The difficulty is only one: to start.
That is the task that now faces the working people and patriots of South Africa.
THE COMMUNIST PARTY CALLS ON YOU
Dear Comrades and fellow-South Africans, you who read this message.
You know the Communist Party and its record.
It was founded in July 1921, fifty years ago.
For fifty years our Party has never feared to fight in the front ranks against colour bars and oppression, for better wages, land, a new life of freedom for the people.
Hundreds of our best comrades, from Johannes Nkosi to Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and Bram Fischer have given their lives and liberty for the cause of the people.
This Party can never be killed by the enemy.
Today at this critical time, the Communist Party calls on you. It calls on all South Africans who love their country and who love freedom. We call upon the workers and the people in the countryside. We call upon the African people, the Coloured people, the Indians and the democratic elements among the whites.
Let us build up our people's organisations, in town and country, in factories, mines and villages.
Let us unite for the fight to end the shame and suffering of white minority rule headed by the Nazi Nationalist Party.
Let us resolve that the beginning of the seventies will put an end to white South Africa and mark the beginning of People's South Africa, advancing towards socialism.
The armed groups of Umkhonto we Sizwe are ready to enter the fight. But they cannot fight alone.

The people must act!
They must build and support their illegal organisations, the ANC, the trade

unions and the Communist Party.
They must act militantly for higher wages, land and freedom.
They must arouse the spirit of resistance and defiance.
They must arm themselves.
The war of national liberation is on and we must fight it to the finish.
Victory or death!

DOCUMENT 127:

Extract from editorial in Inkululeko-Freedom, underground organ of the Central Committee of the SA Communist Party, issued in July 1971 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the SACP.

A PAPER IS A WEAPON

The publication of the first issue of INKULULEKO-FREEDOM as a regular underground journal of our Central Committee represents a big step forward for our Party.

In the new conditions which face us, organisation is everything. Without it all the undoubted anger of our people cannot be directed to deal effective blows to the enemy. The spreading of understanding is the very beginning of organisation. That is why a newspaper is an organiser. A grasp of MarxistLeninist theory and its application to our conditions not only provides the true guidelines for action but also reinforces the conviction that the ending of all forms of exploitation-economic, racial and political-is both historically necessary and inevitable. Around such a revolutionary organ there must grow a bond between all units and advanced representatives of the liberation and working class movements. It must become a spur to those who are still seeking a path of struggle and the thread which directs them to revolutionary commitment, organisation and action.

INKULULEKO-FREEDOM continues in the great tradition of our Party's journals and newspapers, like 'The International', 'Umsebenzi' and 'Inkululeko' and fighting organs like the 'Guardian', 'Liberation', 'Fighting Talk' and others which have throughout our history played an indispensable role in furthering the revolutionary tasks which face our people.

The ideas which will fill the pages of this journal are hated by the enemy because they are liberating ideas. The enemy will hound you and persecute you if they catch you spreading it. But your battle cannot be won without risks and without sacrifice. Of course you must be careful in the way you use it and if you work cleverly you can outwit the enemy and his agents and informers. INKULULEKO-FREEDOM IS YOUR PAPER! SPREAD IT EVERYWHERE!

ORGANISE AND EDUCATE FOR THE REVOLUTION!

WE CELEBRATE OUR FIFTIETH YEAR

Fifty years have passed since our Party-the oldest Communist Party on the African continent -was born on 30th July, 1921. We look back on those years with pride and they inspire us to face the future with confidence.
In its first manifesto our Party pledged itself to struggle despite 'any sacrifices it may be called upon to undergo, to hasten the time when mankind shall no longer cower under the bludgeon of the oppressor ...
DOCUMENT 128:
'Ten Years of Umkhonto we Sizwe', by Sol Dubula, The African Communist, Fourth Quarter, 1971.
'The people 's patience is not endless. The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain
only two choices-submit orfight. That time has now come to South Africa.'
In thesestirring words 10years ago on December 16, 1961, Umkhonto we SizweThe Spear of the Nation -proclaimed its existence. In every major centre throughout the contry organised bomb attacks against government property heralded the introduction of a new element in the revolutionary strategy to overthrow white supremacy.
This small beginning signalled a fresh path which historically speaking was consistent with the tradition of earlier armed resistance to foreign conquest by the African people. From now on, however long and arduous the task, the liberation organisations had committed themselves to the preparation ofconditions in which popular armed force would play a significant role in the destruction of white power. It is appropriate on this anniversary to reflect on some of the experiences we have gained and the lessons we have learnt in the hard school of practical revoltionary struggle.
THE CAMPAIGN OF SABOTAGE
The sabotage campaign ofthe early 60s served a special purpose and was never advanced as a technique which would on its own lead to the destruction of the State or even do it serious material damage. Its purpose was to lay the foundation for higher forms of military activity of the guerrilla type. There was the need to create an experienced professional military apparatus which would form the core of future guerrilla forces; the need to demonstrate that the movement was making a sharp and open break with the processes of the previous period which had correctly given emphasis to militant struggle short ofarmed confrontation; and the need to provide an effective method for the overthrow of white supremacy through planned rather than spontaneous activity. As stated in the Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress 'all three needs were served by this convincing

evidence that our liberation movement had correctly adjusted itself to the new situation arid was creating an apparatus actually capable of clandestinely hitting the enemy and making preparations for a more advanced phase. The situation was such that without activity of this nature our whole political leadership may have been at stake both inside and outside the country and the steps which were

simultaneously taken for the recruitment and preparation of military cadres would have met with less response'.

NEW SITUATION - NEW TACTICS

Long before December 16, 1961, Umkhonto we Sizwe under the direction and guidance of the political leadership took steps both inside and outside the country to prepare personnel in all aspects of the art of popular armed struggle. What triggered off this shift in policy? It was in response to a rapidly changing situation.

Broadly speaking it has always remained true that the character of the alien rule which was imposed on the indigenous people could not be broken without insurrectionary methods of one sort or another. There has never been a point in time at which it could realistically be expected that the white minority would surrender its racial privilege without a violent struggle. After the military defeat of the longdrawn-out wars of resistance by the African people in the first period of white conquest, every attempt by the people to assert their demands was met by brute repression. Yet it was only in the 60s that both the Communist Party and the ANC included in their perspectives preparation for armed struggle.

Did this change in strategy reflect on the correctness of the tactics which had been employed in previous decades? Certainly not. The earlier tactics arose out of the objective realities of the earlier period. Neither the internal nor the international situation had yet matured to the point where violent insurrection or direct preparation for armed struggle could realistically be placed on the agenda.

By the 60s the picture was beginning to alter in several aspects. In the international field the isolation of South Africa reached a high peak. In Africa itself the imperialist control of the continent was being undermined as one country after another was attaining independence. This had several consequences. For the first time since the colonisation of the continent the prospects of self rule were firing the imagination of the African people throughout Africa, the south included. In the second place, friendly borders were creeping closer to the territories of the beleaguered South with prospects of vital practical aid from the newly emergent states. For the first time in modern Africa successful armed struggles were waged, first in Algeria, then in Guine-Bissau, Angola, and, some years later, Mozambique, as armed national liberation forces challenged and beat back enemies with overwhelming superiority of military and material resources.

On our own front the political ferment which the country had witnessed in the previous decades reflected itself in the increasing militancy of the people. Our large working class had reached new heights of militant expression in the struggles of the 50s. The general strike drew into political actiori hundreds of thousands of

 factory workers who risked jobs and security to demonstrate against white supremacy. Mass protests, bus boycotts, anti-pass campaigns followed one upon the other. Deliberate defiance of laws and angry, sometimes violent, spontaneous retaliation against police brutality were symptoms of the changing mood.

TURNING POINT

Sharpeville was a turning point, not because the shooting down of unarmed demonstrators was unique in South Africa's history nor because the organisers introduced any new elements into the methods of struggle: there had been worse massacres and the organisers of the demonstrations, despite their subsequent claims to have been the innovators of new forms of struggle, had been at pains to direct the protests into explicitly peaceful channels. The PAC leader Sobukwe wrote to the Chief of Police advising him that he and his followers would present themselves for arrest on March 21st, 1960 and expressed the hope that 'you will co-operate to make this a most peaceful and disciplined campaign'. No, the massacre at Sharpeville was a turning point, not because it devised a new approach but because from that point onwards the white state geared itself for total mobilisation to smash the liberation movement; and from that point onwards a new emphasis had to be given to the revolutionary struggle.

It was not only in the urban areas that the growing revolutionary mood showed itself. In the countryside the 50s had produced impressive evidence that despite centuries of repression the peasantry was not submissive but possessed a capacity for action to the point of armed resistance. In Sekhukhuneland the peasantry, partly armed, doggedly resisted the attempts by the authorities to replace the traditional leaders of the people with government appointed servants, the so-called Bantu Atuthorities. In Zululand similar resistance was encountered. The peasant struggles of the Pondo people had reached great heights: by March 1960 a vast popular movement had arisen; unofficial administrative units were set up, including People's Courts. From the chosen spots in the mountains where thousands of peasants assembled illegally, came the name of the movement-Intaba, the Mountain.

Inevitably a heightened state of political ferment gives rise to unplanned and spontaneous eruptions. These harm the revolutionary process only if they are unconnected with the main stream of struggle or if they come to dominate its course. Many of these eruptions were directly stimulated by the climate prepared by the movement's achievement in stirring larger and larger sections ofour people into struggle. The Pondo revolt, for example, was not directly organised by the ANC. It had its origins in local grievances but its aims soon became the attainment of basic political goals enunciated by the movement in general, and the leaders of Intaba came to adopt in essence the full programme of the ANC. The violenit clashes which were occurring in the Cape and elsewhere were signs of growing revolutionary militancy. Despite the fact that they were unplanned and spontaneous outbursts, and even exhibited certain negative and harmful features, they

expressed the preparedness, courage and patriotism of those who took part in such actions as the stoning of police stations. The SACP recognised that 'those acts of desperate retaliation have a positive side although (in themselves) they cannot succeed in their objectives and although they invite heavy reprisals and setbacks and temporary defeats. For, from these defeats the people are drawing the conclusion not that resistance is futile but that it should be planned, purposeful

and principled. The leaders ofthe African liberation movement have not merely taken a negative or critical attitude towards the Poqo-type outbreak. They have acknowleged that exclusively non-violent methods are no longer of use'. (The Revolutionary Way Out: statement of the Central Committee, March 1963.)
Against the background of these, and many other events, including the outlawing of the liberation organisations and the use of undisguised administrative and physical terror against any militant opposition to white rule, there was a growing disillusionment on the part of the majority of our people with the prospect of achieving their liberation by protest action which did not include armed and offensive activity of one sort or another.
Thus, when the movement in the early 60s began to alter the emphasis of its approach, it was reflecting the radical changes which had come about both in the camp of the enemy and among the people; and these were changes which the movement had itself helped bring about by the calibre of the leadership it had provided in the preceding period.
The very success of the tactics of the mass mobilisation which were followed in the earlier period had helped to create the new conditions in which the conflict had now to take place.
The new Programme of the SACP adopted in 1962, whilst opposing undisciplined acts of individual terror and rejecting theories that all non-violent methods of struggles are useless or impossible, states that:
'The Communist Party considers that the slogan of 'non-violence' is a harmful one to the cause of the democratic national revolution in the new phase of the struggle, disarming the people in the face of the savage assaults of the oppressor, dampening their militancy, undermining their confidence in their leaders ... today they (the people) are left with no alternative but to defend themselves and hit back, tomeet violence with violence. The Nationalists are forcing a solution upon South Africa in which patriots and democrats will take up arms to defend themselves, organise guerrilla armies and undertake various
acts of resistance, culminating in mass insurrection against white domination.'
THE ENEMY HITS BACK
The introduction of the armed perspective in the political struggle has far-reaching consequences. It would be a mistake to regard it as just another tactic in routine mass work. Even when it does not pose the question of an immediate nation-wide uprising, it does amount to a qualitative break with the traditional methods of mass political action and mobilisation and it influences directly or indirectly every aspect of political and organisational activity.

 The enemy, as was to be expected, responded with unprecedented ferocity in an attempt to destroy those connected with the new policy. The effective carrying out of this policy depended upon a number of factors including the capacity of the movement to maintain and intensify the high level of active militancy amongst the people, to guard and extend its internal organisational structures, and upon the readiness of the outside world and in particular ofthe emergent nations ofAfrica to isolate South Africa

still further and to give material help and supply the considerable resources necessary to translate some of the projects into reality.
As it turned out the steps taken to safeguard the movement against the enemy's inevitable onslaught proved inadequate. In the international sphere there was a tendency to be over-optimistic and to underestimate the tenacity of external imperialist forces in support of the racialist regime. And on the African continent the period following political independence exposed internal weaknesses and tendencies which were to create unexpected obstacles in the way of the prosecution of our aims.
In the result, in the middle 60s, both the internal and external situation became relatively less favourable for the implementation of previously determined tactics in the unfolding of the struggle. The course which has been charted is a difficult and protracted one. It has had its high points and low points. But the complexities we face ought not to blind us to the fact that as in the early 60s, so now, any policy of struggle which does not include as one of its basic planks the preparation for armed action is wrong and will condemn both the people and the movement to political impotence. Of course the changes which took place in the immediate post-Rivonia period -more particularly the weakening of the movement's internal organisational position within the country -presented new problems which the liberation movement has worked to overcome. But it remains true that the overthrow of white power in our land can only be achieved by a people's armed struggle: i.e. an armed struggle with mass participation and support. The Central Committee of the SACP in the political statement adopted at the 1966 Plenary Session said:
'The correctness and feasibility of this general policy decision were not and are not dependent on the success or failure of any particular scheme or operation. Looked at in broad perspective it remains true that the freedom struggle of our country will have to be wrested in armed struggle and that preparation for such struggle is essential to victory.' This does not mean that every political action must necessarily be an armed action. It does mean that every political action, whether armed or not, must be regarded as part of the build-up towards a nation-wide confrontation leading to the conquest of power.
ARMED STRUGGLE AND POLITICAL MOBILISATION
No overt guerrilla activity has yet taken place in our country. In 1967 and 1968 units of Umkhonto we Sizwe did engage the enemy in Zimbabwe. This is not the place to attempt a balanced assessment of the Wankie, Sipoleli and other

campaigns. Suffice it to say that these events were of fremendous historical significance. It was the first time that the military units of Umkhonto we Sizwe engaged the forces of the enemy in armed combat. In this baptism of fire the modern armed pioneers of the liberation movement showed their capacity to engage the enemy and hurt him. The heroism and nobility of those who fought and died, Communists and non-Communists amongst them, have earned them a place of unchallenged honour in the saga of our drive to liberation. Those who

emerged from the battles have added immensely to the storehouse of our revolutionary experience in the future battles to come.
Some of the negative experiences of the Zimbabwe campaigns reaffirmed in practice one of the most salient features of popular armed struggle and that is that it is the culmination of a many-sided process involving political reconstruction, mass political leadership in town and country by means of organisation, propaganda, education, agitation etc., and organised armed activity drawing in more and more people as time goes on. As correctly put in the Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress: 'When we talk of revolutionary armed struggle we are talking of political struggle by means which include the use of military force'. All our activities whether directly military or political are calculated to help bring about a situation in which insurrectionary conditions will mature. The development of these conditions and the point at which they mature depends upon the activities of the liberation movement as only one factor. It also depends on the social and economic developments both inside and outside the country over which no single political movement has absolute control.
At what point then, do professional armed groups become active? Here is a certain dilemma. Experience (the Zimbabwe campaign included) has taught us that without internal organisation, mass mobilisation and mass support, armed activity becomes strangulated. We have correctly rejected the 'pure detonator theory' which is based on the belief that the localised military actions of professional armed cadres automatically generate growing resistance and support from the people. But on the other hand to postpone all armed activity until political mobilisation'and organisational reconstruction have reached a level high enough to sustain its more advanced forms, is to undermine the prospects of full political mobilisation itself. Experience of South Africa and other highly organised police states has shown that until the introduction of a new type of action it is questionable whether political mobilisation and organisation can be developed beyond a certain point. Given the disillusionment by the oppressed mass with the old forms of struggle, demonstration of the capacity ofthe liberation movement to meet and sustain the challenge in a new way is in itself one of the most vital factors in attracting their organised allegiance and support.
Thus we have been taught to avoid two extreme positions-in the one case the pure detonator theory and in the other case the pure reconstruction theory which implies that no organised armed activity should be undertaken until we have mobilised the people politically and recreated advanced networks of nationwide organisation. Thefirst has within it the seeds of a dramatic adventure which could

 be over before it started. The second holds out little prospect for the commencement of armed struggle and the conquest of power in our lifetime.
In our conditions the armed struggle and the political struggle are essentially one and complement one another. They cannot be tackled chronologically and the movement's concrete planning must ensure the necessary balance and blending of both sides of this essentially single struggle. This has meant an intensification of the movement's efforts in the sphere of reconstruction, propaganda and general

agitation throughout the country as evidenced by the increasing intensity of internal propaganda drives.
Creating a core of trained professional armed cadres; putting them into the field with adequate logistical support and a minimum amount of contact to enable them to sustain their operations in the initial period, requires independent planning. It cannot be the overnight response to a sudden twist in the political situation. In this sense military planning, as opposed to political planning, has what one might term some mechanical aspects which inevitably involve making certain static assumptions about the future. If operations go smoothly and according to plan the beginnings of action will be the result of a deliberate decision. If not they could be triggered off by the need ofthe armed group to defend itself against enemy attacks. The exact moment in time therefore when actual armed action occurs will not necessarily always coincide with the most favourable local or even national situation. For this reason it is unrealistic to tie the movement's planning for the commencement of operations in the chosen regions to the probability of the emergency of a special local or national crisis, or to regard it as the culmination in each case of a full programme of propaganda or organising work.
Above all it is necessary to stress once again that the most important task which faces the movement as a whole is the intensification ofthe level ofpolitical mobilisation and mass struggle in every part of the country because in the last resort it will only be against such a background that armed activity can take root and spread. Thus successful armed actions are only one of the factors in the process of helping to bring about conditions in which the whole people move towards the conquest of power.
THE TERRAIN OF ARMED ACTIVITY In our situation where is the terrain of armed activity? The ANC's Strategy and Tactics document answers that 'the main physical environment (of guerrilla struggle) in the initial period is outside the enemy stronghold in the cities, in the vast stretches of our countryside'. The experience of other people's struggles and our own conditions confirm the correctness of this approach.
Armed activity in its initial phases cannot take the form of a head on collision with the enemy forces. Militarily there is a vast imbalance between the resources available to the enemy and to the people. The survival of armed groups and their growth therefore demands the use of techniques and tactics which will compensate for this imbalance. Given its popular character and a population which

increasingly sides with and shields the armed group whilst at the same time opposing and exposing the enemy, this imbalance can be neutralised by the skilful tactics such as surprise, mobility, tactical retreat and other methods which combine to prevent the enemy from bringing into play its superior fire power in any decisive battle. In short, the beginnings of popular armed activity in our type of situation takes the form of a guerrilla struggle in which the special tactics employed aim to ensure that no individual battle is fought under circumstances unfavourable to the guerrillas.

In general guerrilla type struggles have in their initial phases taken root in the rural areas. The reason for this is obvious. The guerrilla group is a full-time proffessional armed unit which pops up now here, now there, and which if it is to survive, has to maintain continuously its cohesion and mobility. The guerrilla group must not be confused with the armed auxiliaries or the part-time combat groups or" civilian defence, all of which have an important role to play at various stages ofthe struggle in both town and countryside. Because of the imbalance of military strength the guerrilla group, in order to survive and maintain its cohesion and mobility, has in general to operate away from the urban complexes in which the enemy is strongest and is most highly organised and centralised. It has to operate in terrain in which the basic population from which it draws its strength is in the overwhelming majority.

Are there special conditions in South Africa which require us to take another look at the emphasis on the countryside in the opening phases of the guerrilla struggle? Of the colonial and semi-colonial territories in which guerrilla wars have been fought there are none in which the urban working class forms such a significant portion of the oppressed population both numerically and politically as in South Africa. More than this, it is a working class whose political consciousness and whose history of militant struggle places it in the undisputed vanguard position of our democratic revolution. The mass upsurge in the 50s which embraced the country areas had its inspiration in the political ferment which was taking place in the main urban centres. In South African conditions it is therefore unthinkable that the main character of the armed confrontation will be a peasants' war despite the fact that the majority of the oppressed population is on the land either as peasants or as rural proletarians.

If all this is true, should the emphasis not be on urban rather than rural guerrilla struggle right at the outset? We believe not. The important factors mentioned here do not alter the reality that in the initial phase organised fulltime guerrilla groups with fire power can only operate successfully in the vast stretches of our countryside. The terrain of armed struggle is chosen for us by objective conditions, only one of which is the political significance of the urban proletariat. This reality explains why in other countries-the Soviet Union, France, Yugoslavia, etc. where the working class occupied an equal if not greater position of importance in the political correlation of forces, the main terrain of organised guerrilla warfare was outside the urban complexes. The fact that the terrain of guerrilla operations in its early stages is in the countryside does not of course imply that the rural

population (whose support must be won if victory is not to evade us) is the most significant revolutionary force.

There are examples of struggles-Ireland, Cyprus, pre-1948 Palestine-in which an urban type of guerrilla warfare was the predominant form from the start. But in all these cases the military operations against the enemy were directly against an army of occupation stationed in overwhelmingly hostile territory in both town and countryside. Whilst in one sense it is correct to regard the whole oppressing

minority in South Africa as a sort of army of occupation, the analogy has limited application. The guerrilla group in Dublin could move and act in its city surrounded by overwhelming support against the uniformed occupiers. In South African cities the main operations would have to take place in terrain in which the overwhelming majority of the white people can be expected to be fanatically hostile to the guerrillas who have to move along enemy determined routes surrounded by his regular forces and his auxiliaries consisting of the whole white population.

This does not mean that there is no place for any form of military activity in the urban centres. In fact, this is essential even from the start. The enemy should be continuously harassed in the towns by small combat groups who carry out sabotage and other special actions; groups which obtain supplies and money and which recruit cadres for the guerrilla struggle and organise and encourage civilian resistance to enemy action against the urban population. But this activity is of a special type and although it is in support of the guerrillas, the use of the phrase 'urban guerrilla warfare' to describe it should not serve to place it on a par with guerrilla struggle in the countryside which is the main form of people's military activity in the initial phase of our popular armed struggle.

POLITICAL AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP

Our liberation movement has always rejected the view that once armed struggle is on the agenda there should be a separation between the military and political leadership, or if there is, that the military leadership should be primary.

Of course the art of military struggle requires the formation of special organs staffed by skilled and talented personnel who devote themselves almost exclusively to the creation of armed groups, co-ordinate their actions and generally supervise the many-sided implementation of the movement's military perspectives. But everything we have said about the relationship between the military and political struggle demands that at all stages the political organisation should remain supreme. It is of course true that once in the field the tactical tasks of the guerrilla band can only be advanced effectively by those engaged in actual fighting, and no group of leaders sitting outside of the situation can hope to provide successful day to day leadership. But it is equally true that the overall conduct of revolutionary strategy cannot be carried out effectively by the isolated armed band. The complex and challenging art of revolution and the determination of its strategic tasks from time to time requires a political

leadership which not only provides the broad guidelines for the conduct of the military struggle itself, but relates it to the over-riding task of the political mobilisation of the people as a whole, the never-ceasing interplay and positioning of class forces both nationally and internationally, the interaction of objective and subjective factors and so on. This remains true even when the armed struggle becomes the predominant form.

The army must at all stages remain the instrument of the political movement and any tendency to the contrary will introduce all the unhealthy features of militarism. An armed struggle which is not 'ennobled by the enlightened and

organising influence' of the correct type of political leadership 'becomes frayed, corrupted and prostituted'. (Lenin). The revolutionary armed struggle is no more and no less than a political struggle by means which include the use of military force, and the victory for which we are striving has as its aim the conquest of power by the peopte led by its political vanguard and not by an army. Of course, as the armed struggle begins to play a more and more- important part in our overall strategy, the main task of the whole political leadership centres more and more on the successful implementation of military objectives. But at all stages it remains a political leadership answerable to the political organisation which is primary, and not to the army, which is its instrument.

The unavoidable and necessary separation between the military and political organs creates special problems which must be solved and tendencies against which we must continuously guard.

THE DOMINO THEORY

Our struggle is a direct and integral part of the struggle going on in all the unliberated territories in Africa and is also bound up with-the overall struggle against imperialist domination on our continent. South Africa has been embraced by Western imperialism as a bastion against the spread of true independence and as one of the chief instruments of imperialist dominated diplomacy in many parts of Africa. Whether it be through direct military presence (as in Zimbabwe), close military and financial collaboration (as in Angola and Mozambique), direct economic and political domination (as in some of the former High Commission territories), or indirect erosion of the national integrity of some independent territories by various financial and economic devices (as in Malawi), it is clear that the minority regimes in Southern Africa have come to regard the survival of foreign rule generally and, in particular, white rule in the South, as indivisible. Every pronouncement on the question by representatives of our own racialist regime makes it clear that South Africa regards its immediate strategic borders as extending to the northernmost points of Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia. Against this background it is clear that an important strategic connection exists between the efforts ofthe guerrilla forces in every part of occupied Southern Africa and effective progress on the people's front is closely bound up with increasing collaboration between all the liberation organisations in the area.

The strength of the enemy in alliance with its foreign supporters has from time to time encouraged the suggestion that the liberation of Southern Africa should be approached as a project to be achieved in geographic stages -the so-called domino theory. First Mozambique, so the argument runs, then Angola, then Rhodesia and then South Africa. Such proposals, however well motivated, would in fact play into the hands of the common enemy. Nothing would suit him better than to be able to concentrate his superior material and military resources in a single area undiverted by a need to defend his rear.

Such an approach stands in basic contradiction to the fundamental tenet of popular armed struggle that the enemy must be stretched and deprived of opportunities to mobilise his superior material resources in a restricted area.

It is in any case doubtful whether the character of the popular armed struggle makes it feasible for any forces other than indigenous ones to make a meaningful direct contribution to the struggle in given areas. Amongst the disadvantages which faced those units of Umkhonto we Sizwe which were engaged by the enemy in Zimbabwe was the need to operate in unfamiliar geographic, cultural and social surroundings even though the ethnic and linguistic connection between sections of our people and those in Zimbabwe are historically closer than with the Portuguese territories. On the other hand the enemy which cannot and does not rely on local popular support can by the nature of the tactics which he is forced to employ, concentrate and deploy his forces outside his own territory with greater effectiveness.

There can be little doubt, and Rhodesia has already demonstrated this, that when Portuguese rule in Angola and Mozambique reaches a point of crisis, Caetano's friends in South Africa will be only too ready to intervene on a massive scale. South African government leaders have said as much. Mr T.A.J. Gerdener, the Administrator of Natal, on the occasion of the establishment of the Mozambique Soldier's Comforts Fund said that to fob off terrorism as the actions of a few thousand disorganised and ill-trained insurgents was dangerous and irresponsible and that it was time South Africa realised that 'if the 80,000 soldiers whom Portugal had in Mozambique and Angola had to be withdrawn tomorrow, South Africa would become involved in the 'terrorist war' within weeks. He said further that South Africa would have the fullest justification 'to extend its Rhodesian front against terrorists to the two Portuguese territories'.

The capacity of the enemy to extend the fight and commit their forces on a large scale to any of the other territories and even their capacity to render assistance short of Rhodesian type direct intervention will ultimately depend upon events within South Africa and in particular on the extent to which the South African revolutionary forces take root and threaten internal stability. To adopt the stage by stage approach would present the enemy with an inestimable advantage which, for reasons already given, would not be compensated for by an artificial 'internationalisation' of the national struggle in so-called 'priority' areas. Every part of the unliberated South is a priority area and victory will be assured when the common enemy is stretched in meaningful combat over all parts of the sub-

continent. As stated in the resolution adopted by the 1970 Augmented Meeting of the Central Committee of the SACP:

'The common enemy of liberation ofthe African people ofthe sub-continent is Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique, white minority rule in Zimbabwe, above all the apartheid exploitation systems of South Africa and Namibia, which together constitute a unified base of white-controlled domination and exploitation and, simultaneously, imperialism's strongest base in Africa.

'This system of race exploitation will be defeated by the assaults of the revolutionary

struggle by the peoples of these countries spearheaded by the guerrilla armies of ANC, ZAPU, SWAPO, MPLA and FRELIMO, operating each in their own

specific conditions in their own countries, and forging close fraternal links and collaboration between
the different fighting movements.'
The 10th Anniversary of the establishment of Umkhonto we Sizwe-the armed wing of the liberation movement-is an important milestone in the history of our people. It is a time not only for tribute to those who have already fallen but for rededication to the unfinished tasks of the South African revolution whose victory will have significance not only for the South African people but for the whole African continent and the world struggle against imperialism.
DOCUMENT 129:
'Stand by Namibia', call to South African workers to stand by their fellow workers on strike in Namibia, published in the underground Inkululeko-Freedom, 1972.
The great strike of Ovambo workers which began on December 13, 1971, represents the greatest upsurge of the African working-class in Southern Africa since the African mineworkers' strike of 1946. Within days up to 20,000 workers had downed tools. Work on the mines, factories, farms, building sites, railways and docks came to a standstill.
The strike was called in protest against the infamous contract labour system which imprisons all the workers of Namibia. No African worker can leave his 'homeland' in Namibia unless he has a signed contract with the South West Africa Native Labour Association (SWANLA). The contract ties him down to a particular job with a particular employer at a stipulated wage for a period of 12 to 18 months. It is a criminal offence for the worker to leave his job or to try to find a better job during the period of contract. When the contract is completed the worker is compelled to return to his 'homeland' before seeking another job. There are no trade unions and strikes are illegal. The result of this system of slave labour is that Africans are forced to be separated from their families throughout their working life and get paid an average of between R6 and R8 a month. Only some workers on the mines and in office jobs get a little more.
The whole system is the foundation stone of white supremacy.
The white schoolboys who were called in as scabs during the strike were paid R 109 a month- the pay of an unskilled white labourer. A white shift boss gets over R300 a month, a white mine captain over R400 a month. Africans are not allowed to train for these skilled jobs.

THE BOSSES BENEFIT
Those who benefit most from this slave labour are the bosses -the white bosses in Namibia, the white investors from South Africa like Anglo-American, who control Tsumeb, the British, West German, French, Canadian and other foreign bosses who fall over themselves to invest in Namibia because they get a higher profit there than they can get anywhere else in the world. Over one third of all the wealth produced in Namibia every year flows overseas into bank accounts ofthese foreign bosses.
Since 1966 the United Nations has been calling for South Africa to get out of Namibia (South West Africa). But nothing has been done because Western

imperialist governments want to preserve the profits of the bosses and help the South African government to keep the Namibian people in slavery. In June 1971 the World Court once again showed tht South Africa had no legal right to remain in Namibia, but once again nothing has been done. The Vorster government builds huge military bases in the Caprivi Strip and elsewhere to threaten the independence of Zambia and other independent African countries.

It is not only the Ovambos who are against slave labour in Namibia. All other groups support the Ovambo- the Okavango, the Herero, the Rehobothers, the Nama, the Damara and all others. The strikers have been mainly Ovambo because the Ovambo are more than half the population, and are the vast majority of all contract workers, up to 90 per cent on the mines. But all Namibians are united in wanting South Africa to get out.

In 1966 Namibian guerrilla fighters launched their first offensive against the South African forces, and since the South African casualties have grown steadily, Vorster tried to terrorise the Namibian people by laying waste to the countryside on the borders, by throwing the people's leaders into jail under the Terrorism Act. But the anger of the Namibian people has grown steadily.

Now the great strike has shown the power of the people. By withdrawing the power of their labour, the Ovambo workers have struck a mortal blow against the Vorster regime and the Bantustan policies.

The lesson of the Ovambo strike is that through unity and organisation the people can defeat the South African government, despite all its soldiers, security laws and policemen. The chiefs and headmen and informers who work for the South African government have been discredited for all time.

STAND BY NAMIBIA

The workers and freedom-loving people of South Africa stand one hundred per cent with their brothers in Namibia.

We demand that the South African government should unconditionally quit Namibia and allow the Namibian people to govern themselves.

The best way to help our fellow workers is to fight together with them against white domination and for freedom.

Contract labour and migratory labour are part of the same system which we suffer from. The Ovambo workers have shown the way.

Workers, let us learn from our brothers in Namibia. Let us join together to fight slave labour, Bantustans, and white minority rule. FORWARD TO FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA!

DOCUMENT 130:

'Long Live Independent Mozambique', letter from the Central Committee of the SACP to President Samora Machel, June 1975.

On this momentous day- 25 June 1975- the day on which Mozambique takes her rightful place in the community of independent sovereign nations, the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party warmly embraces the people of Mozambique and its revolutionary vanguard, FRELIMO. The assumption of

power by FRELIMO and the installation of the People's Government of Mozambique marks an historic turning point.
After more than 500 years ofcolonial oppression, your people aje once again free to determine their own destiny in the land of their fathers. The revolutionary struggles of the last decade have now laid the basis for fresh and exciting advances in the economic and political life of your newly independent state. The enemies of freedom and national independence have suffered a serious defeat at the hands of a people which proved yet again that modern armies and material resources are no match for mass-based revolutionary zeal and sacrifice. No doubt those forces who fear the advance of national liberation and independence in Africa will not abandon their efforts to undermine this historic achievement. But the unity of the battle-tested Mozambican people and the strength and maturity of their unchallenged vanguard - FRELIMO -will undoubtedly crush any attempts to hold back the revolutionary sweep. President Samora Machel has made clear that the decisive factor for the success of the Mozambican struggle was:
'the unity of our people from the Rovumo to the Maputo. The enemy rose and will always rise against this unity: yesterday's colonialism and today's reactionaries and imperialists, exploiters from every race. As in the past, they will try to use everything.
Overt and covert appeals to racism, tribalism and regionalism will be intensified. We will make relentless use of the same liberating fire that wiped out colonialism in opposing racism and regionalism, because these are the commanders-in-chief of the enemy's forces
which attack and destroy our people's unity, the main weapon in our struggle.'
In winning their freedom in heroic struggle your people have scored advances not only for themselves but also for the cause of the worldwide struggle against colonialism, imperialism, foreign domination and racialism in all its forms.
TRANSFORMATION
The Portuguese Empire -the last remaining bastion of direct colonial rule from

the capitals of Western imperialism-was bled dry and collapsed under the relentless onslaught of FRELIMO and its brother liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau and Angola. This served to break yet another link in the world system of imperialism and destroyed one of the main pillars ofthe unholy alliance of Caetano-Vorster-Smith which boasted that it could keep the indigenous millions of Southern Africa in the perpetual control of minority domination. In Portugal itself the swiftness of the transformation which came after 48 years of fascist rule owes a great deal to the sacrifice and revolutionary persistence of FRELIMO's army of liberation which underlined once again the indivisibility of the worldwide struggle for freedom.
For our own people, still in the grip of one of the most barbaric systems which history has ever seen, the freeing of Mozambique has a very special significance. With the destruction of an ancient colonial empire by the black guerrilla in the bush, the myth of perpetual white supremacy has been dramatically exposed. Those who relied on this myth in an attempt to disarm the revolutionary drive,

have been answered in no uncertain terms by the triumph of our brothers in Mozambique. People's rule is no longer a distant achievement. It has been won in armed combat right on our borders.
Already the impact of this event has made itself felt on our people and their enemies. Inspired by this common victory, South Africa's oppressed are intensifying their own efforts to put an end to white domination in our land. And the enemy is frantically seeking new ways to divert our peoples' revolutionary energies and to undermine the resolve of independent Africa to eradicate once and for all the scourge of colonial and racial domination from every corner of our continent.
VOICE OF DESPAIR
Vorster's 'voice of reason' is the voice of fear and deception. It is the voice of one who knows that time is running out for white supremacy andwho hopes to postpone its doom. It is an echo ofthe voice ofCaetano who vainly tried to hold back the day of reckoning by his policies of 'smiles and blood'. Just as Caetano was answered by your people's onslaught, so will the South African racists be destroyed by the struggle of our people. Your victories against our common enemies of imperialism and colonialism have brought that day nearer. The finest tribute our people can pay to your magnificent achievements is to intensify their own struggles against colonialism and racism and to win a people's South Africa; a South Africa which no longer threatens the hard-won gains ofthe African revolution and which will march hand-in-hand with you and the rest of our continent to eliminate the remains of colonialism and neo-colonialism and to achieve a society free ofall forms ofnational and social exploitation of man by man.
LONG LIVE INDEPENDENT MOZAMBIQUE! LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE OF MOZAMBIQUE[LONG LIVE FRELIMO!
LONG LIVE PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS!

400 South African Communists Speak
DOCUMENT 131:
'The Enemy Hidden Under the Same Colour', statement by the Central Committee of the SACP on the activities of the 'Gang of 8', The African Communist, Second Quarter, 1976.
'The other face is that of the indirect and secondary enemy, who presents himself under the cover of a nationalist and even as a revolutionary thus making it difficult to identify him ... THE FIGHTER MUST DISTINGUISH FRIEND FROM FOE EVEN IF THE LATTER IS CONCEALED UNDER THE SAME COLOUR, LANGUAGE, FAMILY TIES OR TRIBAL MARKINGS AS THEIR OWN, EVEN IF HE
RAISES HIS FLAG WITH US'.
- President Samora Machel
South Africa's press has given a great deal of space to anti-Communist, anti-ANC and racist propaganda with which it has been fed by the group of eight who were recently expelled from the ANC for persistently betraying its political and

organisational principles. For the enemy this group's campaign against the people's struggle could not have come at a better moment. It fits in very well with the Vorster government's desperate attempts to find black collaborators both inside and outside the country, in order to break up the unity of the liberation forces and to cover its criminal aggression against our brothers in Angola. Times are changing and our ruling class is being forced to find new ways to keep white power alive. Both inside and outside South Africa it desperately needs the Savimbis and the Holden Robertos, to divide the people under banners of socalled nationalism, anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, and thus to prevent true liberation. Vorster and BOSS Chief van den Bergh must indeed be satisfied to see how well their cause is being served by this group of renegades from the ANC who are capturing so many headlines in the racist press.

The issues on which they have chosen to attack the liberation movement are as old as the struggle itself. The slander that the ANC is run by the Communist Party is not something new; it has always been spread by the racists and those who act as their agents. And it has always been designed to weaken the people's struggle. As early as the 1920s, liberals like Ballinger helped destroy the ICU by raising the banner of anti-Communism, and spreading scare stories about 'Communist take-overs'. In the late 50s, the break-away PAC group also used the white liberal parrot-cry that 'the Communists were running the ANC' in an attempt to destroy it.

The principled stand of the ANC against the so-called 'homelands' policy has been attacked by the Bantustan collaborators as 'Marxist-inspired' and the creation of Communists who 'dominate the ANC'. The latest tragic example of the way racists and reactionaries act together to exploit this kind of slander is in Angola. There, a few doomed black collaborators are again raising these cries together with Vorster and his Western imperialist allies, in a hopeless attempt to destroy Angola's newly-won independence, and to discredit its undoubted leaders -the MPLA.

GHETTO 'NATIONALISM'

Erecting obstacles in the way of the unity of all revolutionaries has also always been the tactic of the South African white supremacists. It is for this reason that they devised a law (the Prohibition of Political Interference Act) to prevent Africans, Indians, Coloureds and whites from working together. Now the group of 8, like the PAC clique before them, are shouting 'poqo' (we alone) for the same reason. Under the guise of an admirable claim to be building unity of the African people, they spread racialism and a Savimbi kind of nationalism. They cover their real purpose by pretences about what they call 'a unity between equals'. We shall show later that in fact they clearly want to exclude even proven revolutionaries who are not African from any form of collective participation in the ANC's External Mission, on the grounds of race alone. Like Vorster, they believe that the place of a Coloured and Indian is to work only in his own ghetto amongst his own people. The race character of their so-called nationalism is revealed further in their statement that it is the duty of non-Africans in the struggle to 'humble

themselves'. This is clearly the language of racism not of comradeship or revolutionary nationalism.
White supremacists have always shown their contempt for the African people in their insulting belief that Africans are inferior and will invariably play a secondary role if they work with Coloureds, Indians or whites. In exactly this spirit, this group of 8 scream 'manipulation' and 'domination' at the very thought that Coloured, Indian or white revolutionaries should work side by side with Africans. For example, the ANC's Revolutionary Council is overwhelmingly African in its composition including in its ranks only one Indian, one Coloured and one white, and with 100% African membership at its Headquarters. According to this group, this is enough to put the Revolutionary Council under the 'hegemony' of the 'clique of non-Africans'.
BIRDS OF A FEATHER
Indeed, on this question of liberation unity, as in so many others, the group of 8 find themselves repeating (sometimes word for word) the mouthings of those whom they have themselves, until very recently, condemned as traitors to the cause of African liberation. Refer, for example, to the recent statement by the group of 8 read on their behalf by Tennyson Makiwane to an invited audience in London in December 1975, which not surprisingly included well-known PAC leaders. It is certainly no accident that there is such a striking similarity between the words used in that statement, and those used by Leballo in 1958 justifying the PAC break-away of that year.
Leballo: (all quotes from CONTACT, 1st November 1958) 'The leaders (of the ANC). .. do not want to see the emergence of an African nationalism. Subscribing as they do to the myth that this is a class struggle, they see an obstacle in nationalism.'

Group of 8: The 'non-African clique' who have 'hijacked the ANC' have attempted 'to substitute a class approach for the national approach to our struggle.'
Leballo: 'The present ANC leadership both national and' Transvaal, is dominated by ... people of leftist inclination.' Group of 8: 'The SACP relies entirely on using the ANC as its... front organisation.'
Leballo: 'If the Indians, for example, are also an oppressed group they should unite and fight as an Indian group.'
Group of 8: The 'clique of non-Africans, rather than spend time organising their own people, has sought to impose its hegemony...' Leballo: 'Since the advent of the present ANC leadership, a fetish has been made of loyalty to the leadership as such.'
Group of 8: 'Criticism of official ANC policy and practice has come to be regarded within the leadership circles as nothing less than treason.'
And so on and so forth.
It is not surprising that the group of 8 find themselves in that kind of company, echoing the ancient and discredited PAC politics.
Who are the leaders of this new group of splitters? Amongst them are some who not long ago were found guilty of organising factional groups in the ANC, and

were removed from positions of responsibility in the organisation for that reason. Their persistent efforts to return to the positions in the leadership (at the same time refusing to accept the organisation's discipline) have been frustrated by the rank-and-file in the African National Congress which has nothing but contempt for their political and personal past. So now (with London as their base) they spread the malicious lie that their exclusion is all due to a conspiracy by the 'Communists' and a 'non-African clique'. They have spent some years gathering together a motley collection of dissidents whose history is only too well-known. Most of them have made many somersaults in their chequered political careers, always following what seemed to serve their ambitions at the given moment. Some of them have been Communists at some time and anti-Communists at others; some, racialists at times and multi-racialists at others; tribalists and African nationalists; strongly pro-Soviet and equally strongly anti-Soviet and proChina. Some of the loudest so-called nationalists amongst them were activists of the white-led Liberal ARM when they were in South Africa; not of the ANC or its military wing Umkhonto. Some of them are not new to factional activities within the ANC, and have in their time attempted to use both Communist Party attitudes and anti-Communist Party attitudes to advance their personal careers. Included in this group of 8 are two gentlemen who in 1969 secured their own safety by giving evidence for the prosecution against Dorothy Nyembe and other comrades of the ANC in Pietermaritzburg, helping to send them to jail for decades.

The reason this group now attacks the ANC more openly than ever before is not

because the ANC has changed since they were in the leadership but because they sense the prospect of new advances of the liberation struggle, new breakthroughs in the new favourable conditions created by the people's victories in the last year or two. And they want desperately to be at the top once again. They play on ignorance, and make their main appeal to prejudice and political backwardness. They distort the truth of the history of our movement, and exploit the problems which have faced it during the difficult period after 1963.

AGAINST REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

We will deal more specifically with some of their main distortions; but first it is important to emphasise that, like the PAC before them, this group is the expression of a political trend which seeks to dilute and eliminate the revolutionary content of South Africa's liberation struggle. Basically it wants the ANC to return to a type of nationalism which serves only a small elite and not the masses of the oppressed people. The social base for this tendency is to be found amongst those classes and groups within the oppressed who seek the kind of 'liberation' which will, at best, replace the white exploiter with a black exploiter. It is the unequivocal rejection of this type of 'nationalism' which gives a special revolutionary quality to such movements as FRELIMO and MPLA. The Simangos of Mozambique and the Savimbis of Angola also in their time paraded under slogans of 'true black nationalism', anti-Communism, anti-Sovietism, etc. They accused FRELIMO and MPLA of being dominated by Marxists, by

minorities, and by persons of mixed blood. But in the course of the revolutionary struggle they soon showed their true colours by becoming open collaborators with the oppressor. Our Party is made the special target of this sort of attack precisely because it always exposes the kind of 'nationalism' which only fights the enemy in words, but helps it in action. It is an insidious 'nationalism' because it attempts to use the people's justified grievances and their hatred of the oppressor not against the enemy but against the people's interests, against comrades in the struggle, and against revolutionary unity.

The policy of our Party on the national question in South Africa is well known. Its essentials are contained in the Programme we adopted at an underground Party conference in Johannesburg in 1962. We pioneered the concept that the main content of the present phase of the South African revolution is the liberation of the African people. For this reason we have always recognised the leading role in the liberation front is played by the national organisation of the African majority, the ANC. But unlike the Liberals we understand that racism is not just a human failing; it has roots in the system of capitalism and in South Africa especially in the economic exploitation of the black working class. We believe too that the working class is, in the words of our Programme,

... the disciplined and advanced class which has no property stakes in present-day South Africa and has been the core and inspiration of other classes in every struggle of our time. The working class seeks a close alliance with the rural people; and with the

urban middle classes and intellectuals in the national democratic revolution. Only under

its leadership can the full aims of the revolution be achieved.'

The emphasis on the dominant role of the working people in the struggle for national liberation is the main foundation of the ideology of revolutionary nationalism in the contemporary period. The African National Congress in its strategy and tactics (to which the group of 8 object) and movements such as FRELIMO, MPLA, PAIGC, the Congolese Party of Labour, also stress the fundamental role of the working people at all stages of the liberation struggle. For South Africa this approach involves a theory of revolution which takes into account both class and national factors. What then are the politics of the group of 8?

BACKWARD POLITICS BEHIND BACKWARD NATIONALISM The group of 8 complains that it is a Communist trick to dismiss those with whom they disagree as 'racist' and 'bourgeois nationalist'. Let us therefore briefly examine some aspects of the group's political standpoint as expounded in the Makiwane address.

The group claim that the South African struggle is

'no different from the post-World War II, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggles which have been waged and are being waged by our brothers on the African continent as

well as similar struggles in Asia and Latin America.'

It hardly needs theory to remind us that the fruits of victory in many of the struggles on our Continent (as well as in parts of Asia and Latin America) have not been gathered by the mass of the exploited people; they have been gathered by these small groups who Stepped into the shoes of the colonial oppressors and exploiters. Where this has happened, it is precisely because the dominant classes in the national struggle were the self-seeking petit-bourgeoisie together with the emerging national bourgeoisie. The dominant ideology of such movements was therefore bourgeois-nationalist in character; in saying this reference is made not to the social background of the individual leaders, but to the class interests served by their policies.

In South Africa there is perhaps the oldest and most experienced black working class on the African Continent, with a growing trading and bureaucratic black petty bourgeoisie and, in the Bantustans, even the beginnings of a black commercial and industrial bourgeoisie. It is therefore particularly important for South Africans to distinguish between a nationalism designed to serve the interests of an elite or an aspirant bourgeoisie, and a nationalism which is revolutionary and designed to serve the interests of the mass of the oppressed people. In other words, it is not enough merely to speak of 'nationalism'. Nationalism, like all idelogy, has a class content and it is necessary to say whether, in the long term, that nationalism is progressive or reactionary, bourgeois or revolutionary. In our view, therefore, it is impossible to separate nationalism from the class struggle; and the depth and closeness of this connection will have a vital bearing on the future of the South African revolution.

On the nature of our national struggle the ANC's Strategy and Tactics says:

'The national character of the struggle must therefore dominate our approach. But it is a national struggle which is taking place in a different era and in a different context from those which characterised the early struggles against colonialism. It is happening in a new kind of world- a world which is no longer monopolised by the imperialist world system; a world in which the existence of the powerful socialist system and a significant sector of newly liberated areas has altered the balance of forces; a world in which the horizons liberated from foreign oppression extend beyond mere formal political control and encompass the element which makes such control meaningful -economic emancipation. It is also happening in a new kind of South Africa, a South Africa in which there is a large and well-developed working class whose class consciousness and in which the independent expressions of the working people -their political organs and trade unions- are very much part of the liberation front. Thus, our nationalism must not be confused with chauvinism or narrow nationalism of a previous epoch. It must not be confused with the classical drive by an elitist group among the oppressed people, to gain ascendency so that they can replace the oppressor in the exploitation of the mass. But none of this detracts from the basically national context of our liberation drive. In the last resort it is only the success of the national democratic revolution which-by destroying the existing social and economic relationships - will bring with it a correction of the historical injustices perpetrated against the

indigenous majority and thus lay the basis for a new-and deeper internationalist - approach. Until then, the national sense of grievance is the most potent revolutionary force which must be harnessed. To blunt it in the interests of abstract concepts of internationalism is, in the long run, doing neither a service to the revolution nor to internationalism.'

But the group of 8 see in this stress on the revolutionary role of the working class only a sinister Communist diversion to narrow the base of the national struggle. They echo the kind of attack which the most backward political forces in Africa have used under instigation from Western imperialism, to try to dragoon such movements as MPLA into some sort of acceptance of and accommodation to reactionary and counter-revolutionary nationalist forces in the spurious name of 'national unity'. The group of 8 complains that the SACP identifies 'two strands in this situation -a so-called bourgeois nationalism and a so-called revolutionary nationalism ... Such dogmatic infusion of Marxist terminology into a situation with special characteristics of its own only serves the forces of confusion and division.' Again they say that the SACP talk about 'progressives' on the one hand and greactionaries' on the other is

'... in fact nothing more than a highly disguised sectarian attempt to substitute a class approach for the national approach to our struggle. Its most dangerous implication being to narrow down the broadly based African resistance and seeking to highlight only a

workers' and peasants' conflict against capital.' *

-In fact the current fashion amongst ultra-left academic critics of our Party's policy is to accuse it of the very opposite: a failure to highlight the workers' and peasants' conflict against capital, But in their frenzied enthusiasm to attack the 'Communist-controlled' ANC and SACP from every possible angle, the group of 8 in fact contradict themselves earlier in the document when they say that a source of the organisational crisis in the ANC was a 'misguided and opportunistic definition of the nature and content of the SA freedom struggle and projecting it as if it were merely a struggle for the elimination of race discrimination... '

An example of the type of nationalism which is not revolutionary but reactionary, and which objectively serves those who seek a neo-colonial type of'liberation', is provided by the ideology of the group of 8. The group regards an emphasis on workers' and peasants' struggle against capital as an unpatriotic diversion. They believe that the concept of a bourgeois nationalism is a devilish invention of the Communists and that blackness alone is the test of the credentials of a South African nationalist. In effect they would like to see the ANC retreat into the past, and restrict its public policy to a vague, undifferentiated kind of patriotism which pretends to be classless, but which in practice serves the interests of the elite, the bureaucratic, the petty bourgeois minority.

They show the same spurious 'classless' formulation in their approach to the world struggle against imperialism, when they state that in international affairs they will work to change ANC attitudes by 'reinstatement ofa foreign policy based on non-alignment.'

It is characteristic of the self-seekers amongst oppressed nations that they present their 'nationalist' ideology everywhere as if it were not ideology at all; the group of 8 follow that presentation. They claim that
'The ANC is not a political party committed to any political ideology.'(!!)
But, in fact, the history of its whole struggle has forced the ANC to reject this formlessness, just as it has for so many other revolutionary organisations. For such organisations as FRELIMO, MPLA and the PAIGC, it was the maturing of ideology, and steadfast safeguarding of their political line which enabled them to fight and defeat not only Portuguese fascism but also racist reaction and bourgeois nationalism in the ranks of their peoples. The importance of commitment to a revolutionary political ideology was stressed by the great Amilcar Cabral, speaking from the African experience:
'The ideological deficiency, not to say the total lack of ideology, within the national liberation movements - which is basically due to ignorance of the historical reality which these movements claimed to transform -constitutes one of the greatest weaknesses ofour struggle against imperialism, if not the greatest weakness of all ... Nobody has yet made a successful revolution without a revolutionary theory.' (Revolution in Guine -an African
People's Struggle p. 75).
In Guine the working class, in the sense in which Communists use the term, hardly existed; and yet Cabral goes on:
'We know that a struggle of the kind we hoped to lead-and win-had to be led by the working class; we looked for the working class in Guine and did not find it... We realised that we need to have people with the mentality which could transcend the context of the national liberation struggle, and so we prepared a number of cadres from the 'small group of urban workers'.., and even some peasants so that they could acquire what you might call a working class mentality... We are not a Communist Party or a Marxist-Leninist Party but the people now leading the peasants in the struggle in Guine are mostly from the urban milieu and connected with the urban
wage-earning group.'

Of tribalism in the Guine-Bissau struggle, Cabral emphasised the way in which it is exploited mainly by 'detribalised individuals or groups within the national liberation movement'. These groups corruptly play on tribal divisions to create a power-base for themselves in order to advance their careers. In the middle sixties, this is precisely what some of the leading members of the group of 8 were attempting to do within the ANC.
BEATING THE RACIST AND ANTI-COMMUNIST DRUM
But now they are beating another drum, equally emotive and basically racist. In this respect too, they again follow the patterns set by the PAC in 1958. The group's statements and other pronouncements are filled with such phrases and expressions as 'non-African clique', 'the white-led CP', the 'failure of the nonAfricans to humble themselves' and 'submit themselves' and so on. 'The

Morogoro Conference', they say, 'was a multi-racial affair'. This, they assume, damns it beyond redemption.
On the surface their main complaint is against the Morogoro decision to integrate non-African revolutionaries into the ANC's External Mission. Yet all those in the group of 8 who were present at the Conference neither voted nor spoke against the decision. We will return to the way in which this decision has been distorted. But for the moment we should ask what lies behind their policy of denying all non-African revolutionaries any place or any effective part to play in the work of the External Mission of the African National Congress. This policy means, in effect, that there is no place at all for a non-African revolutionary in exile, as they are well aware. For there is a long-standing decision adopted by the African National Congress leadership in the early sixties and endorsed by all the other partners in the Congress Alliance, that the whole South African liberation movement abroad would be represented to the outside world by the ANC only, acting for all and in the name of all.
Can it be that the group of 8 is saying that Indian and Coloured comrades on Robben Island and white comrades in Pretoria prison, some serving terms of life imprisonment for their part in both armed and unarmed struggle, should not have played a part, but should have restricted themselves to organising only among their own communities? Are they saying that non-African revolutionaries like Basil February, killed alongside Patrick Malaoa in Umkhonto's fighting ranks against racist troops, had no.right to participate in the ANC's External Mission, or even to be a member ofthe ANC's Revolutionary Council? But, of course, they are saying all this. And, we suspect, more than this. Their prime purpose is to create a constituency for themselves and their reactionary ideology by appealing to racist emotionalism, prejudices and political backwardness. Once again they ape the PAC who used precisely the same arguments when they were expelled from the ANC in the late fifties, long before the Morogoro decision was taken. It did not take long for the PAC to demonstrate what was really behind their attack on so-called non-African influence in the ANC. Shortly after their

formation, they brought the white Liberal Patrick Duncan into their leadership and made him their official representative in Algeria; Gora Ebrahim became their chief ideologist and spokesman in Dar es Salaam; and others were brought into their top leadership. These acts fully exposed the hypocrisy and dishonesty of their criticism of the ANC. Clearly the truth is that white, Coloureds and Indians are acceptable as long as they are anti-Communist, anti-Soviet, and not left. The real attack on the ANC, then, was an attack on revolutionary nationalism, and the emotionally-charged approach of racism provided the smokescreen under which the attack was launched. Leballo in fact said as much when he let slip that 'The African people in general... know them (the non-white partners in the Alliance), and when we want to fight for our rights, these people weaken us. This is so because they use campaigns for their own ends and also because the government will not listen to our
requests and demands because of their outlook.' four emphasis]

In the case of the expelled group of 8 it is equally clear why they are using the racist argument: firstly they hope that in the atmosphere of emotion that they build up by talk of 'non-African cliques' and 'hijacking of the ANC', the real reason why they were excluded from the top leadership of the ANC will be forgotten. Secondly, whilst the racialist bogey cannot be used against African Communists (who constitute the overwhelming majority of our Party's leadership and membership) it becomes a convenient weapon of attack against national leaders like Dadoo and other non-African Communists.

THE LIES AND DISTORTIONS

The offensive which has been launched by the group of 8 against the ANC and the SACP is 'supported' by a stream of lies and distortions mostly about events which occurred some years ago. They hope that people who did not take part in these events will be misled into becoming hostile towards the leadership of the ANC and its allies in the liberation struggle. Let us examine just a few of the lies, distortions and half-truths which the group is attempting to spread.

WHY THE MOROGORO CONFERENCE WAS CALLED

The group of 8 states that the 1969 Morogoro Conference was called under pressure from the SACP and minority groups.

THE FACTS

The decision to call the Conference was taken unanimously by the NEC of the ANC which at that stage included four members of the group of 8 and the late Robert Resha whose name is being opportunistically exploited by the dissidents. Those who were present at the Conference could have had no doubt that it was convened because of the overwhelming feeling ofthe rank-and-file ofthe ANC and

Umkhonto that a radical reappraisal was needed in a number of important areas. It was clearly felt necessary:

(a) to create a more effective division between external and internal work by setting up special machinery under the NEC which would devote itself exclusively to problems ofthe internal struggle without being diverted by external solidarity work.

(b) to examine the composition of the National Executive Committee which had, by external co-option, grown to an unwieldy size. In addition, the personal misconduct of some of the Executive members had been severely criticised by the rank-and-file who were, as a result, beginning to lose confidence in the leadership.

(c) to find an effective place in the ANC's External apparatus for non-African revolutionaries who were expected (by a decision of the ANC at home) not to create their own separate external units.

The preparations for the Conference were perhaps the most remarkable that any exile movement has undertaken. A six-month period of intense, uninhibited and democratic discussion was encouraged. Literally scores of individual and collective written memoranda and other contributions had been submitted. In other words, it was perhaps the most representative and the most democratic ANC assembly since the days of legality. Just as the pressure for the Conference clearly

came from the rank-and file and the cadres in the camps, so it was the same groups who were the prime influence on the decisions which finally emerged.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE MOROGORO CONFERENCE

The false version of the group of 8 is that the Morogoro Conference was unduly influenced and dominated by non-Africans. In the Makiwane memorandum it is described as 'a multi-racial affair which was attended by Africans, Coloureds, whites and Indians'. The innuendo is clear and is intended once again to invoke the ghost of 'racial parity'.

THE FACTS

The non-Africans who attended were in fact appointed as delegates by the ANC's executive (which at that stage included men like Makiwane, Resha and Matlou) to ensure the presence of at least a few comrades who had connections with the ANC's allied organisations-the SACP, SAIC, CPC and SACTU. In any case, non-Africans formed a minute proportion of those who attended. Out of approximately 70 to 80 delegates there were only three coloureds, five Indians and three whites. The proceedings themselves were overwhelmingly dominated, both in numbers and in contributions, by the rank-and-file delegates, particularly from Umkhonto.

THE CHANGE IN LEADERSHIP

The change that took place in the composition ofthe National Executive Committee

of the ANC has been described by the group of 8 as a sinister manoeuvre resulting from pressure by the Communists and the non-African groups who attended Morogoro.

THE FACTS

Morogoro did not dismiss the NEC of the ANC. The NEC in fact came to Morogoro with the announcement that it had resigned en bloc and that it had mandated the Acting President General with full powers (assisted by the late J.B. Marks and Moses Mabhida) to reconstitute the Executive. The Acting President General announced that in carrying out his mandate he had been guided only by the African delegates at the Conference whose views he had canvassed. During the proceedings the delegates from the camps did not hide their outrage about the personal misconduct of some of the officials and members of the NEC. Most of those belonging to the dissident clique who were members of the NEC were also targets for such criticisms.

The non-African delegates to the Conference were neither singly nor collectively consulted on the composition of the new Executive. The Conference was informed that Executive members Temba Mqota (Alfred Kgokong) and Ambrose Makiwane had already been suspended from the Executive because of their preMorogoro attempts to organise an anti-leadefship faction. When the names of the new Executive were announced all members of the previous Executive, such as Makiwane, Resha, Joe Matlou and others who were present at Morogoro, pledged their support to the new leadership and offered their services in any capacity. It should also be recorded that some of those who were not reappointed

to the new Executive were S.A. Communist Party members who had also forfeited their right to serve on the leadership because of personal misconduct.

NON-AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARIES

The version spread by the group of 8 about the decision to integrate non-African revolutionaries into the ANC's External Mission is a deliberately misleading and grotesque distortion of the facts.

THE FACTS

It is now conveniently 'forgotten' by those in the group of 8 who were present at Morogoro, that they did not speak or vote against the decision to integrate the nonAfrican revolutionaries into the External Mission of the ANC. They in fact joined in the unanimous and tumultuous cheering which accompanied the adoption of this decision.

What in fact was actually decided? The decision was to integrate Coloured, Indian and white revolutionaries into the External Mission of the ANC. For this purpose branches were to be formed in those areas with a big concentration of

South African exiled revolutionaries. The group of 8 has selected this decision (to which some of them were a party) as their main target for attack. It is in this area that their dishonesties, distortions and half-truths reach truly monumental proportions.

In every one of their pronouncements, including the above-quoted Makiwane statement, they baldly state that 'ANC membership has been opened to whites, Indians and Coloureds' but they dishonestly omit to mention that the decision explicitly referred ONLY TO THE EXTERNAL MISSION OF THE ANC. They also conveniently omit to mention that the decision EXPLICITLY EXCLUDED NON-AFRICANS FROM SERVING ON THE NEC OF THE ANC.

What then was behind the decision to allow non-Africans to participate at CERTAIN LEVELS of the External Mission? A brief look at some relevant post-1960 developments will throw light on this question.

We have already referred to the decision which was taken by the internal leadership of the ANC that, externally, its representatives should be the sole spokesmen on behalf of the liberation alliance and that the SAIC, CPC and COD should not establish separate external missions. This decision was taken after the break-up of the United Front which had operated outside for a short while and had included the PAC. It was endorsed by the leadership of the SACP and the other Congresses itfside the country. Thereafter, as a result of the post-Rivonia terror, most internal organised levels of the liberation front (including the ANC) were, for a time, completely destroyed or incapacitated. It became necessary for the external forces to assume greater responsibility in many areas including the most important area of internal reconstruction.

Hence, inside the country the Congress Alliance in the form that it was moulded in the 50s, ceased to exist. And outside the country non-African revolutionaries loyal to the original decision about the ANC's external mission could neither create their separate communal organs nor participate as members of those ANC organs also mandated to speak on their behalf. In addition there was widespread

recognition that with the disappearance of the Congress Alliance there was no longer any public expression (either inside or outside the country) of the true character of the revolutionary front in South Africa and, in particular, of the nonracial content of our struggle. Indeed, reports indicated that the sudden disappearance at all public levels of the liberation front of leaders like Dadoo (whom the South African masses had always regarded as more than merely communal leaders) was being interpreted by many as reflecting a new policy of African exclusiveness.

It was partly in order to deal with these important problems that in the midsixties the NEC created a new apparatus in London under the late Robert Resha. In terms of his mandate Resha created an ANC collective which included nonAfricans. At about the same time, leaders like Dadoo and September were being appointed to represent the African National Congress at international conferences as part of its own delegation and not as representatives of the CPC or SAIC. The

practice also began of inviting leading personnel like Dadoo, September and Slovo to some of the extended meetings of the NEC. Executive members like Resha, Matlou and Makiwane welcomed this procedure and indeed were partly responsible for establishing it in the late 60s. They were also part of the collective which ensured that the Morogoro Conference was what they now disparagingly call a 'multi-racial affair'. What was different about Morogoro was not the fact that it had the usual sprinkling of leading non-African revolutionaries, but that it decided to find a place within the ANC External Mission (at levels below the top leadership) for non-African and rank-and-filers who had proved themselves in the struggle.

The Strategy and Tactics document adopted by the Morogoro Conference showed no ambiguity on the ANC's approach to collaboration with other revolutionary groups. Now, six years after the event, the group also, for the first time, dissociate themselves from the ANC Strategy and Tactics Document which they say 'was never discussed in the Conference'. Yet at the Conference itself they voted in favour of the document which like all others had been circulated for discussion long before the actual Conference took place. It stated:

'Whatever instruments are created to give expression to the unity of the liberation drive, they must accommodate two fundamental propositions: firstly they must not be ambiguous on the primary role of the most oppressed African mass and, secondly, those belonging to the other oppressed groups and those few white revolutionaries who show themselves ready to make common cause with out aspirations, must be fully integrated on the basis of individual equality. Approached in the right spirit these two propositions do not stand in conflict but reinforce one another. Equality of participation in our national front does not mean a mechanical parity between the various national groups. Not only would this in practice amount to inequality (again at the expense of the majority), it would lend flavour to the slander which our enemies are ever ready to spread of a multi-racial

alliance dominated by minority groups. This has never been so and will never be so.
'Therefore, not only the substance but the form of our structural creations must, in a
way which the people can see, give expression to the main emphasis ofthe present stage of our struggle. This approach is not a pandering to chauvinism, to racialism or to other such backward attitudes. We are revolutionaries, not narrow nationalists. Committed revolutionaries are our brothers, to whatever group they belong. There can be no secondclass participation in our movement. It is for the enemy we reserve our assertiveness and
our justified sense of grievance.'
And indeed the apparatus created after Morogoro in no way departed from this approach. The Executive retained its 100% African character. The Revolutionary Council (which includes one white, one Indian and one Coloured) is overwhelmingly African in both numbers and executive function. Every external mission is .(with the exception of New Delhi and London) headed by an African. It therefore seems clear beyond any doubt that the continuous attack on the London office of the ANC because it is represented by a national leader like Reg September (who happens to be Coloured) is either crude Vorster-type racism or is cynically used as a cover for advancing corrupt political ambitions.

THE CONGRESS ALLIANCE
On this question, as on so many others, the group of 8 invents 'facts' which it then supports with racist slander. Their document states that the Congress Alliance was dissolved in 1960 for 'two important reasons': one, the ANC and the COD were outlawed and the COD disbanded itself; two, the ANC decided to embark on armed struggle, 'but some of the constituents of the Alliance, the South African Indian Congress and the Coloured People's Congress, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, did not adopt the policy of armed struggle.' The group alleges that the non-African section outside wanted to revive this Alliance in its original form but 'the main basis ofthe ANC's rejection (ofthis attempt) was on the ground that the non-African contingent and their organisations had to consider the repercussions for all involved in a situation wherein some organisations had adopted a policy of armed struggle whilst others had not'.
THE FACTS
In the first place it is not true that the Congress Alliance was dissolved in 1960 or at any stage in the sense described by the group of 8. After the outlawing ofthe ANC, the Alliance continued to operate in clandestine conditions. Leaders of the Congress Alliance met regularly and there is public evidence of raids by the Security Police on some of these meetings under the chairmanship ofthe late Chief Albert Lutuli. This arrangement continued until the Rivonia setback which, as we have seen, for a time destroyed most internal levels of organisation of the whole liberation front. In this sense it could be said that it was enemy action which effectively destroyed the Congress Alliance inside the country. The policy of armed struggle was initiated in 1961 (and not 1960) by the ANC and the SACP

(a fact which is deliberately omitted by the group of 8). For tactical reasons both organisations decided that the armed wing of the liberation movement - Umkhonto - should operate as an 'independent' body. It was some time after the commencement of the sabotage campaign in December 1961 that MK's connection with the liberation movement was divulged externally by Robert Resha.

For the same tactical reasons (which seem very obvious) it was decided that the SAIC, CPC and SA CTU should not do anything to jeopardise their legality by an open commitment to armed struggle.

But right from its inception Umkhonto (by decision of its founders -the ANC and SACP) incorporated militant revolutionaries from every section of the Congress Alliance. Robben Island and Pretoria are still filled with 'a fair share' of Indian, Coloured and white revolutionaries who 'waged war'. And the group of 8 have the temerity to say 'how very immoral indeed are some people to speak of a Council of War before they have even taken a decision to wage war'. How very immoral indeed are some people, like Makiwane and Mqota, who have never lifted a finger to engage in war whilst in South Africa, to talk this racist reaction about

the Kathradas, the Naidoos, the Februarys, the Aprils, the Goldbergs and the Fischers!!

But in any case it is completely untrue to suggest that there was an attempt outside by any group to revive the defunct Congress Alliance in exile in the form in which it had been historically formed in the 50s. Certainly as far as our Party is concerned the position we consistently adopted is contained in the 1970 report to a Plenary Session of our Central Committee which says:

'Our movement has moved away from the concept that the Alliance necessarily implies a single formal defined structure. We see it operating at a number of levels and simultaneously in a number of different ways. We must discover and integrate individual revolutionaries. We must achieve a broad collaboration between the ANC and the other community bodies. We must cement a formal working relationship between the Party and the ANC and so on. As our work inside the country develops, consideration will have to be given to the need for collaboration between our revolutionary movement and other bodies such as student, trade union, peasant movements etc. This will not necessarily imply the incorporation of these bodies into a formal front with a defined structure. It is clear that in this sphere there can be no rigidity. The different structures which are created from time to time must serve the political needs and the political realities. The pimary problem at each stage is the mobilisation of the maximum number of forces for revolutionary aims. The precise manner of achieving this is complex and many-sided and

must not necessarily be sought for in a single formula and a single structure.'

THE PARTY

It is for our Party that the group of 8 reserves its most poisonous distortions. In their hymn of hate against us, they falsify our history and deliberately distort the composition of the Party and the true nature of its relationship with the liberation

movement. We say 'deliberately' because in the case of at least two of the clique (Kgokong and Makiwane) they were both members of the SACP during the 50s. Both were subsequently expelled when, outside the country, they attempted to use the Party as a base for their tribalist and factionalist activity against the ANC. Examining only the opening paragraph of the section in the Makiwane document headed 'The South African Communist Party', we find that every single line bristles with deliberate distortions and lies. The paragraph reads:

'The SACP was formed in 1921 as a white organisation. It remained as such for a full decade and when, during the thirties, it decided to recruit Africans into its ranks, it was to pursue a consistently incorrect policy on the national question. For instance it resisted the slogan of the Communist International calling for the setting up of a Black Republic in South Africa, and it opposed all moves aimed at consolidating African trade unionism, insisting on a multi-racial set-up despite the fact that the white working class had shown its determination to carve for itself a position of privilege and was to support Industrial
Colour Bar and Job Reservation.'

It is a fact of history that the SACP emerged largely from the organised white labour movement at a time when the black proletariat was still in its infancy and the white working class as a whole had not yet been fully co-opted politically into the ruling class. Nevertheless, right from its inception its constitution was non-racial

and its membership included blacks. It is untrue that the Party was a white organisation for a decade and that it only began recruiting Africans into the Party in the thirties. Already by 1928, of the 1,750 Party members, 1,600 were Africans. It was also during the middle and late twenties that names famous in South Africa's working class and national movements, like J.B. Marks, Moses Kotane, Albert Nzula, Gana Makabeni, E.T. Mofutsanyana, Johannes Nkosi, Josie Mpama, were already leaders and activists of the Party. By 1929 Albert Nzula was the Assistant General Secretary of the Party and was acting as Editor of its official organ, The S.A. Worker. Gumede, the President-General of the ANC, told the February 1927 Congress of the League Against Imperialism in Brussels:

'I am happy to say that there are Communists in South Africa. I myself am not one, but it is my experience that the Communist Party is the only party that stands behind us and
from which we can expect something.'

And at the ANC's annual conference in June 1927, in his Presidential Report President Gumede said:

'Of all political parties, the Communist Party is the only one that honestly and sincerely
fights for the oppressed people.'

It is also a fact of history that the call for a Black Republic was adopted at the Party's 7th Congress in 1929. True enough (and understandably) a spirited debate within the Party preceded the adoption of this history-making policy. But our Party has the distinction of being the first organisation in the history of our

Continent to call unambiguously for black majority rule on the basis of universal suffrage. This was at a time when even the ANC stopped short of this demand. Why then do the authors ofthe Makiwane document falsify so blatantly when they say that the Party 'resisted the slogan'?

It is also a fact ofhistory that from the twenties onwards Communists were right in the forefront of attempts to build and consolidate African trade unions. By 1926 Black Communists were active enough in the ICU to provide Kadalie and his liberal advisers with the excuse to push through a resolution excluding Communist Party members from holding office in the ICU. This move was, like all such moves, designed to steer the ICU towards a more 'moderate' and 'sensible' policy. Already at its 3rd Congress in 1924 the Party decided that failure by the existing trade unions to admit African workers required the Party to go all out to organise separate African unions. It was the Communist Party and its activists which both inspired and helped to build the Federation of Non-European Trade Unions in the twenties and thirties and the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions in the forties. It was our Central Committee who went on trial for the Party's role in helping to build the African Mineworkers' Union and supporting the historic African mineworkers' strike of 1946. Communists were again in the forefront of those who, in the fifties, helped found and organise the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the membership of which was overwhelmingly black. And against all this incontrovertible evidence, we are now told by this

middle-class clique that the SACP 'opposed all measures aimed at consolidating African trade unions'.

We have dealt with the opening paragraph of the group's diatribe against our Party as an example of their reckless and deliberate disregard for truth. The balance of their document is equally studded with petty lies. They know (certainly those of them who were members ofthe Party during the fifties) that in the stirring campaigns ofthe fifties our illegal Party played a most important role. Yet they say that after dissolving in 1950 the Party 'remained dormant for a whole decade'. Some of them know too that the overwhelming majority of the membership and the leadership of the Party is black, yet they nevertheless spread the smear that it is 'white-led'. They are aware that by the fifties the Party's illegal network had spread to every major South African centre, and that by 1960 five underground national conferences had already taken place. And yet they resort to another childish invention that the Party had to 'rely on a number of members of the ANC to help out' with the first illegal leaflet distribution. On this question, too, the jails of South Africa have the answer: Robben Island and South Africa's other jails hold many of the Party's leaders and activists.

It is clear from the few distortions we have dealt with that there is no limit to the depths to which this group is prepared to sink in its unprincipled assault against our Party and all sections of the liberation movement.

Above all the group has attempted to distort the true character of the collaboration between our Party and the national movement.

Our movement has never hidden the fact that there is a relationship between the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party on those questions of policy which both organisations share in common. In particular both organisations believe that in the present stage of the revolutionary process in South Africa, the primary aim is the national liberation of the most exploited and most oppressed section of the South African people -the Africans. It is well known that throughout the forties, fifties, and sixties, the two organisations collaborated on many issues. Dr A.B. Xuma was meeting with representatives of the Communist Party. Chief Lutuli had the closest working relationship with Comrade Moses Kotane who was both General Secretary of the S.A. Communist Party and also a member of the NEC of the African National Congress.
'This collaboration', says the Central Committee report to the 1970 Plenary Session, 'is not, as our enemies always allege, a ploy to create front organisations or to 'capture' fraternal organisations and transform them into wings of the Party. Indeed, where objective circumstances require it, the true independence and political expression of other social forces (whether economic or national) must be safeguarded both in the letter and in the spirit. A Party exercises its vanguard role in relation to trade unions not by capturing them or transforming them into wings ofthe Party, but by giving correct guidance in the best interests of their members; and by individual Communists proving that they are the most loyal, the most devoted and the most ideologically clear members. The same principle applies when we examine a situation such as ours in which the main content of the immediate struggle in our country is the liberation of the African people whose national movement is devoted to this end.'

In the middle sixties, the late Robert Resha was the first to announce externally at a meeting in London (when questioned about the need for liberation unity) that there was in fact liberation unity in South Africa and that it correctly expressed itself in an alliance between the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the other Congresses. In deeds, as well as in words the basis of collaboration between the two organisations has always been founded on a respect for the absolute organisational integrity and independence of each.
In his closing address to the Morogoro Conference, Oliver Tambo received a prolonged standing ovation when he exhorted the delegates present to:
'wage a relentless war against disrupters and defend the ANC against provocateurs and enemy agents. Defend the revolution against enemy propaganda, whatever form it takes.
Be vigilant, comrades. The enemy is vigilant. Beware of the wedge-driver, the man who creeps from ear to ear, carrying a bag full ofwedges, driving them in between you and the next man, between a group and another, a man who goes round creating splits and
divisions. Beware of the wedge-driver, comrades. Watch his poisonous tongue.'
And now the wedge-drivers who had been working behind closed doors against the whole liberation movement and its policies have come out into the open. They

are part of the impure load which every revolution carries and when that load is thrown aside the journey to victory is always a swifter one.

DOCUMENT 132:

'The Way Forward from Soweto', extract from political report adopted by the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, April 1977.

The key to the future of the whole of Southern Africa and, indeed, the whole ofour continent, is the liberation of South Africa itself. It is this question which dominates the thinking and actions of Vorster, and of world reaction which stands at his side. Their tactics in the sub-continent are undoubtedly guided by the desire to 'save' South Africa for the west; and today they work more urgently than ever to block any revolutionary advance in this main citadel of imperialism on the African continent. They do so, however, against the background of improved prospects of internal struggle brought about by changes in the Southern African situation and by the stirring events of the past year inside our own country. The minority regime in South Africa faces a crisis of considerable magnitude, which found dramatic expression in the upsurge which hit the world headlines in June 1976. The Soweto and connected events clearly demonstrate the new mood of revolutionary militancy which grips the mass of our people. Our youth have shown unambiguously their readiness to sacrifice and, if need be, to die in the struggle against the minority regime. Our strong and experienced working class

responded magnificently to calls for political general strikes which involved about a quarter of a million workers since June 1976 and inflicted great damage on the economy. In the Cape the Coloured youth and workers joined hands with their African brothers at a time when the regime is trying desperately to drive a wedge between them.

A most significant feature of this upsurge is the persistence with which the youth in particular maintained their revolutionary buoyancy in the face of the regime's response to the Soweto revolt, which was perhaps more vicious than any in our modern history of struggle. The mass killings on the streets, the torture and murder in the jails, and the administrative actions against all forms of opposition, have been more intensive than in the post-Sharpeville and post-Rivonia periods. Yet the terror has not, on this occasion, created a mood of defeatism or submission; on the contrary all the signs show that the spirit of defiance and the search for ways of hitting the enemy continue.

THE ROAD TO SOWETO

The events in what has become known as the Soweto revolt are not isolated happenings; they have their roots in the crisis which has been building up at every level of the socio-economic structure. South Africa has suffered not only from the general crisis of the imperialist west, of which it is part, but also from the special contradictions inherent in the Apartheid framework.

Inflation is rampant, but it hits the overwhelming black majority with an especially vicious effect. Unemployment is rising, but its scale among the oppressed majority is vast, with estimates of two million black unemployed by the

end of this year. Developments in Southern Africa put at risk South Africa's supply of foreign contract labour for its mines. Industry suffers from a shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour, which arises directly from the historically-based restrictions on black entry into most levels of skilled operations. Vorster's aggressive aims in Southern Africa and the mobilisation of greater force against the liberation movement, continue to bleed away economic resources into military expenditure, this year increased to over one thousand six hundred million Rand. Periodic rises in the adverse balance of trade, falls in the financial reserves, and a dangerous slowing down in the rate of economic growth, are all symptoms of serious economic instability. And, as admitted by the regime, the political crisis since June has, in turn, reacted back on the economic situation to further increase the regime's difficulties.

From the early 1970s the Black working class responded to deteriorating economic conditions and to the growing gap between white and black incomes by strike action in every part of the country, involving hundreds of thousands of workers. Long before Soweto, the youth engaged in sporadic acts of defiance in the schools and in the universities. And in the country areas many acts of resistance were recorded against the regime's population resettlement policy, which empowers it to remove settled African communities from one part of the country to another.

The intensity of the Soweto events reflects the development over the years of these basic people's reactions to the growing crisis of Apartheid. At the political level, unbroken efforts by our Party and the whole liberation movement, headed by the ANC, maintained that spirit ofresistance, and helped lay the foundation for the growth of the heightened revolutionary mood which is in evidence. And, amongst large numbers of the new militants thrown up by the activities, there is a growing awareness of the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism and a search for the correct politics of social revolution.

SOWETO ASSESSED

What happened in the streets of South Africa from June 1976, including industrial supporting actions by large sections of the workers, is relatively well known. There is no doubt that, taken as a whole, the Soweto events have opened a new chapter in the history of the revolutionary struggle.

As always, during popular upsurges, the people themselves 'provide an astonishing amount of new material for an appraisal ofthe slogans of revolutionary parties' (Lenin, Selected Works, p. 457).

The inventiveness and ingenuity of the youth in particular showed boundless revolutionary imagination. Throughout the period, tactics were varied and new forms of maintaining the pressure were found. At the beginning, the children of Soweto simply faced police bullets and flushed away the tear gas with water, or bravely hurled back the canisters. Later, more sophisticated actions were evolved. The youth soon learnt the folly of facing Vorster's terrorists in the open streets in large numbers and they switched to operating in small groups under the cover of darkness. Many police vehicles and 'Hippos' were ambushed and destroyed.

Barricades were erected to slow down the enemy and to provide cover in time of attack. Home-made incendiary devices were quickly in evidence. The people also turned their attention to the government collaborators amongst them and to the police informers. The organised destruction of property which symbolised the racist system of oppression was carried out by well-planned actions of small organised units.

There was an early recognition by the youth that to succeed they needed to mobilise the support of their parents and the mass of the workers, and this culminated in the three stirring solidarity strikes by the working class in Johannesburg and Cape Town. The young demonstrators learnt to use the tactic of subterfuge to take the struggle out of the black township and to show the people's anger right in the heart of cities like Cape Town. There, the whole population had a taste of the savagery and brutality of the racist armed forces. This tactic was quickly taken up by the youth of Soweto who, despite the ubiquitous BOSS network, secretly assembled at strategic points and marched on John Vorster Square, taking the police by surprise.

There were periods during the upsurge when the racist law-enforcement

agencies were partly paralysed, making pass raids and rent collection impossible, and making it dangerous for Bantu Administration officials, isolated groups of policemen etc. to walk the streets or to have any contact with the people.

Soweto closed the debate about the legitimacy of resorting to the armed struggle. It made it abundantly clear to the world and the racist regime that our people have reached a stage where they are no longer prepared to behave like sheep led to the slaughter house; they are no longer prepared to let other people decide their fate as if they were inanimate objects.

Like the Angolan intervention, the Soweto revolt exposed the vulnerability of the South African ruling clique. Whilst Angola destroyed the myth of the South African military invincibility, Soweto demolished the myth that the government's security forces are able to destroy the people's revolutionary spirit.

An indelible mark has been made on the revolutionary and political consciousness of our people by the Soweto events. They raised the level of the people's preparedness and willingness to sacrifice to a higher level, enhancing enormously the striking power of the liberation movement.

SOWETO - SOME IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

But it is necessary to assess carefully the significance of these events, and to deal with certain questions which are relevant to the future conduct of our struggle. Who organised and led the upsurge? Was it only a youth revolt or did it involve wider class forces? What was the role of the ideology of Black consciousness? Why did the organised liberation movement not arm the people and so transform the street confrontations into effective insurrection? Were the conditions ripe for a successful nationwide revolutionary assault, needing only the element of more effective revolutionary leadership? These are the questions being discussed both inside and outside our movement, by some who seek to learn from the experience

of the events, and by others who wish to use them only to smear and belittle the liberation movement.
Yet it is our duty to face and answer these questiorns without any defensiveness against reactionary snipers, black or white. We must be on our guard, too, against emotional and immature approaches which confuse analysis with propaganda and which avoid a frank discussion of some of the objective and subjective limitations of these events, for fear that such a discussion will diminish the scale of the people's heroism and sacrifice and underestimate their potential for future revolutionary advance. On the contrary, we believe that an awareness of these limitations will equip us all the better to channel and increase the intensity of the new revolutionary energies which have undoubtedly emerged.
We have already said that the conditions which triggered off the Soweto events had their roots in a growing socio-economic crisis. But it is necessary to be clear on the magnitude of this crisis and to be more precise on the extent of the people's responses to it. It is important, then, to note the following inter-related factors:
(a) Despite the difficulties experienced by the enemy's law enforcement

agencies in a few of the townships, the enemy and the organs of the state power were not in such a state of collapse or disruption that the capacity of the ruling class to act cohesively and to contain militant actions, had been broken. The actions of a revolutionary movement, however well-organised, are not sufficient on their own to create a classical revolutionary situation. This, as Lenin has said, comes about through the maturing of special objective and subjective factors.
(b) The actions themselves although widely spread were neither altogether nation-wide in character nor did they involve the mass of the rural people. In two of the major urban centres, those around Johannesburg and Cape Town, the workers responded in large numbers, but primarily as an act ofsolidarity, without raising any independent demands on the issue of state power. The relatively weak response from the countryside reflects a very low level of rural liberation organisation. In the towns, too, the limited response in many areas (Natal, Eastern Cape and the OFS were relatively quiet) suggests an urgent need to improve levels ofpolitical and economic organisation, and of mobilisation, especially at the point of production.
(c) The people remain unarmed, and this fact obviously reduces the possibility of transforming the demonstration into an effective assault on state power.
(d) The political general strike has a prime place in our revolutionary tactics. It is, however, fallacious to believe that, in the absence of general insurrectionary conditions, the working class can be expected to 'starve' the ruling class into political submission by protracted withdrawal of labour. We remain convinced that in the appropriate conditions, generalised industrial action will be one of the most decisive factors in the struggle for people's power,
The question remains: why after sixteen years in which we have prepared for armed struggle, was the armed wing of the liberation movement unable to arm the people, or to ensure that the popular demonstrations would be combined with effective armed activity against the regime's army and police force?

The movement of which we are part has never been shy to examine critically its weaknesses, mistakes or failures. In previous analyses of the history of our attempts to begin armed struggle, we focussed attention on these weaknesses some of which continued into the recent period and undoubtedly limited our movement's ability to rise more effectively to the occasion. But mistakes apart, it is clear that the most serious obstacle to this aspect of our policy has been the extremely difficult and unfavourable internal and external conditions in which we have been forced to operate.

We have already stressed that radical changes in Southern Africa have substantially altered the geography of our struggle. This factor, together with the qualitatively new mood of defiance and resistance within our country, has undoubtedly created radically new and more favourable conditions for armed activity. But such activity cannot arise simply through overnight response to a changed political situation. Perhaps this problem can be more clearly understood if we recall that it was only its own experience in the Soweto and post-Soweto events themselves which taught the new generation of fighting youth the need to become part of an

organised national liberation force, the need to create well-organised underground networks, and the need to learn the skills required if the enemy is to be dealt with effectively. To translate all this intonew levels of revolutionary practice needs new effort and preparation by our liberation movement. In this sense the Soweto events have become an important launching pad for raising the struggle to a new level.

The events could not, in themselves, have been transformed into a successful allround armed uprising even if adequate stocks of weapons had been available. We must not play with the idea of an armed uprising by treating it as a question only of logistics and organisation.

Nor could the slogan 'Arm the people', which has such a revolutionary ring, have had real meaning in the absence of prior preparation of organised liberationmilitary structures within the country. The absence of these structures in sufficient strength when Soweto erupted is nbt the result of ineffective planning; it is more closely connected with the adverse conditions in which such planning had to take place in the pre-Soweto decade.

Peoples' armed conflict is a protracted process. Even though conditions now exist for the struggle to be extended enormously, we must not be tempted by the passion and excitement of the moment to spread a dangerous and damaging illusion that it will be short and swift. The enemy backed by imperialism still possesses considerable strength and resources. There is no doubt, however, that the new situation has brought closer than ever beforethe possibility of an effective beginning to the armed struggle. And there is already public evidence that units of Umkhonto we Sizwe have begun to act against the enemy.

SOWETO AND OUR LIBERATION MOVEMENT

What was the link between the Soweto upsurge and our liberation movement, and its long traditions of sacrifice and resistance? On the one hand, the regime has

repeatedly claimed that the demonstrations were manipulated by 'agitators' connected with the ANC and our Party. On the other hand, some critics of our movement totally deny the influence of its organised underground and its ideology on the events.
The demonstration of June 16 was called by SASM, a national school-student organisation which had been campaigning for some years on the issue of Bantu Education. But it is clear that what started as a protest by school students against the government's educational policies, soon extended to broader sections of the people and advanced wider demands. Although it remained essentially a youth revolt, it would be wrong to see it in purely generational terms, as if youth constitute an independent social force separate from the basic line-up of national and class forces. Such an approach is neither factually correct nor does it help to understand the role of the students in the coming struggle for people's power. Already, some are insisting that this new force of 'student power' will lead the people to victory. This same kind of theoretical confusion was spread after the 1968 French events when it was claimed that students now stand in the vanguard of the

revolution and that a contradiction exists between the 'revolutionism' of the students and the 'conservatism' and 'moderation' of the older generations including the working class.
The overwhelming majority of those who organised and took part in the demonstrations came from working class homes and they were encouraged in their actions by their parents. Many of the teachers played an important supporting role. Amongst those who participated in the street confrontations from the very beginning were substantial numbers of non-students including thousands of unemployed working youth. Figures provided by the Johannesburg State pathologist on those killed by the police between 18 June and 18 August in the Johannesburg-West Rand area showed that approximately 50 per cent were over 20 years ofage, and 20 per cent were over 30 years of age. A major high point ofthe action was the three protest strikes in the six weeks between August and the middle of September. When the full saga of Soweto can be recorded without concern for security, it will be shown that soon after the initial demonstration, the whole Soweto community became involved in the ferment.
SASM itself was at all times an independent organisation. Although SASO influenced its formation, it was not run by SASO, the BPC or our liberation front, even though the ideological influences of all three organisations were present amongst its leaders. We have already noted that what started as a successful protest against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction soon expressed some of the broader aims of the national democratic revolution. The placards and slogans began to reflect the basic questions of race oppression and peoples' power. The ANC's slogan of Amandla! became an important password to distinguish friend from foe in the streets of struggle. From the early stages there is evidence that some of SASM's leaders turned to known activists of the ANC for advice and co-ordination. Since then, many more have joined the ranks of the

liberation movement and its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. During this period the ANC, through its propaganda apparatus and in other ways, helped mobilise supporting actions including a call in support of the strikes.
This brief outline is not advanced in order to suggest that the ANC organised or led the upsurge. Indeed, as it developed, the revolt showed the marks ofall popular upsurges which usually combine organised actions with others which are spontaneous and semi-spontaneous. Nor is it intended to claim that our underground had achieved such a peak of stiength that it was able to provide the necessary leadership at all the points of eruption. But it is clear that, both historically and in the more immediate sense, the ANC-led resistance movement was an important cornerstone of the upsurge. Its leadership in the immediate future will be the key factor in consolidating and advancing the revolutionary energies which have emerged. Certainly, Vorster and his allies have no illusions on this score. And this explains the heightened campaign ofterror against the ANC underground and the increased attempts to isolate it externally.

THE ROLE OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS We have, in a previous document, emphasised that the term 'Black Consciousness' does not, in itself, express a coherent programme or a strategy of struggle, still less a systematic ideology. Those who claim to be its adherents do not belong to a common organisation and they express a wide range of conflicting definitions of its content. Its very vagueness, organisationally and ideologically, makes it difficult to give complete answers about its impact on the Soweto upsurge.
But vague as it is, Black Consciousness undoubtedly acted as an inspiration to some patriots who understood it as a general assertion of national identity, pride and confidence, as a healthy response to the insulting arrogance ofthe white supremacists, and as a contribution to the psychological liberation of the African people. Understood in this way, it expresses an approach which was pioneered by the African National Congress and our Party and developed in the course of revolutionary practice. The mobilisation of the national energies of the black oppressed remains an indispensable weapon in the hands of the liberation movement. In this sense Black Consciousness is a vital constituent of the ideology of our liberation struggle.
It certainly acted as a 'conscientising' agent and contributed to the revitalised surge of nationalfeeling, especially amongst the youth.
But as a substitute for scientific social analysis, and as an alternative to the ideology of our liberation front, it becomes a harmful demagogic cliche. (Who is a patriot, Matanzima or Brain Fischer?) Those who apply the concept in this way, see the forces ranged against one another in our struggle only in colour compartments and they ignore the special character of the economic and class basis of South African racism. They fail to provide any guidelines for a real strategy of social change, on the fundamental nature of the forces (including black forces) from whom the enemy hopes to win collaboration, and the character of those classes and groups which can be neutralised or mobilised in favour of the liberation struggle. Used in place of genuine revolutionary doctrine, Black

Consciousness is a misleading ideology and weakens the cause which it purports to serve-the cause of national liberation. Recent events in Southern Africa-in Angola and elsewhere-have shown once again that merely paying lip-service to black nationalism is not the same as advancing the national cause and it is often a camouflage for those whose actions serve the enemy. The Savimbis and the Robertos trumpeted very loudly about their 'black nationalism' in their efforts to discredit the MPLA's principled adherence to non-racialism.

An ideology which proclaims colour as its sole foundation can more easily obscure the real issues because of its highly charged emotional content. For this reason Black Consciousness cannot appropriately express the vigorous revolutionary nationalism of our liberation movement.

BLACK COLLABORATION

The internal situation continues to be a political powder-keg. The sustained

resistance and the people's militant mood are aggravating the political and economic difficulties of the ruling class which is searching for ways of diverting the revolutionary pressures. The primary weapons against the people and our liberation movement remain brute force and administrative terror. But there is also an attempt to take measures and to use language which give the appearance of a retreat from aspects of race discrimination whilst leaving undisturbed, and even reinforcing, the main framework of race and economic exploitation.

In this way, the ruling class hopes to reduce external pressures and, in the language of counter-insurgency, to win the battle for the hearts and minds of the people. But the enemy's strategy is not confined to sweet talk and petty reforms both of which have so far made little impression. It hopes also to win the collaboration of groups amongst the oppressed whose economic and social status give them an interest in preventing a genuine revolutionary change.

A key element in this strategy is the creation in the Bantustan neo-colonies of an administrative elite and a class of petty capitalists entirely dependent on the racist state and its exploitative designs. In so-called white South Africa, whilst the massacres in the streets continue, a number of 'liberal' concessions have been made to win the support of the black middle class. Some restrictions on the business operations of Indian and Coloured traders have been eased. The government has promised more facilities for African traders in the black townships. An Indian bank and an African bank have been established, both in partnership with existing banking institutions. Certain of the limitations on black home ownership have been lifted.

The various black Chambers of Commerce have established close links with their white counterparts. At the political level institutions have been created- the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, the South African Indian Council, and lately, the Inter-Cabinet Council - which aim to involve upper-crust blacks in Apartheid administration. The purpose of these measures was clearly spelt out by the Transvaal Chamber of Industries in a memorandum to the Prime Minister on August 27, 1976:

'The urban Black middle class mbst be won over to the side of the Whites in order to contain, on a long-term basis, the irresponsible economic and political activities of the blacks who are influenced against their real interests from within and without our
borders'.
These views were echoed in a speech by a leading African trader at a recent business conference. He appealed for the lifting of existing business restrictions against blacks and stated that if the government did so,
'The black community will see the emergence of a middle class which will serve as a
bulwark against any political uprising in our country'. (SAIRR Survey 1976.)
It is from within the Black middle class that the ruling class seeks, support for the 'responsible' alternative to the radical policies of our liberation movement. Apart from economic concessions, it has also sharpened its ideological campaigns to

detach this middle class from the mainstream of our national movement in the hope that its influence and status will be used to win over other black classes for reformist rather than revolutionary policies.
The attack on the social aims of our liberation front has become more intense and is designed to spread the distortion that the small black middle class has more to lose than to gain from genuine peoples' power in a United South Africa.
On its own, the crude anti-ANC, anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda of the Vorster regime can find little response. Its record of racist brutality is so clear that even the most right-wing black quislings find it embarrassing to be caught in the act ofopen collaboration with it. But the strategy of our ruling class is advanced not only by the actions of its state apparatus, but also by some who pose as liberators and as champions of black freedom. They use all the nationalist catchphrases such as 'Black Power', 'one man one vote', 'majority rule' etc., but advocate policies which objectively serve the enemy. The ruling class has been joined by these elements in a campaign to weaken the influence of the ANC and the liberation front which it heads, and to prevent an effective assault on racist power. The meeting point between enemy strategy and the activities of these. elements is illustrated by the following examples.
Recently the US State Department announced that it was preparing scholarship places in US educational institutions for the hundreds of young militants who escaped from South Africa to find new ways of continuing the struggle. Shortly afterwards, Tsietsi Mashinini, one of the young Soweto militants, toured the United States and made a similar appeal for educational places, claiming that such training was necessary to make Africans fit for majority rule. He then went to Botswana to recruit young exiles for US academic institutions and appealed to them not to join the ANC's armed wing for military training. (World, 21.1 1977)
Drake Koka, the general secretary of the Black Allied Workers' Union, in an interview with Free Labour (January-February 1977) the organ of the ICFTU, when asked, 'what is your attitude to Young's statement that the US will launch a programme for training South African blacks to fit them for majority rule', replied

that it was an 'excellent project' because 'responsible leadership' was needed in South Africa. Koka claims inspiration from the ideology of Black Consciousness, Buthelezi uses the same language of white liberalism which searches for change without people's power and which rationalises its fear ofgenuineliberation byclaiming that the masses are not yet ready to run the country. He warned publicly that

'The very same powers which will destroy Apartheid will create a situation ofungovernability in post-Apartheid South Africa',

and

'We will not do anything in the name of liberation which will result in the defeat of Apartheid but at the same time reduce South Africa to an ungovernable conglomerate of conflicting interests. It is too high a price to pay for liberation'. (Sunday Tribune, 23 January, 1977.)

At the height of the Soweto disturbances in August 1976, the leaders or

representatives of all the Homeland governments, except the Transkei, met to discuss the situation. After the meeting the convenor, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, issued a joint statement to the press. 'Whilst understanding the impatience of the youth', it was stated, 'the Homeland leaders could not condone the wanton destruction of property'. (SAIRR Survey, 1976, p. 26.)

In October 1976 a meeting was held in Soweto attended by Bantustan chiefs Buthelezi, Ntsanwisi and Pathudi with 'fifty leading African politicians, civic leaders, trade unionists, professional men and women, student leaders and representatives of the Black Consciousness movement'. The meeting elected a steering committee under the chairmanship of Dr S.M. Nyembezi with aims which included the establishment of a 'disciplined black community and to work for the emergence of a true black leadership'. (SAIRR Survey, 1976.)

The racists undoubtedly welcome this kind of language. After all, they have been warning incessantly about the 'irresponsible' black leadership, about the chaos into which South Africa will sink if the ANC and its allies gain power, and about how unready the blacks are for majority rule.

On the question of our armed strategy for struggle this 'responsible' black leadership also plays into the enemy's hands. In our situation the argument against armed struggle is an argument either for no change at all, or for the kind of change which will, guarantee continued domination by the ruling class in a new form. Harry Oppenheimer showed that he clearly understands this argument when he warned the London Stock Exchange (May 15th, 1976) that the basic question is the survival of 'private enterprise' and that,

'It is quite wrong to suppose as is often suggested that all that is at issue here is whether the same solution is to be reached by peaceful means or by bloodshed. The important point to bear in mind is that any peaceful solution would be an entirely different solution

from any solution that is imposed by force.'

It is this 'entirely different solution' which is being worked for in Zimbabwe, N amibia and South Africa by the Carters, the Owens, the Smiths and the Vorsters.

And, in our case, reaction's efforts are reinforced by those within the black communities who either misguidedly or deliberately work against our liberation front's policy of combining mass political action with armed struggle.
THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS - ITS ROLE IN OUR STRUGGLE Despite the fact that most of these compromising gestures have come from members of the black middle class, we believe that the majority of this class can be won over for the aims of our liberation. Indeed, those of its members who continue to support and join our struggle cannot, for obvious reasons, openly identify with it, nor are their views publicised by a press controlled by the oppressors. During the Soweto events numerous traders, teachers and other professional groups sided with the people.
But in any case, the more fundamental question is whether the objective

economic and social position of the black middle class as a whole will lead the majority of its members to become permanent allies of the ruling class. Posed in another way, the question is whether the aims of our national movement continue to represent the aspirations of all the main classes within the ranks of the oppressed -workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie. To this question we give a positive answer.
The main content ol the present phase of our struggle continues to be the national democratic revolution to destroy internal colonialism. We believe that the achievement of this aim is in the interest not only of the black workers and peasants, but also of the black petty bourgeoisie.
But, like the petty bourgeoisie everywhere, it tends to vacillate between the ruling and exploited classes, depending partly upon the strength of the main antagonists in the struggle. The heightening by our liberation movement of confrontation with the ruling state will thus also help win over sections of the middle class.
We should bear in mind, too, that the middle and upper classes amongst the black groups (those already in existence and those in the process of formation) are not of exactly the same mould. For example, it is necessary to examine separately those in the Bantustans and those outside, and even within each group, to distinguish the strata which are more closely dependent on white patronage. There is already evidence that in the Bantustans the black upper crust is becoming an institutionalised instrument of the people's exploitation by the ruling class, and is progressively driven into the enemy camp. In the rest of South Africa the black petty bourgeoisie consists mainly of small businessmen, professional groups, those occupying minor administrative posts and low-level business executive positions, and so on. Each of these groups is, in different ways, torn between the complex of contradictory economic and political pressures, resulting in inconsistent responses to the regime. But they will, more often than not, find themselves at loggerheads with the ruling class whom they can serve only in an auxiliary capacity. Even when their economic position has improved, colour still determines the outside limit of their economic growth. In their daily life they will still come up against all the humiliations which every black experiences. Unlike

the petty-bourgeoisie elsewhere there is a total racist bar against their entry into the higher political and economic preserves of the privileged minority.
The consolidation of a broad liberation unity-cutting across simple class lines-does not imply that we ignore the different levels of commitment and degrees of consistency of the various class forces within the alliance.
It is clear that the dominant force in this alliance must be the working class and it is their supremacy in the new state form which will emerge after victory, which willprevent our revolution from grinding to a halt at the point ofa formal political take-over.

THE WORKING CLASS AND OUR PARTY

In the coming struggle for power the working class has a special role to play. The

economic struggles of the past few years and the recent successful political strikes, have provided it with new confidence in its organised strength. This strength must be used to press home the demand for the right to strike, the right to free trade union organisation, and above all, to advance the aims of the national liberation struggle.
In alliance with the working class and poor peasants in the countryside, the black proletariat is the most uncompromising enemy of race and class oppression and the most powerful force for national liberation. The working class gains nothing but misery from the Bantustans which are used as an excuse to deprive it of all rights and to hound it in the cities built by its labour. It has nothing to gain from the kind of liberation which gives a few blacks the opportunity to share in the people's exploitation. For the black working class, the biggest and most exploited section of the oppressed majority, there is only one way out-the complete defeat of racist supremacy and the creation of a people's government which will put South Africa on the road to socialism. There is little meaning in a liberation which does not destroy the economic power of the ruling class and the state apparatus which protects it. To ensure this kind of liberation requires a strongly organised working class with a special role in the alliance of political forces against the minority dictatorship.
The black working class must be on its guard against attempts by the white trade union movement to control the growth of black workers' organisations in industry. There can be no collaboration with those who side with the ruling class to ensure the maximum exploitation of the black workers. We believe in the true unity of all workers -African, Indian, Coloured and White. But there must be real equality and majority control. It is only when the white workers stop collaborating with our class enemy and act as part of a united working class that they will be welcomed as brothers,
The only trade union centre which has stood for genuine democracy and nonracialism in the trade union movement is the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Despite SACTU's formal legality, its principled adherence to the policies of the ANC-led liberation front has made it a target of intense persecution which has seriously interfered with its efforts to develop its organisational strength. It is necessary to search for ways of overcoming these obstacles. The tasks of building

SACTU, strengthening genuine trade unions and creating effective factory organisation need special study. It is, for example, necessary to examine more closely the use that can be made of the factory and liaison committee system, depending on actual conditions in the specific industry and factory. The building of legal trade unions in fascist conditions calls for a flexible application of general policy. This aspect of our policy is dealt with in greater detail in a separate document.

OUR PARTY AND THE LIBERATION ALLIANCE

The struggle of the black workers cannot be separated from the wider struggle

against racist oppression. The indivisible link which exists between class and national oppression in our country explains the need for a strong Communist Party and a well-organised trade union movement as part of the liberation alliance headed by the African National Congress. As already emphasised, this alliance is not only in the interests of the working class but also of all patriots; any attempts to weaken it will damage the prospects for revolutionary change in South Africa. Our Party has no immediate political aims separate from the aims of the national liberation movement headed by the ANC.

We stand united by the immediate and foremost task -the destruction of racist domination and the achievement of the aims of the National Democratic revolution whose main content is the liberation of the African majority and other oppressed black groups. We share, too, the belief that there can be no true liberation in South Africa without the destruction ofthe political and economic power of our ruling class and without people's control of the basic means of production.

Experience has proved, over and over again, that in our revolution collaboration between our two organisations has raised the level of the struggle and has been a mutually reinforcing influence. The two fundamental streams of revolutionary consciousness- national and class-have made an important impact upon one another and have enriched the indigenous application of the universal truths of revolutionary ideology,

Our claim that we are a vanguard party of the working class is in no way diminished by our close association with the national liberation front headed by the African National Congress. A Coinmunist Party does not earn the honoured title of vanguard merely by proclaiming it. For example, a working class Party does not exercise its vanguard role in relation to trade unions by capturing them or transforming them into wings of the Party, but rather by proving that the Party and its individual members are the most ideologically clear and the most devoted and loyal participants in the workers' cause. The same principle applies to a situation such as ours in which the main immediate instrument for the achievement of the aims of our national democratic revolution is a mass movement capable of galvanising all classes in an assault on racist power. The African National Congress is such an instrument and our loyal participation in the liberation front which it heads is in the best interests of the class whose vanguard we claim to be. This collaboration is not, as Vorster and some of his black

collaborators allege, a ploy to 'capture' the other bodies which are part of the alliance. We have always fought, and shall continue to fight for the complete independence and organisational integrity of the mass movements. Those of our members who have earned positions as mass leaders of the national movement have proved over and over again their devotion to, and respect for, the decisions of the democratically elected collectives of which they have been part.
In the same way we continue to assert the absolute right of our Party to exist as an independent organisation and to continue to exercise its public role as the advance vanguard of the working class. In the period under review our Party underground has been strengthened and has continued to provide a flow of

propaganda and agitational material both in support of the immediate aims of the liberation front and to spread the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Amongst these activities have been the regular circulation of an illegal edition of the African Communist and a special internal cyclostyled theoretical journal InkululekoFreedom. We have also circulated basic Marxist classics (some translated into African lanuages) and, following on the decisions of our last Central Committee meeting, a special message to The Workers of South Africa from our Party was widely distributed. It is obviously not possible in this document to elaborate fully the organisational tasks facing our Party in the internal situation and the measures required in order to carry them out. These have been reviewed and appropriate decisions have been taken.

THE WAY AHEAD

Despite the regime's mobilisation of greater and greater force, the mass killings and the increasing use of terror and torture, the people remain unbowed. Indeed, they stand ready, as never before, to respond to a lead which will raise the struggle above the level of street confrontation which, on its own, cannot lead to victory. Such a lead can only come from our liberation front, headed by the ANC, which is accepted by friend and foe alike as the most serious threat and challenge to racist oppression and exploitation. We have earned this honoured role because of a long history of dedication to the revolutionary cause. Even during the difficult days when little seemed possible we continued to stand up to the enemy and to keep the flame of resistance alive. The heroism and sacrifice of our militants, especially during the recent struggle-filled decades has added a new dimension to the long saga of the South African freedom struggle.
It is our movement which ushered in the new era of organised armed resistance and created its chief instrument, Umkhonto we Sizwe.
Despite vicious hounding, our revolutionary cadres have maintained and even strengthened our underground which has once again begun engaging the enemy in direct actions and has stepped up its political mobilisation of the people.
It is no accident that the Vorsters and the Krugers select the ANC and our Party as the chief targets for attack. They have taken note of the fact that since Soweto, of all the movements who claim an underground presence, it is only ours which was able to strike at the enemy at all and to play an important part in mobilising political support for the youth upsurge. They know, too, that the majority of our

youth in search of an underground capable of leading them both militarily and politically, are finding it in our liberation movement.
Above all, our movement is feared because we are committed to an ideology which aims to destroy not only every part of the framework of national oppression but also the foundations of economic inequality and exploitation on which that framework has been built,

At the beginning of the 1960s the people taught us that it was necessary to break with the strategy of the previous decade and to begin preparing conditions for combining political resistance with armed actions. The recent upsurge has emphasised that, given effective organisation and leadership, the revolutionary energies of the people have a limitless potential. Through their own experience in the recent struggles the people have begun to understand, more clearly than ever before, both the necessity and possibility of a revolutionary way forward in which victory will eventually be theirs through a combination of mass political resistance and organised armed struggle.
Failure on the part of our liberation movement to respond effectively during the coming period will put at risk the present high mood of militancy and lead to a demoralisation which will make it easier for the imperialist alliance to implement its plans for Southern Africa and for Vorster to successfully divert the formidable pressures which have built up inside our country.
Our liberation front clearly faces a historic challenge, and our Party, as part of this front, is called upon - as never before - to mobilise all its strength to help meet it.
Editorial Note:
In terms of the Transkei Constitution Amendment Act No. 3 of 1976 passed by the allwhite South African Parliament, the Transkei Bantustan, ruled under a state of emergency ever since the Pondo revolt of 1960, was granted its 'independence' from South Africa on October 26, 1976. To date the Transkei has been recognised by no state in the world except South Africa, and its 'independence'has been rejected as a fraud by the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations and world opinion generally.
DOCUMENT 133:
'Transkei Sham', statement published in the underground Inkululeko-Freedom, February 1977.
Unwanted and unloved by the oppressed people of South Africa, shunned by all the world, the 'independent' Transkei has arrived like a thief in the night.
Matanzima's Bantustan has not obtained 'independence' as a result of the demand or activities of any people's movement. The whole drive for Bantustan 'independence' comes from apartheid South Africa and not from the African people themselves. In fact, the Transkei is the only example in history of a people being forced to accept an 'independence' which was not wanted and never asked for.
Matanzima and Vorster claim the pre-independence elections which returned Matanzima to power were adequate tests of Transkei public opinion. In the very

first of those elections, way back in 1963, the Matanzima faction was hopelessly beaten, but Matanzima was pushed into power by the constitution drawn up by

Underground Resistance andArmed Struggle 433 the South African Government which vested majority power in the chiefs -appointed and paid by the South African Government and therefore mostly nothing more than civil servants. Since then Matanzima has been able to use his power to entrench himself in office and eliminate his opponents - sometimes physically by jailing them without trial, or destroying their homes and driving them into exile. It is noteworthy that the 'independent' Transkei recorded the death of its first detainee, Mr Thabo Mosala, detained in Butterworth under the notorious Proclamation R400. He is alleged to have died 'of internal haemorrhage caused by gastric ulcer'. Another Transkeian also died in detention during 1976, Mr Joyi Twasifene, but no date or details have been made public.

In not one of the four elections held in the Transkei has Matanzima been able to get a majority of the electorate to go to the polls. In the last election, held in September 1976, the main opposition leaders could not get on the ballot because they were in jail under Proclamation R400. As a result, 16 of the 75 elected seats were uncontested. In the remaining seats only 43.45% of the possible voters bothered to vote.

In other words, even if one uses Mat anzima's rigged elections as a yardstick, it is clear the majority of Transkeians voted against 'independence', by staying' away from the polls. It is obvious to them, as it is to the African people as a whole, that Translei 'independence' is not the same thing as national liberation. How can it be when the majority of the Xhosa-speaking people live and work outside the Transkei?

What sort of independence can the Transkei exercise when the key posts in its administration, army and security police are held by white South Africans; when two-thirds of its budget is contributed by the Vorster regime; when it has no separate economy and even has to import 90% of its food from South Africa?

PUPPET RULE OR PEOPLE'S POWER?

The whole concept of Bantustan and tribal 'independence' is based on the need of the white racists to divide and rule, for in their opinion this is the only way in which apartheid can be maintained against the opposition of the black peoples. They have devised the Bantustans as a means of side-tracking African revolution! Therefore, to accept Transkei 'independence'- or the 'independence' of any other Bantustan-is to help promote apartheid, to surrender the claim of the African people to full and equal citizenship in South Africa as a whole, where they have helped to build prosperity.

There may be a few pickings in the 'independent' Bantustans for the handful of bureaucrats and tyrants who will take over the reins of power. A few cabinet ministers will drive around in big black cars, and live in 40-roomed palaces. President Botha Sigcau will get R 17,000 a year, Kaiser Matanzima R 16,000, his brother George and other cabinet ministers R 13,500- plus farms and bottle stores they manage to acquire by corruption.

But the majority ofthe people of the Transkei will still live below the breadline, slaves to the white-dominated economy, and the capitalist class of South Africa, which will batten on their labour as it has always done in the past. Indeed, it is this special relationship which the Bantustans are designed to maintain. Like the 'Native Reserves' before them, they will remain reservoirs of cheap black tabour for the white man's economy. And there is nothing that Matanzima can or will do to change it. An agent ofthe white man boss, he has already pledged himself to the defence of apartheid South Africa and the West against the interests of the African continent and the whole anti-imperialist cause throughout the world. He is as much a puppet of South Africa as the Saigon clique was of the USA. Nationally and internationally he is on the wrong side of the fence, promoting the interests of the few at the expense of the many.

The African National Congress was founded in 1912 to promote the unity of the African people, and the struggles of the oppressed peoples in the ensuing decades have proved abundantly that it is only through African unity that tribal division can be overcome and national liberation achieved. The Communist Party has always supported the ANC in this objective and the programme ofthe Communist Party unhesitatingly affirms that the main content of the South African revolution is the national liberation of the African people and the establishment of a state of national democracy in South Africa.

The Transkei and other proposed 'independent' Bantustans are by no means immune from the revolutionary ferment sweeping Southern Africa and the black townships of our cities. These so-called 'homelands' are historically linked with urban protest and struggle, and our people in the countryside have always looked to the workers of the cities and the liberation movement for leadership. Already in the train of the Soweto uprising we have seen signs in the Transkei, Bophutatswana, KwaZulu, the eastern Transvaal and elsewhere, of our people resorting to revolutionary actions.

What can be said with absolute clarity and conviction is that the Bantustans have no future, but the people who live in them (over 7 million) have a major role to play in the liberation struggle for the overthrow of white supremacy and the establishment of people's power over every inch of our beloved country.

DOCUMENT 134:

Message delivered by a member of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party to the First Congress of MPLA in Luanda in December 1977.

Comrade President Agosthino Neto, comrade delegates: on behalf of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party we greet the delegates to this historic Congress and, through them, the whole Angolan people. We greet you also on behalf of the scores of our Party leaders and members who can no longer greet you because they have died in action or have been murdered by Vorster's

police. We greet you also on behalf of those many communists who are languishing in Robben Island and the other racist prisons. We greet you also on

behalf of our great working class whose victory, in the words of your President, will be one of the most important achievements in our continent.
What is happening here today is of immeasurable importance not only for every Angolan but also for the whole of our continent, and beyond. In the 60th year of the greatest single event in the modern history of mankind, the October Socialist Revolution, Angola has begun to raise the glorious flag ofthe working masses. For Africa this event marks a giant step forward in the continuing struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism. By this act clear notice has been given that imperialism will not pass, that Africa is beginning in earnest to reject its role as the hand-maiden of world capitalism, and that its working people are at last finding a way to take control of their own destiny.
The first Congress ofMPLA is a stirring climax ofyour past battles and it is the starting point of a new one. You are beginning your third war of liberation -a war which still demands the vigilance of arms, but whose final victory, as your President has said, will be assured at the point of production in the factories and on the land and by the principal force of your continuing revolution, the working people.
Every one of your victories advanced not only the cause of the Angolan people but also reinforced the cause of progress outside your borders.
In your first war of liberation, together with your brothers in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, you helped pave the way for democratic advance within Portugal itself.
In your second war of liberation you taught that the independence struggle is not just a search for government office, but a striving for real People's Power. You did not pause, as others have done, with the raising of your flag and the singing of your anthem. You showed in the fire of struggle, that the fruits of your people's sacrifices are not up for auction to the local exploiters and other representatives of neocolonialism. You have learnt the lesson of history that the independence celebration becomes the signal for world imperialism to make a come-back through its local puppets. And you dealt properly with the whole gang - UNITA, FNLA, FLEC and the careerists and demagogues who infiltrated your own ranks as part of the impure load which every revolution carries.
You taught also, in your second war of liberation, that imperialism and its dogs of war no longer have a monopoly of force in our plundered continent and that aggression by world reaction can be defeated by a people's determined struggle supported by the forces of world progress, at the head of which stands the socialist community of nations. Together with your firm allies, notably the Soviet Union and Socialist Cuba, you reaffirmed the meaning of proletarian internationalism. Those who came uninvited, who occupied and plundered Africa for more than five centuries now have the audacity to scream 'foreign interference' when a sovereign state requests the fraternal support of its close allies in order to repel and defend its independence against imperialist invasion.

Your defeat of Vorster's racist forces was a source of the greatest inspiratioli to the struggling masses ofour own country. You showed, in practice, that it could be

done. And your triumph was celebrated not only in Angola but in the streets of Soweto, and by the growing resistance throughout the land which the enemy's terror has been unable to put down.

THE CUBA OF AFRICA

But it is not only your example of struggle which fired the imagination of South Africa's oppressed. In his truly outstanding address comrade Agostinho Neto spoke movingly about the ravages of colonialism and the frantic efforts to destroy you at the very moment of your birth. You were left with so little on which to build. Yet the little that you had you did not hoard. You gave comradely shelter to liberation fighters. You did all in your power, morally and materially, to strengthen their resolve and capacity to intensify their struggles. And you did this with the full knowledge that you are risking further imperialist subversion and further aggressive blows against your young republic. This, dear comrades, is proletarian internationalism of the highest order. And that is why, amongst ourselves, we often speak of Angola as the Cuba of Africa.

We know that the scourge of inequality and racism, the ravages of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the legacy of backwardness and distorted development, everywhere have their roots in class exploitation. And until class exploitation is eliminated there can be no leap into a future of real independence, real national liberation, real democracy and real social justice. In short it is socialism, and only socialism, which can complete the unfinished African revolution. This is so for Angola and it is so for the whole of our continent.

The task you have set yourselves in your third war of liberation-to create conditions for the building of socialism -begins in earnest at this Congress. For it is here that you are creating the instrument, the vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party. Without such a Party, general proclamations about the socialist road have little, if any, lasting meaning. Without a vanguard Party of the workers there can be no real talk ofworker's power. Without worker's power there can be no meaningful talk of building the foundations on which to proceed to socialism. Without the guiding ideology of Marxism-Leninism there can be no strategy for the ending of exploitation ofman by man. Africa is not outside history. Here, as elsewhere, it is the class struggle, conducted as it is always conducted under specific conditions, which is the motor-force of social change.

FASCISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Our country still faces its first war of liberation. It is a war against a ruling class which, unique in history, has created within a single border an imperialistcolonialist relationship whose dividing line is colour. Perhaps more clearly than anywhere in the world, the corrupt ideology of the ruling class - its extreme racism

and fascist superstructures - is designed to serve the profits of the local capitalist class and its partners in Europe and North America. The slogan on which the present regime came to power 29 years ago was 'Keep the native in his place'. The recent so-called election in South Africa was a reaffirmation of this very same

aim. By its overwhelming vote for fascism the privileged minority has taken a further step on the road to disaster.
rn South Africa, comrades, the national struggle cannot be brought to its victorious end without the destruction of the system of economic exploitation and the whole racist state apparatus which serves it. At the same time, the class struggle has as its main immediate content, the destruction of racist tyranny. This aim serves the best interests not only of the main contingent of our revolution-the large and experienced working class-but also all classes and groups who face the discrimination and humiliation of continuing minority domination and racism. Our liberation aims serve also the long-term interests of the majority of the white group whose future in South Africa can only be secured through complete equality and democracy. The issue in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia is not, as the imperialists would have it, the protection of minority rights but the absolute destruction of minority privileges.
South Africa is the home of two political organisations, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, which pioneered working class and national movements on the African continent. The ANC's history goes back to 1912 and our Party became the first Marxist-Leninist Party in Africa when it was founded in 1921 just four years after the Great October Socialist Revolution, directly inspired by it. These two streams of revolutionary consciousness and organisation reflect the interplay of class and national factors in our struggle. And today, our liberation front, headed by the African National Congress, is moving with increasing momentum towards national liberation and eventual social emancipation.
Comrade President and comrade delegates, what you achieve in Angola is part of that momentum. What SWAPO achieves in Namibia, and what the Patriotic Front achieves in Zimbabwe is also part of that momentum. What we achieve in South Africa will, without a doubt, remove the biggest single obstacle to a free and independent Africa.
Viva 0 MPLA!
Viva 0 Internationalismo Proletario
Viva 0 Marxismo-Leninismo!
A Luta da Classe Continua!
A Vitoria dos Operarios e Certa!
DOCUMENT 135:
'Forward to People's Power - The Challenge Ahead', statement issued after augmented Central Committee meeting, The African Communist, First Quarter, 1980.

We meet on the eve of a new and most challenging decade. Looking ahead towards the 80s there can be little doubt that we are entering the most decisive phase in the long history of our struggle.
The ruling class, backed by its external imperialist allies, is working feverishly to adjust and overhaul the mechanisms of class exploitation and thus to reinforce the whole framework of national oppression. This is the framework within which

South African capitalism is reproduced and provided with the apparatus to ensure the continued super-exploitation of the black masses.
The ruling class is compelled into this feverish activity in part by its need to continue making super-profits in an economy which is characterised by an endemic and growing crisis. It is well to bear in mind also that the world capitalist economy in which the South African economy is integrated is itself afflicted by a deepening crisis.
Despite a large surplus in the balance of trade, the South African economy continues to stagnate. Investment is still declining and consumer spending remains static. In the meantime inflation is accelerating. Black unemployment has reached crisis proportions. Sections of the white bourgeoisie are confronted with bankruptcy. When South African state monopoly capitalism tries to reduce inflation, it forces the economy into further recession; when it tries to reflate the economy, it gives an added spurt to inflation. Daily, capitalism is proving to the masses of our people that it is a social system which benefits a handful at the expense of the vast majority.
The growth of the military-industrial complex in South Africa, the statutory integration of all industry in the war economy, the centralisation of all the arms of the security apparatus in the hands of the fascist Prime Minister, the conscription and indoctrination of the white youth, the use of the state-controlled radio and television to promote a war psychosis, the stepping up of attacks on the frontline states and the threat of the resort to atomic weapons-all these are symptoms of the increasing aggressiveness of the South African ruling class which threatens not only the security and well-being of all the South African people but also the maintenance of peace in Africa and the world. What is the source nourishing the aggressiveness of the ruling class?
We see on the one hand its ceaseless drive for super-profits, together with an equally insatiable drive to enlarge its sphere of domination which is necessarily accompanied by militarisation and increasing violence against the people both inside South Africa and beyond its borders. We also see, on the other hand, the sharpening social contradictions which threaten the system and compel greater violence from the rulers in order to safeguard that system.
Under the guise of 'reformism' the ruling class is engaged in far-reaching manoeuvres to intensify race oppression and exploitation. The decade of the 80s is its target date for achieving the 'final solution': the complete political, social and constitutional separation of the African, Indian and Coloured communities; the total destruction ofthe cohesion and national awareness of the African peoples; the confirmation, once and for all, of its hold on the fruits of armed conquest, and the

 enforced scattering of our people into Bantustan tribal backyards whose impoverished and landless inhabitants will wander back and forth as foreign migrant cheap labour and as perpetual servants in their ancestral land.

This onslaught on the black masses is accompanied by measures to tempt a tiny minority with 'concessions' intended to win them over to collaboration with apartheid's grand design.

Two accompanying processes are taking place: on the one side millions are being uprooted and hounded from their homes; on the other side the few who can afford it are being offered 99-year leases in some urban areas, On the one side access by the African people to real political power is being sealed off more tightly than ever before; on the other side a tiny bureaucratic and administrative elite is given wellpaid office in the Bantustans. On the one side, miserable wages and massive -unemployment are the lot of the millions of urban and rural working people; on the other side a tiny fraction is given hope of skilled and semi-skilled employment. And so it goes on at every level of the social and economic structure.

APARTHEID IS BEING INTENSIFIED

One thing is crystal clear. Every single so-called concession has its counterpart in measures against the mass of the people. Apartheid is certainly not dead, as claimed by Koornhof during his recent public relations exercise in the United States. On the contrary it is being pursued with greater energy than ever before, and those who experience its cruelties in their daily lives clearly grasp its true essence.

Apartheid is not just racism in sport or separate theatres or colour-bar hotels or such-like. These humiliations bred of white supremacy were in force centuries before the word apartheid was invented. Neither is apartheid just black job exclusion against which many employers (in the interests of higher profits) have ranged themselves from the beginning of the century. Indeed, there is no single major aspect of apartheid practice whose ingredients cannot be found in South Africa's earlier history: the exploitation of the reserves as a primary source of cheap labourpower; the absence of civil and political rights for the black people; the pass-laws; the locations and the compounds; the persecution of workers and national liberation organisations; the bar against genuine black trade union organisation; the monopoly by whites of 87% of the land, and so on.

Apartheid did not initiate race and class domination. It adjusted and intensified the basic components of the exploitative system in order to ensure its reproduction in changing economic conditions. Above all, apartheid, like its blood brother fascism, sharpened ruling class repression and terror in an attempt to crush the rising challenge to the system from the oppressed, especially the black working class. And when we turn to examine the basic character of the exploitation of the black people and not just the changing forms in which it is expressed ideologically, there cannot be the slightest doubt that apartheid as an exploitative system is being intensified as never before in our history.

What we face from our ruling class at present is not a tendency towards reform but a tendency towards even more terrible repression, and a more feverish advance in the direction of complete national domination. Apartheid is not dead or dying, it has to be killed by a people's revolutionary onslaught. What ought

clearly to be dead is the liberal illusion that the system will be compelled to reform itself by the logic of economic necessity; an illusion which continues to be spread in spite of the fact that the worst excesses of racist oppression and brutality have been perpetrated during the period of Nationalist rule when the economy made its most dramatic advances.

Some changes in the non-essential social sphere are being introduced in an attempt to lessen South Africa's growing isolation in a world which cannot stomach its outrages. Other concessions are being introduced in an attempt to encourage the growth of a black middle class who it is hoped will play along with the racist game. Yet other adjustments (for example in the area of skilled and semiskilled work) reflect the needs of a changing economy whose capital reproduction and growth are obstructed by certain outmoded practices. Also in some areas, the enemy is being forced to engage in tactical retreats because of the threat posed by the people's struggles and their increasing militancy.

Nevertheless, far from weakening the racist exploitative structure as a whole, the abandonment or transformation of some of these practices is intended to assist the political and economic consolidation of the system of the super-exploitation of the black workers.

DIFFERENCES IN THE WHITE POWER BLOC

This is not to say that the ruling class and its allies within the white political power bloc agree completely on tactics. The complexity of the conditions in which apartheid domination has to fight for its survival is causing divisions and infighting within the white power bloc. Without deviating from our main task ofmobilising the black oppressed masses as the motive force of our revolution, we must nevertheless seek ways of taking advantage of these divisions further to weaken the enemy.

Within white politics, within the Nationalist Party itself, and the organised white working class, differences remain on the pace and character of the adjustments. Why is this so and what is their significance?

The tactics of the regime and the differences within its ranks cannot be fully understood by looking only at purely economic factors. The economic imperative of ensuring the production and reproduction of capitalist accumulation places broad limits on the range of policy options open to the ruling class. But it is in the arena of political struggle both between and within the dominant and dominated classes that these conflicts take place. This is a struggle which has roots in the class conflicts of the immediate past, the history of which is thus significant. What is the background of some of these struggles?

Different sections of South African urban and rural capitalism have a long history of competition for cheap black labour power. The white working class has

itself fought bitterly to monopolise the upper categories of employment to the exclusion of the blacks. These are some of the economic factors which gave rise to contradictions fought out in the arena of white politics.

The historic in-fighting between national and foreign interests in the earlier stages of emergence of South African capitalism gave birth to ethnic passions between

the English and Afrikaners. The exploitation of these passions helped the Afrikaner middle class to climb to a position of dominance in the state apparatus and won for it a share at the higher economic levels. In its trail to the top this aspirant bourgeoisie inspanned the white working class whose political and economic privileges vis-a-vis the black people were more and more institutionalised.

The complex interplay of competitive interests between the different classes and groups which make up the dominant white community produced ideologies which, although rooted in the past, continue to maintain some of their momentum. At given moments, these ideologies even act to blind individuals and groups to the new needs of the exploitative system as a whole. It is partly against the background of these and related factors that the so-called divide between the 'verligtes' and 'verkramptes' must be understood and assessed.

It is also the virtual monopoly of the top positions in the state apparatus which was won and consolidated by Afrikaner nationalism after 1948, which continues to nourish a degree of resentment between the two language groups.

Looked at from the point of view of those at the receiving end of racist brutality, it is usually the Afrikaner-the 'Boer'-who directs and wields the gun and the baton, who is the warder and the torturer. As we saw in Soweto, his language became a symbol of the worst excesses of race tyranny. The attempted imposition of Afrikaans on the African schools was the starting-point of the youth revolt. Although this kind of response to Afrikaner autocracy is understandable and must be harnessed, it must not be allowed to obscure the fact that the state and its apparatus of political and military terror is, in the last resort, an instrument of the ruling class whose dominant interests it protects. The ruling class in South Africa is not just the Afrikaner autocracy which dominates the political and administrative positions but those- both English and Afrikaner-who are the owners of the means of production. At this strategic level, the singling out of the one language group as the chief target of the liberation drive helps to create vagueness and confusion on who the real enemy is, and encourages the illuqsion that the kind of radical change which we seek will be advanced by a mere change in the ethnic composition of those who occupy the positions of political power.

GROWING UNITY AT THE TOP

There can be little doubt that the current offensive against the oppressed people has the broad endorsement of all the main factions within the white power bloc, who, at the economic level, are more and more linked in a chain of interdependence. As a result of monopoly trends there has grown a close interlocking of mining, industrial, finance and farming capital, lessening some of the contradictions

between them and between 'foreign' (mainly British) and 'national' capital. At the political level the dominant faction within the Nationalist Party is increasingly becoming the spokesman of monopoly capital which in 1948 had still virtually excluded the Afrikaner. The Afrikaner breakthrough in all these sectors has taken much of the sting out of the English-Afrikaner conflict. The boardroom is a most

effective uniting factor and the recent selective inclusion of a few blacks (e.g. Motsuenyane, President of NAFCOC for ICI Chemicals) has the same purpose. In South Africa's crisis politics of today Anglo-American and the Afrikaner political establishment have moved closer to one another and co-operate increasingly. While the regime does its dirty work at home, the Oppenheimers play a vital role in developing life-lines to outside loans, markets, and know-how.

Less than ever before in our history can we today draw a clear line between Anglo-American and SANLAM, between a Rupert and an Oppenheimer when it comes to the broad direction in which the structure as a whole is moving. General Mining, the second biggest mining house, is owned 60% by Federale Mynbou (itself controlled by SANLAM) and 40% by Anglo-American Corporation. The two main tycoons behind the Urban Foundation are Oppenheimer and Rupert.

The mild resistance of the organised white trade union movement as a whole to changes which it previously fought (sometimes with arms in hand) will be referred to later. At this point, suffice it to say that its entrenchment as an aristocracy of labour, the elevation of large numbers of white workers to purely supervisory functions over black labour, the more recent measures to maintain and strengthen white dominance in the trade union field, and the growing gap between white and black wages in all the main sectors, guarantee support from white wage-earners for the ruling class policy aimed at entrenching white domination.

It is national domination which cements together the different elements of the ruling class and its allies into an easily recognised power bloc. It is this issue which, in varying degrees, serves the immediate material interests of all classes and groups within the white community. And it is the maintenance of national domination which is being threatened as never before by the potential which showed itself in the mounting national and class struggles of the 70s, the growing impact of the national liberation moveqaent headed by the African National Congress, and the radical transformations which have taken place in Southern Africa.

GROWING CONFLICT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Southern Africa constitutes one theatre of struggle, an area which, together with the Middle East' and South East Asia, has become one of the focal points in the international confrontation between the forces of national liberation, socialism and peace on the one hand and imperialism and war on the other. Overestimating its own strength and arrogantly underestimating the resolve of the peoples of Southern Africa to free themselves, imperialism had for many years comforted itself with the illusion that our region would, forever remain its preserve.

The historic victory over Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique and Angola and the transformation of Frelimo and the MPLA-Party of Labour into MarxistLeninist parties which have begun to lay the foundations for an advance towards a socialist society not only put paid to this illusion. They also created new political and physical conditions for the pursuit of our struggle and made a profound psychological impact on the masses of our people.

At the same time the racist white minority regimes and their imperialist allies can no longer hide the fact that the forces of national liberation in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, under the leadership of SWAPO, the Patriotic Front and the ANC respectively, are successfully raising the struggle to new levels. Steadily, the balance of power in these countries has been shifting in our favour. The 'total war strategy' of continuous and increasing aggression that the Prime Minister of fascist South Africa, P.W, Botha, has declared, is designed to meet this situation not only within South Africa but also throughout Southern Africa as one indivisible battlefield.

The aims that this strategy pursues are to defeat and destroy the liberation movements of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, to annihilate people's democracy in Angola and Mozambique and to impose fascist South Africa on the rest of the peoples of Southern Africa as the unchallenged neo-colonialist master. Elsewhere in this document we deal with the form and content of this counteroffensive within South Africa. In Namibia and Zimbabwe, the white minority regimes and their imperialist allies are committed to the objective of installing neocolonialist regimes in Salisbury and Windhoek at all costs. Imperialism calculates that a victory of the genuine forces of liberation in Namibia and Zimbabwe would not merely signify the loss of these two countries. Such a victory Would have an enormous impact in favour of the rapid advance of our own struggle in South Africa. It would further decisively improve the situation for the consolidation of people's power in Mozambique and Angola and deny the apartheid regime the bases from which it is at present carrying out acts of aggression and other forms of subversion against these two countries, as well as Zambia and Botswana. The victory of the genuine forces of liberation in Namibia and Zimbabwe would strengthen Zambia in her struggle to guarantee and inject a new content into her independence as well as serve as a material factor in the struggle of the people of Malawi to rid themselves of the yoke of neo-colonialist domination.

In short, imperialism considers that the victory of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and SWAPO in Namibia would render irreversible the popular gains already achieved in Southern Africa, guarantee the imminence and certainty of an anti-imperialist solution of the South African problem and create new possibilities for the social transformation of other African countries.

To deny the peoples of Southern Africa their rightful victory, imperialism has launched a co-ordinated counter-offensive some of whose main elements are:

(a) to force SWAPO and the Patriotic Front to accept negotiated settlements which would legitimise neo-colonialist solutions of the Namibian and Zimbabwe questions. Should this fail, the South African regime has already announced

that it will invade Zimbabwe, as it did Angola, to seek to impose its own solution;

(b) to intensify aggression against the front-line states and destabilise them to make it impossible for them to continue to act as reliable rear-bases of the liberation movements of Southern Africa as well as oblige them to acquiesce in

the creation of client states in Namibia and Zimbabwe and in the dominant role of racist South Africa over the region as a whole;
(c) to compel the peoples of Southern Africa to agree to a neo-colonialist order camouflaged as a so-called 'constellation of states' which would cede to imperialist South Africa the right to dominate the independent countries of Southern Africa economically, politically and militarily, to use these countries in its expansionist and anti-communist crusade and to legitimise the Bantustans.
Simultaneously the apartheid regime and the world forces of reaction are searching for ways of ensuring the open military intervention ofthe imperialist powers to save the fascist South African regime from defeat by the rising masses of our people. For this purpose, the guise of 'reformism' which we have already mentioned is being used increasingly both inside and outside South Africa to project the criminal apartheid regime as an agent of democratic change in our country. The fascists are also engaged in a public relations exercise whereby, through apparently radical public statements promising to alter non-essential aspects of racism such as the 'Immorality Act', they seek to create the illusion that they have realised the folly of their ways and are changing.
The racists and their allies believe that if they can succeed in projecting themselves thus, it would then be possible for the imperialists to come to their aid openly, without losing their positions in Africa and the rest of the world, claiming that they are defending Southern Africa from communism and from being turned into an appendage of the Soviet Union. Naturally therefore the South African regime and its friends throughout the world are intensifying their ideological offensive against the forces of liberation relying on anti-sovietism and anticommunism.
As at no other time before, the centrality of South Africa to liberation, peace and social progress in Southern Africa and Africa stands out in sharp relief, as does consequently the obligations that fall on the ANC, the SACP and our liberation movement as a whole to discharge our responsibilities both to our people and to the rest of humanity.
Through such recent victories as those scored in Nicaragua, Iran, Kampuchea and in Vietnam which repelled the Chinese invaders, by the victorious defence of Angola and Ethiopia with the direct support of the socialist community, the world anti-imperialist movement has shown that it has both the strength and will to inflict serious reverses on the forces of reaction,
Further, the camp of reaction also experiences internal contradictions. Even though these are secondary, yet they do provide scope for weakening our enemy's external support base and by no means assure the racist regime the unqualified support of its imperialist allies.
It is against this background that the enemy's plans for our country unfold. The

future of its 'grand strategy' for the 80s will be influenced by the outcome of the class and national battles which continue to rage in the whole of our sub-continent. Above all it will depend upon the capacity of our liberation alliance to lead and effectively channel the revolutionary energies of the mass of our people

and especially of its leading contingent -the oppressed and exploited working class.

The struggle and achievements of the decade of the 70s both inside our country and in the rest of the sub-continent have undoubtedly created foundations which, if effectively built upon, can lead to really decisive blows against the whole structure of domination and exploitation.

SOUTH AFRICA - THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE 70s

The intensity of the internal conflicts in the decade of the 70s and the experiences gained by our working class and youth have provided a new potential for the striking power of the liberation movement for the battles which face the people in the coming decade.

Although the struggles ahead will not be easy, the conditions for their unfolding have never been as favourable as they are today. Let us turn briefly to some of the foundations which were laid in the immediate past.

Already at the beginning of the decade there were significant signs that the people's fighting spirit and morale were recovering from the post-Sharpeville blows. Even before the strike movement began on any major scale our Central Committee, in December 1972, foreshadowed the events to come. We noted in our statement 'Unity is the Key':

... the attacks which were designed once and for all to destroy the people's organisations and their resolve to put an end to white domination, did not end in a permanent rout as the enemy had hoped. Once again there is evidence of significant stirrings amongst the mass of the oppressed in our land. Despite the barrier of repressive legislation which has illegalised strikes and denied the African workers the right to form trade unions more and more workers are taking matters into their own hands. The strike movement is growing in spite of punitive actions by the state and employers. The workers are becoming more confident of their strength and more experienced in struggle; organising under the very noses of the repressive forces and maintaining their unity and solidarity in open struggle.

THE STRIKE MOVEMENT

1973 saw a dramatic escalation of action by the black working class against their intensified exploitation. The spectacular 'economic boom' which began in the middle of the 60s was, as always in South Africa, built on the backs of the black labour force whose real income was daily diminishing through the uncontrollable process of inflation.

According to official figures (never very reliable when dealing with the scale of black resistance) there were over 800 strikes involving hundreds of thousands of workers between 1973 and 1976 for higher wages and better working conditions.

This spurt in the scale of the strike movement is emphasised when we recall that for the whole of 1970 there were only 17 stoppages involving 665 black workers compared to the first four months of 1973 which saw 160 strikes involving over 100,000 workers.

Many of the gains such as increases in wages (which the racists claim to be a move towards reform) were won in these bitter struggles. For example, wage increases were achieved in 118 of the 160 strikes which took place in the first four months of 1973 but not before-the armed police tried unsuccessfully to beat and persecute the strikers into submission. In the mines alone, in the 17 strikes between 1972 and 1975, 42 workers were killed and another 178 were seriously injured by police brutality.

Neither was the strike movement restricted to simple wage demands; a theme which played a vital part was the struggle for trade union recognition and the very right to strike. The enemy responded by rushing the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Act of 1973 through Parliament. Its main purpose was to pre-empt the growing demand for trade union rights by a system of works and liaison committees and to make deceptive provisions for the so-called right by Africans to strike; a 'right' which to date has not enabled the African workers to engage in a single legal strike. The failure of these measures and fear of what is to comeTrom the black workers led to the Wiehahn Commission which, as we will see, is yet another device for destroying the growing collective bargaining strength of the black working class.

.POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Despite the fact that the strike movement of the early and middle 70s centred on working conditions and on collective bargaining rights, it is misleading to describe it as purely 'economistic'. The events showed once again that the black worker in South Africa, even when engaged in a struggle for simple economic demands, inevitably fates not only the boss but the whole state structure of race domination. The worker undeniably emerges from such struggles with a heightened experience of class exploitation and race domination; an experience which provides a basis for developing political awareness which goes far beyond pure trade union consciousness. In this sense almost every black strike in South Africa contains ingredients which transfokm it partly into a political action. The enemy is certainly haunted by this, as emerged clearly from the statement of the Minister of Labour soon after the Natal strikes in 1973. He said:

'The strikes in Natal are following the pattern which indicates that they are not purely connected with higher wages ... (they are) planned actions and the strikers are being used to achieve more than just an increase in wages ... the conduct of the workers shows that the agitation for trade union rights offers no solution and is only a smokescreen behind
which there are other motives...'

Ofeven greater political significance were the three general strike demonstrations

of over a quarter of a million workers following the Soweto upsurge. By the time of the third strike the migrant workers (some of whom had been organised by the police to unleash violence against the youth and workers in the earlier stay-aways) came out in adtive support of the demonstration. We must remember that these stay-aways took place shortly after wage increases had been won by previous industrial action. Yet in the face of the huge unemployment figures, the workers

showed themselves ready to demonstrate their resistance to tyranny even at the risk of losing their jobs and, with them, the right to remain in the urban areas. The strike movement of the 70s involved more workers than ever before in our history. The strike experiences provided the black working class with a new confidence in its organised strength, and have equipped it more effectively for the battles ahead. Its role as the vanguard social force in our revolution was once again emphasised during this period. These persistent struggles from the early 70s onwards helped inspire the new generation of youth who began to engage in sporadic acts of resistance at their educational institutions, culminating in the great Soweto revolt. Again here, it was the collective actions of the working class which helped to transform the events into a broader protest against the whole system of oppression.

THE SPIRIT OF SOWETO LIVES ON

A full analysis of the Soweto events was made in our statement 'The Way Forward from Soweto' (1977). But when assessing our perspectives in the coming decade one aspect merits special emphasis: despite the mass killings, jailings, torture, and bannings, the open defiance went on for years. The youth showed inventiveness, ingenuity and boundless revolutionary imagination, continuously applying varied tactics and finding new forms to maintain the pressure. Those battles have left an indelible mark on the revolutionary and political consciousness of our people. Thousands of advanced patriots amongst the new fighting generation joined the ranks of the liberation movement to prepare themselves for the more protracted struggle for power. And they are armed with the confidence, gained in struggle experience, in an inevitable people's victory.

Although not conclusive, great victories were won in the Soweto period. The attempt to impose Afrikaans at the schools was defeated. The whole system of Bantu education was paralysed over a long period of time. The urban Bantu Councils were destroyed. But these partial victories do not on their own fully explain why the people maintain a mood of defiance despite the scale of the terror which was unleashed and despite the reversal of some of these gains by subsequent enemy action.

More than ever before, the people are starting to see long-term answers whose beginnings they witnessed in the immediate post-Soweto period. There was not the leadership vacuum experienced to the same extent as in the years after Sharpeville. The strengthening of the liberation movement's internal machinery enabled it to carry forward its basic task of political mobilisation, providing both direct and

indirect leadership and guidance to the mass organisations. The heroic cadres of the liberation movement's military wing-Umkhonto we Sizwe-have continued to strike blows at the enemy and his installations. Actions like the recent Soweto police station raids electrified the masses and imbued them with confidence in the future of the struggle.

Even though the scale of confrontation has still been relatively small, the people have been encouraged by the armed actions of Umtkhonto we Sizwe and regard

them as a sign of greater things to come. The enemy recognises this and is preparing what it calls a 'total war strategy' in an attempt to cope with the inevitable higher level of confrontation.

Despite earlier claims by the enemy that it could nip the activities of the armed cadres in the bud, it has now admitted failure and warned its supporters that they will have to learn to live with an escalating struggle by 'ANC armed terrorists'. Hardly a week passes when the name of our liberation movement does not figure either in the speeches of Ministers, the reports in the government and opposition press, or in the debates in Parliament. The Minister of Police announced that in 1977 alone there has been an act of ANC sabotage every two weeks. By May 1978 257o of the beef farmers on the South African side of the Limpopo had abandoned their farms for fear of a guerilla presence. The 'threat' from ANC 'infiltrators' has forced the regime to meet its shortahe of army personnel by recruiting black soldiers who now constitute at least 20% of its border force.

The impact of all this is not lost on the people who see these measures as a response to the intensified political and military actions of our liberation movement, especially since the Soweto events. Indeed this heightened reputation earned by the ANC and its allies has helped set the stage for growing mass involvement in the struggles ahead. Our achievements have immeasurably raised the people's expectations and this places an ever heavier burden of responsibility on every sector of our movement to meet these expectations.

WE LEARN FROM THE PEOPLE

Another important lesson of the post-Soweto period is that the people, through their own initiatives, have shown that an inexhaustible potential continues to exist in the crucial area of legal and semi-legal political organisation and mobilisation. There emerged and continues to emerge a wide variety of forms of mass organisation. Despite the inevitable harassment and bannings by the enemy, the process continues and new ways are continuously found to combine together. Although the overall leadership of our revolution can only come from our liberation front through its effective underground presence, the combination of legal with illegal activity and even the strengthening of the underground itself demand the encouragement and creation of legal and semi-legal forms of mass organisation. Talk of mass political mobilisation without special concentration on the task is empty talk. As the recent period has shown, such organisations can play a crucial role even though some of them maynot yet be prepared to stand four-square behind

all our policies. Properly directed, the continuing search for new ways of combining at national, regional and local levels, provides the revolution with yet another important foundation for the battles ahead.

The experiences of the Coloured and Indian people during the decade of the 70s also open up new possibilities for bringing about a growing unity in action between the different sections of the black community. The attempt to buy off the Coloured people through the device of the Coloured Representative Council failed completely. The Labour Party's principled rejectionist tactics not only made the

institution unworkable but also effectively mobilised the Coloured people against any constitutional 'solution' which denies full democratic rights for all the black people in a" united South Africa. Equally, the attempt to divert the Indian people through the mechanism of the South African Indian Council has had little success. The overwhelming majority showed their utter contempt for this fraudulent device by refusing to register as 'voters', forcing the regime to make non-registration a crime. Coloured and Indian youth played an active part in the battles of the 70s and more and more of them see themselves as an integral part of the black oppressed community, increasingly questioning the continuation of the historically-rooted separation of the communal national organisations.

Even a militant minority of white youth, mainly from middle-class backgrounds, have shown extreme courage in their public commitment to the forces of national liberation. Many of them are evading conscription and vAhen this fails are deserting from the armed forces of the enemy. Some have thrown in their lot completely with the revolutionary movement and are daily risking their lives in the national liberation struggle. This is a tendency which will grow. We must encourage and influence this development.

As we move into the 1980s we are armed with a heritage of outstanding achievements of our past struggles and with the confidence that the national and class consciousness of the people -and especially the working class and the youth - has reached a new peak of maturity. It is in order to nullify these achievements and to destroy the heightened will to struggle that the enemy is moving on all fronts to protect and reinforce the basic ingredients of apartheid exploitation.

In the period ahead the overwhelming majority of our working people will feel the growing force of the whiplash of racism in every area of their lives. As in the past they will be forced to carry the main burden of a capitalist economy whose growth rate is continuously slowing down and which, in common with capitalist countries in every part of the world, is unable to arrest spiralling inflation. In addition, the enemy is launching what it regards as its final assault on the land rights and national cohesion of the African people and on the unity of the three black oppressed communities.

The masses will be looking to our liberation movement to lead them in struggle against this enemy offensive and to move on towards the achievement of people's power. Let us turn to an examination of the main areas of this offensive in order to equip ourselves more effectively to meet it.

THE ATTACK ON THE BLACK WORKING CLASS

It is the black working class which is the chief victim ravaged by the system and the main target of its new adjustments. The super-exploitation of the black working class is the bedrock on which the whole capitalist-racist structure rests. The primary purpose of the special coercive instruments of the system of racecapitalism and its state form has always been, in the words of our programme, to maximise the amount of 'free unpaid labour for the boss' which generates 'surplus value out of which the capitalists make their profit and accumulate their wealth'. The class responses of the workers to the system of exploitation have

always presented the biggest threat to the ruling class. For it is at the point of production that collective strength asserts itself and here tribal barriers begin to break down in the shared experience of common exploitation.

The upsurge of militant labour struggles in the 40s (especially the great strike of 100,000 gold miners) was accompanied by a spurt of trade union organisation. This was one of the primary factors leading to the intensified repression of apartheid. And here the new regime acted without hesitation. It illegalised our Party in an attempt to deprive the working class of its organised political vanguard, and by a combination of naked terror and administrative and legal measures it tried to break working-class resistance. The enemy's offensive in the early 60s led to the banning of the ANC, the Rivonia arrests and the imprisonment and exile of our leaders and cadres. The current enemy offensive has precisely the same purpose. The measures it is seeking to implement are a response to the escalating national and class struggles of the 70s. At the same time it is designed to accommodate a tiny part of the black labour force in semi-skilled operations required by the increasing mechanisation of important areas of the South African economy.

We made the point at the outset that the few 'reforms' which are now being offered to this tiny minority have little meaning for the overwhelming majority of our people: they are in fact designed to intensify exploitation, to deepen the inferior status of the black mass and make it more permanent. Nowhere does this purpose emerge more clearly than in the area of the black working class.

THE PLIGHT OF THE WORKERS

According to the Prime Minister's economic advisory council, unemployment has risen from 200,000 in 1970 to 800,000 in 1978. But not a single analyst outside the government propaganda machine accepts these figures. The reality is even more horrific. Statistics published by Senbank, and confirmed by numerous other studies, show that the true figure for black unemployment is well beyond the 2 million mark. The South African capitalist system generates a vast stagnant pool of millions who have no prospects of ever obtaining employment. According to a recent survey, 40% of all blacks will be without employment by the year 2000. The resettlement camps in the Bantustans are the dumping grounds for this mass of the unemployed, the landless and propertyless. For those who are still at work,

the wage increases won in the struggle of the early 70s are being steadily eroded. The meteoric rise in the cost of living continuously reduces the real earnings of the black worker and the existence of the enormous army of unemployed has resulted in a significant falling-off in wage increases. For those who are continuously being thrown into the pool of the jobless, the notorious pass laws play their part with increasing ferocity. According to the Minister of Justice the number of pass arrests in 1978 increased by 36% compared to the previous year. The government has recently stated that there are over half a million 'illegal' workers in the urban areas. The only 'crime' committed by this vast slice of black humanity is the search for an honest day's labour in the land of their birth, driven to the cities by the appalling starvation conditions in the whitecreated reserves.

For those who have to live out their lives in this twilight zone of 'illegality', the hammer blow of the pass laws stands poised ready to strike as and when it suits the needs of business. Business, said the President of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries recently, is 'in favour of influx control because it protects the entire society'.

If we ignore some of its frills, the Riekert Commission has provided a new blueprint for erecting more effective laagers round the towns and instituting a system of labour control whose sophistication would have been the envy of the Nazis. Just as the 'Abolition of Passes Act' was followed by an intensified persecution under the pass laws, so the Riekert 'reforms' (as is already clear from the government white paper) will be followed by more intense manipulation of black labour.

For the black woman worker the situation is even more appalling. In examining the conditions of our working class it is important to remember that one out of every three African workers is a woman (see 1970 census) and, on the average, she earns less than half an African man's wage. Over 60% of African women workers are in domestic and agricultural employment, sectors which do not even have minimum statutory wage levels or any form of unemployment insurance. Millions of African women are trapped in the Bantustans without a normal family life. Even if some of them can reach the cities they are more than ever before being hounded by the pass laws under which arrests for women increased in 1978 by over 100% when compared to the previous year. Now, under the Riekert 'reforms' it is the African women workers who constitute a big proportion of the so-called 'illegals'. Many of them, in domestic employment, are already finding themselves on the streets as a result of the stiffer penalties imposed against employers of 'illegal' workers. Even excluding this category, official figures show that close to 60% of the African unemployed in Johannesburg and the West Rand are women. Increasing numbers of Coloured and Indian women have been drawn into industry, especially in the distributive trades, the garment, clothing, textile and food processing branches during the post-Second World War period and like their African sisters are also subjected to vicious exploitation. We will return to an examination of the Bantustans which play a decisiverole in this whole process. Here we must note that for the year ending June 1978

government figures show that there were 1,336,097 'contract workers' of whom 1,016,619 came from the Transkei and Bophuthatswana. The number of 'commuters' (people who work in 'white' areas by day and sleep in the Bantustans at night) rose from 291,000 in 1970 to 725,000 in 1979. Under the new Natal Regional Development plan, the number of commuters from KwaZulu alone will double to the figure 618,000. According to F. Hartzenberg, deputy Minister for 'Cooperation and Development', eight more Sowetos will be needed by the year 2000 and the 'best place for them is in the Bantustans'. In the case of some of these commuters (e.g. KwaMashu) their new status is the result of the incorporation of their existing locations into a Bantustan by merely drawing a new line on the map. But this is far more than a technical re-arrangement. When this

new line is drawn on the map, rights under section 10 of the Urban Areas Act immediately disappear and the insecurity and tyranny of the migrant labour system come into full play.

SKILLED WORK AND JOB RESERVATION

For the mass of the black working class the recent 'concessions' in the areas of job reservation and skilled work are no compensation. Statutory job reservation had in any case died a natural death because it interfered with maximum profits. All that was left was for the Wiehahn Commission to suggest its burial.

In the case of skilled jobs for blacks, it has been the organised power ofthe white trade union movement, the manipulation of the closed shop, the control of apprenticeship boards, the minimum educational qualifications stipulated for artisans etc. etc. which played a major role in guaranteeing the white job monopoly. All these mechanisms remain in full force as is clear from the small print contained in the Wiehahn Commission and the government response to it. For one thing, the system has already made certain that the overwhelming majority of the black working class men and women cannot qualify to become artisans. Figures for 1970 show that 39.9% of black male urban workers have no educational qualifications whatsoever and 82% have not reached Standard VI (the Apprenticeship Act requires a minimum Standard VIII qualification). In rural areas 65.4% have no educational qualifications whatsoever and 94% are below Standard VI.

The tiny proportion of blacks who may benefit from access to skilled jobs are needed to fill in the serious shortage of skilled labour. This shortage can no longer be met from the ranks of the white working class whose members are more and more being elevated to positions as managers or supervisors of black labour or as employees in the different levels of the state apparatus. For example, in the building industry, whilst 100,000 people (mainly black) lost their jobs between 1976 and 1978, skilled labour, according to a recent meeting of the Witwatersrand Master Builders and Allied Traders Association, is at its scarcest for 15 years, and the 'growing skills crisis is threatening the industry with disaster'.

But the decisive point is that in all the main branches of industry, mechanisation and new technologies are leading to a relative drop in the demand for old-style craft and artisan labour which is being replaced by the semi-skilled machine operator.

The urban training projects for blacks are designed to prepare them for this type of work while the white artisan is bought off by promotion to supervisory tasks. In any case the bosses have always preferred to use semi-enslaved Africans in this category because of their vulnerability to super-exploitation. We observed earlier that, in contrast to its earlier uncompromising positions, the white trade union movement has generally gone along with the recent limited legal measures to restructure the work force. Only that small section which remains ideological prisoners of the past, is trying to show its teeth. The majority accept the re-arrangement because it is clear beyond doubt that not a single privilege of the white wage-earning class is being touched without being replaced at the same

time by an even more attractive incentive to maintain its backing for the system as a whole.

The picture becomes even clearer when we look at the continuous widening of the gap between white and black income and the contrast between the two groups in the area of unemployment. Government figures show that in the period 1970 to 1978, whilst black unemployment rose by 9.5%, the rise in the white sector was a mere 0.6%. Statistics also show that in the first quarter of 1978 the average per capita wage increase for white workers in the mining, construction and manufacturing industries was 3.3% as against 1.6% for African workers. The gap between the earnings of white and black urban households increased from R464 in 1973 to R637 in 1978.

THE WIEHAHN COMMISSION AND BLACK TRADE UNIONS

If there is one spectre which terrifies the ruling class above all else it is the collective organisation of the black workers. In the struggles of the 70s, despite conditions of virtual illegality, the unregistered black trade union movement started making significant headway once again. Especially in the last few years some of them have compelled employers to negotiate, sometimes under added pressure from the trade unions in the overseas parent companies. In general, the employers, the regime, and the majority of white trade unions have come to. realise that without urgent intervention genuine black unionisation would make great strides forward.

It is therefore understandable that the Wiehahn exercise and the follow-up legislation is an attempt to stunt the growth of a genuine black trade union movement; an attempt which is so badly concealed that even the world's right-wing trade unions have seen through it. In the words of the government White Paper, the measures are designed to 'maintain peace and harmony in the field of labour' and to ward off the threat of the 'trend towards uncontrolled and disorderly development' in the black trade union field. The African worker has long ago learnt to keep his finger on the trigger when a racist comes to bear him gifts. The gift of 'recognition', 'multi-racial unions', and the 'right to strike', is onlythe wrapping paper around a package containing a device which, if not disarmed, will deal a death-blow to independent black trade unionism.

The 'registration' provisions are designed to give a monopoly to unions which cut themselves off from the politics of liberation and thus accept the overall place of the black'workers in the structure of race oppression and exploitation. The other purpose of the registration provisions is to prevent unregistered unions from engaging in collective bargaining with employers.

'Multi-racial trade unions' will only be permitted at the discretion of the Minister of Labour who will undoubtedly ensure control by the white members. Doc Coertze, General Secretary of the Underground Mining Officials Association, stated recently that he was now convinced that no white man will lose his job. He went on,

'The whites needed protection in 1922 because they were unskilled. Today whites are skilled, and most blacks won't be able to compete for many years. There

would only be a few of them (skilled blacks) and we're prepared to treat them as honorary whites ... What is all the fuss about? I would rather have them in our union than in a separate one. That way we can protect our interests. If they're in a separate union they are outside our control'.

African workers were previously granted the 'right to strike' under the 1973 Bantu Labour Relations Regulations Amendment Act, but its restrictive provisisions made it impossible in practice to pull off a single legal strike. The right to strike will now only apply to unions registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act which contains long drawn-out procedures and 'cooling off' periods designed to drain .workers' militancy. In the case of the black workers the exercise of this right will be even more difficult in the light of white union domination of industrial councils and the other machineries of the Industrial Conciliation Act.

In general, the Wiehahn scheme is a Bosses' Charter and it is not surprising that it has been universally and enthusiastically welcomed by every section ofindustry.

Apart from aiming to fill the skilled labour gap, the ruling class falsely projects the myth that the tiny minority of Africans will gain an immediate economic benefit through entry into the white workers' preserve of skilled work, and hopes that they will act as the collaborationist buffer in the coming struggles between capital and the mass of the working people.

THE ATTACK ON THE AFRICAN PEOPLE AS A NATIONAL ENTITY - THE BANTUSTANS

The enemy's strategy against the black working class rests on the Bantustans. It is becoming clear beyond argument that these provide the means for fulfilling the ultimate dream of the ruling class in which, in the words of the 1923 Stallard Commission,

'the native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white

man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister.'

This exactly is one of the major aims of apartheid: to institutionalise the insecurity of the large black proletariat in the industrial citadels. The speculations of the

Stellenbosch professors about an all-white economy with all-white labour were never taken seriously by the ruling class intent on super-profits. The key to these is cheap black labour. To ensure its unending flow in the new conditions and at the same time to weaken the capacity of the black working class for organised class battles required that adjustments be made to the mechanism of national domination.

These adjustments require the transformation of the mass of the black urban workers into 'temporary sojourners', wanderers between the Bantustans and the towns in the rest of the country. The black man must surrender forever his claim to political and social rights and, in return, be satisfied with 'citizenship' of the rural compounds which go by the name of 'black independent states'. Already three such 'states' have been brought into existence.

Although the chief target of this policy is the black working man, its consequences are affecting the lives of every African man, woman and child in the urban and rural areas. Already over 9 million Africans have been crowded into 'homelands'; their basic food requirements, according to a government admission, can only be met if agricultural production rises by 1,000%. From the moment 'independence' is proclaimed every person who is connected with the homelands by language, culture or descent automatically loses his South African citizenship and becomes a 'foreigner'. This monstrous historical swindle is being presented to the world by the South African regime as its own contribution to 'de-colonisation'. What is happening in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda is proof of the true meaning of Bantustan independence and its consequences for the people.

In the Transkei, the Report on Development Strategy which was tabled in the National Assembly in April of this year tells its own story. It admits that 'one can hardly speak at present of a Transkei economy in any meaningful sense, more properly one must call it a labour reserve'. According to the Report the population of the Transkei will be 5 million by the year 2000 and 1.9 million will then be looking for jobs. The Transkei can only meet one-third of the food requirements of the present resident population. More than 60% of the entire male labour force works in South Africa as registered migrant workers. Only 13% of the male labour force and 4% of women and girls over 15 were in paid employment inside the Transkei. And the human toll of all this is horrific. Infant mortality among the Transkei people is 282 per thousand compared to 18.5 per thousand for whites in the rest of South Africa.

Despite the so-called break in diplomatic relations with the Transkei, the South African treasury pays 80% of the money needed to run the Bantustan. Direct grants in 1978 amounted to R130.3 million which included a grant of R8 million from the Department ofDefence for vehicles, arms and other military equipment. In addition, the administrative powers behind the scenes consist of about 400 South Africans who have been seconded to the Transkei at the cost to the South African treasury of R3.6 million.

Those who have finally sold their people's birthright by accepting 'independence' in their puppet states have already begun to accumulate some of the fruits of

their betrayal. The Matanzima brothers have allocated to themselves vast stretches of land and have become participants in numerous lucrative business ventures. According to James Skinner, ex-Managing Director of the Transkei Development Corporation, corruption is rife. He alleged that millions of rand are siphoned from the Transkei Development Corporation into the pockets of Transkei politicians and TDC officials. He says further that the TDC is run 'as if it were a private company whose principal objective is to promote the welfare and prosperity of the senior management'.

In Bophuthatswana the story is the same. The area's most important contribution to the development of South Africa is the supply of labour to South African border industries, industrial areas and agriculture. These workers provide 46% of Bophuthatswana's gross national income.

The appeal to world capital to come to the Bantustans where they would find 'problem-free labour resources' and where they could make a 'nice fat highly profitable operation' did not fall on deaf ears. Encouraged by the regime a number of South African firms have set up their 'operations' in areas like Babalegi where workers are earning R5 a week. When taxed about this starvation wage the Director of Tiger Clothing, who runs his factory in partnership with the Bophuthatswana government, said 'we are doing a kind service by giving jobs to poor black people'.

When Venda became 'independent' on September 13th 1979 another half a million people, most of them in 'white' urban areas, joined the ranks of 'foreigners'. Within a day after the racist South African parliament had adopted legislation which provides for all people classified as Venda to lose their South African citizenship, Chief Patrick Mphephu spoke the deliberate lie to his people that 'the Venda government appreciates that the Venda people will not lose any of their rights and benefits in the RSA because of the fact that they have become Venda citizens'. And as compensation for the persecution and added insecurity, the Venda-speaking people have inherited a 'country' which in 1976 had 13 kms of railway line, 126 kms of tarred road and whose only industry was a single bakery!

The massive opposition to 'independence' in Venda was demonstrated in the last 'election' when the Venda Independence Party won 31 of the 42 seats on a platform of unconditional rejection of Bantustan independence. But, as happened in the Transkei in the 60s, the South African regime got its way through a so-called legislature which was packed by its own nominees. A long campaign of persecution and arrest was then launched against the electe4 representatives of the people who were finally bludgeoned into abandoning their mandate of no 'independence'.

THE RURAL WILDERNESS

While at the top a tragic game is being played out between the regime and some of the Bantustan leaders on land consolidation, and while some of them engage in undignified begging for'a few more thin slices of land under the 1936 Land Act, millions in our rural areas are suffering the same fate as the wandering Palestinians.

But in the case of our people the dirty work no longer has to be done openly by Pretoria; they are being hounded into their wilderness by black collaborators in the Bantustans.

In Bophuthatswana, for example, over a million Africans whose 'crime' is that they are non-Tswana, are being chased and viciously persecuted by the Bophuthatswana administration and its police force in an attempt to uproot them from their homes and to force them to go 'to their own countries'. In Winterveldt 800,000 non-Tswanas (whose ranks have been swelled by those driven away by influx control and previous resettlement schemes) face continuous raids for permits, passes and trespass. The Bophuthatswana government has closed all private schools for these people with no alternative available. The goods of street vendors have been confiscated and their merchandise burnt. In Thaba 'nchu

15,000 'squatters' are being moved after endless persecution. In December '78 the Bophuthatswana court ordered 30,000 people to 'vanish' from Klipgat who, according to Post, 'disappeared after months of police persecution'. The same is happening in Stinkwater and at Boekenhoutfontein where 60,000 people with nowhere to go had been given until January 1979 to leave. 3,000 non-Tswanas at Majaneng were forced to take out Tswana citizenship after threats that their pensions would be cut off and that those at work in the Babalegi industries would lose their jobs.

The same future awaits the hundreds of thousands in Natal who are living in socalled 'black spots'. Thousands have already been deported from Charlestown and Newcastle. Plans are afoot to move thousands more from Paulpietersburg, Vryheid, Newcastle, Glencoe, Dundee, Colenso, Ladysmith, Estcourt and Mooi River. In April '79, the acting Chief Commissioner of Plural Affairs in Natal announced that he was looking for sites to resettle 300,000 'squatters', illegal labour tenants and inhabitants of 'black spots'. Here too, the policy of absolute impoverishment of the masses is being concealed by 'concessions' to the better-off. Only those who own more than 40 morgen in 'black spots' will be given land of the same value in their Bantustans whilst their less fortunate brothers will get a site whose average size is 50 metres by 25 metres.

The effect of the Bantustans on the security and general conditions of the African resident in the urban areas thus has its counterpart in every part of rural South Africa. And in the Bantustans themselves the people's resentment is growing. In both the Transkei and Venda when people were given a voting choice, the pro-apartheid black collaborators were beaten. There has recently been an outcry against the 100% rent increase in Lebowa. Strikes of bus drivers have taken place in Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei. The mood of those being hounded in Bophuthatswana is summed up in a Post editorial (27.12.78),

'Thousands of non-Tswanas in Bophuthatswana are suffering so much that they are about to go to war against this forced independence which is bringing nobody but a few
bureaucrats and the South African government joy.'

The powder keg of discontent and frustration will be packed more tightly as the

government moves with the greatest possible speed to bring about a situation in which, in the words of the former Plural Relations Minister, 'there will be no black South Africans'. It is clear therefore that in the coming decade the fight against Bantustans and against the further fragmentation of our land will occupy a principal place on the agenda of our struggle. What is at stake in this struggle is nothing less than the survival of the African people as a national entity.

THE WOOING OF THE BLACK MIDDLE STRATA The starting point of revolutionary strategy is an understanding of who the main enemy is and which is the principal social force and its allies on the side of the revolution. These vital definitions cannot be arrived at by abstract theorising; they must emerge from a grasp of the specific conditions in which a struggle has to be fought out. As Marxist-Leninists we say that an individual belongs to this or that class by

looking at the place which he occupies in the relations of production. But we know from experience that the political behaviour of individuals or groups (that is the class position they adopt) does not, at every moment, correspond mechanically to the long-term economic interests of their class. The actual class positions adopted by such individuals and groups at any given moment depend also on ideological political and historical factors.

In our conditions the fight to put an end to capitalist exploitation cannot be separated from the struggle against the national tyranny. A 'class struggle' which ignores this truth can only be fought out in the classroom and not in the actual arena of struggle. The'role of the different classes which make up our black community cannot be understood without a grasp of this reality. It is this reality which helps to explain why we believe that the main strategy of the present phase of our struggle is to win the aims of our national democratic revolution as a stage towards socialist transformation. Our programme stresses that the black working class stands as the vanguard social force to achieve the aims of the national democratic revolution and to ensure that it does not stop until the root cause of racial domination -capitalist exploitation- is eradicated.

Our history has shown that the broad alliance of social forces has strengthened rather than weakened the drive toward liberation. It is precisely this line-up which the enemy has recognised as posing a serious threat to its survival. And it is for this reason that it has embarked on the deliberate policy of separating a small black upper crust from the liberation movement. That this is behind some of the Wiehahn and Riekert recommendations is clear from the remarks of D.P. de Villiers, Managing Director of Nasionale Pers, in support of the entry of blacks into skilled occupations:

'Military leaders had warned that warding off insurgency was only 20% of a military exercise and 807 one of winning the hearts of the people.., this requires action in the
economic, social and political spheres.'

Oppenheimer was more precise in his 1979 Witwatersrand University

Chancellor's lecture where he argued for the limited admission of some blacks to white universities:

'An elitist educational system is necessary to allow blacks with abilities to fully take their place in a white-orientated economic society by giving them an opportunity to study in a
white environment.'

But it was left to Motsuenyane, President of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce, to put the matter bluntly:

'South Africa has to produce a group of people who will be firmly involved aspartners in
the development of the South African economy.'

Even some who thunder against many of the outrages of apartheid fail to distinguish between the people and the small clique of businessmen. Thus Post editorialised:

'They (the black businessmen) must get together and use their joint resources to initiate a real and living black economy, knowing at the end that money means power. People start respecting you as a community when they know you have money power behind you.' When we talk of the wooing ofthe black middle strata, whom are we thinking of?. We are thinking of a section of African, Indian and Coloured society who are neither workers nor capitalists but occupy an area in-between. It can immediately be seen that we are talking of a group which is not uniform; it includes traders, professional people, teachers and lecturers, churchmen, bureaucrats, those holding full-time political office in the state apparatus, those occupying business executive positions, etc. etc. History has shown that, in general, what we call the middle strata do not always play a consistent role in social struggles. On the one hand, their members aspire to enter the ranks of the exploiters and some of them are used as appendages of the ruling class to maintain the whole system of exploitation. On the other hand, they are often thrown back into the ranks of the working people.

When examining the black middle strata and assessing the political role which the enemy is hoping to assign to them, we must be careful to distinguish between the different elements within their ranks. In which areas is the enemy concentrating? In the Bantustans the strategy of encouraging and co-opting a black elite has been going on in a more systematic way and over a longer period of time. In addition to immediate business incentives there are also the plums of political office and high-ranking bureaucratic posts. These, as we saw from the Afrikaner experience, provide a launching pad for parti~ipation in capitalist exploitation. The regime's agricultural policy, announced in 1973 by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, is to create a small group of rich peasants by reducing the number of farmers in the Bantustans from 500,000 to 50,000. There are already clear signs that class differentiation is advancing in the Bantustans especially in those which have been dragged into 'independence'. The exact nature and extent of this class differentiation has an obvious relevance to the struggle potential of the

various groups and classes and needs to be more fully researched and documented. But the broad tendencies are clear.

In the 'white' urban areas the regime is encouraging a more rapid expansion of the small business class some of whom are being incorporated into higher levels of white industry and finance. No doubt, this group will be tempted to play a collaborationist role, to become the 'responsible spokesmen' of their people and, in so far as some of them retain a connection with our liberation movement, they will attempt to steer it away from radicalism and to push it in the direction of old-style bourgeois nationalism. And we must clearly keep up our guard against this threat.

But it would be a crude and dangerous oversimplification to deny any future role on the side of the revolution for all these sections of the black middle strata. Of course, it is clear what the regime's intentions are; to tempt as many of them as possible into collaboration through these limited economic 'concessions'. But we must not assist this process by adopting positions which will help push them right

into the enemy's lap. We believe that a basis exists, and will continue to exist, for frustrating the complete fulfilment of racist strategy in this field.
In assessing the future role of those to whom 'concessions' are being offered we must be on our guard against a vulgar type of economism which has little in common with Marxism. In the reality of the South African set-up it remains true that the deprivations and humiliations of national domination will, in varying degrees, continue to be felt by every class and group within the black community. In the case of the black business group, even the purely economic concessions will generate new conflicts between it and its well-entrenched white competitors. Already there are early signs of this. Soweto building contractors are complaining that they are being put out of business by white firms. NAFCOC has complained that 'we are in no position to compete' with the R21 million white-owned shopping complex which is being constructed on Soweto's doorstep. Riekert has recommended that the white local authorities should have the power to decide whether a member of another group can trade in its area. Even in the black areas, according to Riekert, the presence of 'the black entrepreneur will be subject to the normal requirements' of influx control. Developments in Bophuthatswana have already demonstrated that it is the very same monopoly by white capital which will dominate the heights of economic power in the Bantustans.
In general, it is clear that the ranks of white property owners, businessmen, finance, etc. etc., are not being opened to blacks. It is also clear that whatever concessions are made to the other sections of the black petty bourgeoisie, they will not, in many important respects, be allowed to join the ranks of their white counterparts. All that is happening is that, within the framework of continued national domination over all classes and groups which constitute the black community, some sections of the black middle strata will be allowed a little more scope for development; but always 'along their own lines'. In their personal lives they will continue to face most of the humiliation of inferior status, politically, socially and culturally. When the Bantustan schemes are complete all of them will become 'foreigners' in the land of their birth. The few who will be invited to

share boardrooms with the white tycoons will be little more than symbolic appendages.
The small group of black skilled workers who will be permitted, in the words of Coertze, to become 'honorary whites' will undoubtedly continue to receive their share of the outrages of racial domination over all black people. South African racism is indivisible. For it to continue operating, it must sooner or later show its face to every class which makes up the dominated community. For example, the Indian commercial bourgeoisie has been in existence for many years. Yet they have been taught the bitter lesson that their class position did not save them from the ghettos and other humiliations suffered by the Indian working people. If, therefore, we look at the totality of the picture, it remains true that the fate of the majority of the black middle strata is more closely connected to the black working people than to their white patrons and that the destruction of the system of national domination is in their interests. As emphasised in our programme and in

our statements of the 70s, this does not mean that the black middle strata will be as equally committed as the working class to the advance of our revolution; nor will it prevent the enemy from finding within its ranks a more fertile source of collaboration. But it does mean that the liberation movement must continue to mobilise the broadest possible contingent of black social forces against racist rule. The enemy's latest manoeuvres to divide and rule, whether it be by means of tribal fragmentation or through the device of the admission ofa few individuals to the fringes of white society, must be defeated. Those who have already sold out like the Matanzimas, Mangopes and Mphephus must feel the wrath of the people. But those (and there will be many) whose experiences of racist domination will prevent them from going the whole way with the enemy, must be encouraged to play their part in the cause of our liberation struggle whose dominant and most consistent revolutionary force is the black working class in alliance with the landless and poor peasants in the countryside.

THE ATTACK ON BLACK UNITY

One of the prime objectives of the current enemy offensive against the people is to drive a wedge between the African and the Coloured and Indian communities. Their common experience of race oppression and economic exploitation has led to active co-operation between the groups which reached one of its highest points in the mass struggles of the 50s.

At the same time, despite enemy manoeuvres to separate the Coloured and Indian people from the African, there is a growing determination and preparedness of the people to unite. The South African ruling class has always spread the slander that People's Power will lead to African domination over all other national groups. Right-wing Coloured and Indian 'nationalists' have played on this in an attempt to steer their communities away from the common liberation struggle and towards collaboration with the white power bloc. But the people have rejected this

slander and want to unite. Black unity is a fundamental aspect of unity of all democratic forces. We have already referred to the growing commitment in the 70s by Coloured and Indian youth to all-black unity, especially during the Soweto period. The jails of South Africa are testimony to the growing number of Coloured and Indian youth who have thrown in their lot with the liberation struggle side by side with their African brothers. In the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe they have shown a readiness to make the supreme sacrifice in pursuit of complete liberation.

This mood is reflected in the public expressions of many leaders of the mass organisations, some of whom have ignored the legal consequences of open commitment to the policies and leadership ofthe ANC. For example, the last Congress of the Labour Party called for a lifting of the ban on the ANC. Its newly elected president, Alan Hendrickse, announced that his party would co-operate with the ANC for 'the attainment of true freedom and liberation in South Africa'. He added, 'I am only a leader in a caretaker capacity. The time will come when we will get together with the leaders on Robben Island, in detention, and in exile.'

He stressed once again that one-man one-vote in a united South Africa was 'nonnegotiable'.

It is not only these threatening signs of all black togetherness which stimulate the enemy to give urgent attention to new 'solutions' for the Coloured and Indian people. In their case there was no ready-to-hand device like the Bantustans to reinforce and institutionalise their inferior status and to 'satisfy' their urge for political rights. It is within the bounds of 'white' South Africa that the answer has to be found.

Events have already demonstrated that the Coloured and Indian people cannot so easily be fobbed off with transparent frauds like the CRC and SAIC. The latest model is the projected three-tier 'parliament'. It is nothing more than a mirage which gives the appearance of participation at top levels of parliamentary government. And, appearances aside, it is clearly yet another carrot dangled in front of the Coloured and Indian people to tempt them to become willing accomplices in their own race servitude. That there will be no real sharing of power was made clear by the regime's leaders who were at pains to assure all the recent Nationalist Party Congresses that the white parliament will continue to have the last say on everything.

For the fascist-oriented Nationalist Party, the proposed constitutional arrangement concentrating power in the hands of a presidential junta is also a device which will enable it further to tighten the stranglehold of the fascist clique over all aspects of national life and destroy the facade of so-called parliamentary democracy even within the limited sphere of white politics.

THE TASKS AHEAD OF US

These then are the main ingredients of the enemy's offensive. It is an offensive which is primarily a response to a decade of greatly intensified class and national battles which threaten to erupt with heightened intensity in the coming decade. In

 this sense it has to be seen rather as a counter-offensive, a sign of an advance in the revolutionary struggle and a recognition by the enemy of its menacing potential.

In every sector of the people's lives, the raw material for raising their initiative to even higher levels is present in greater abundance than ever before. The struggle experiences of the 70s and the changes that have come about in our sub-continent, have armed our people with a greater passion for national liberation and with a growing confidence in the inevitability of their victory. Everywhere there is a sense of anticipation, anger and revolutionary fervour. As the regime's plans are put into practice and as the burden of the crisis-ridden economy is placed more and more on the shoulders ofthe people, the havoc in their lives will become even more terrible. And they will increasingly be looking to the ANC and its allies to show the way of struggle and to lead them towards final victory. As the new decade dawns we are called upon to be ready, as never before, to take up the challenge which faces us. What are our main tasks?

THE BLACK WORKING CLASS

The key to everything is the need to mobilise and organise the black working class, to arouse further its revolutionary consciousness and sharpen an awareness

of its historic mission as the dominant force in the struggle for national liberation and the building of a socialist society.
A most intensive propaganda campaign must be launched especially at workplaces to expose the true meaning of the Wiehahn recommendations. All possible measures must be taken to reinforce and expand a genuine trade union movement which rejects all efforts to isolate the workers from the national liberation struggle. Existing black trade unions who have already taken a principled stand against registration must be encouraged. Workers must refuse to become part of the type of 'multi-racial' trade unions which would turn them into pawns of the organised white workers. This has already been the fate of some of the Coloured and Indian trade unions which were sucked into the machinery of the Industrial Conciliation Act. We must work more urgently than ever to bring about effective unity between the African, Coloured and Indian workers.
Our working class must be mobilised in a growing protest against the massive unemployment and the ravages of influx control. The time is once again ripe for the launching of mass anti-pass resistance campaigns and for the rejection of the Bantustan 'passport' as an equally vicious substitute for the dom-pas. Especially against the background of rising prices which have virtually nullified most of the wage gains achieved in the strike movement of the 70s, we must stimulate new efforts by the workers to defend and advance their conditions of employment. As emphasised earlier, the plight of women workers is even more terrible and their mobilisation and organisation call for special efforts from our movement as a whole.
Special attention must also be paid to the task of mobilising those who work in the Bantustans where wages and working conditions are eveh more appalling than

in the traditional industrial areas. New ways must be found both inside and outside the Bantustans to organise the millions of migrants and commuters to resist their allotted status as 'foreigners' and to demand full trade union and political rights.
THE BANTUSTANS
The struggle against 'independence' occupies one of the most important sectors of the immediate battles we face. What is at stake here is whether the African people will survive as a national entity or whether they will be finally fragmented into tribal compartments competing with one another for the patronage of white capital and in the disposal of the only resource they have in abundance-cheap migrant labour power. In this connection, the tasks set out in the statement presented by Comrade Dadoo to the 1974 plenary session of our Central Committee ('South Africa-A Time of Challenge') need to be pursued with greater vigour than ever before. These are:
To reject totally any form of ideology which sees the Bantustans as enclaves of independence from which further advances can be made.
. To expose those actions of the Bantustan leaders which, wittingly or unwittingly, help the enemy and to stimulate mass opposition to such policies and to those who put them

forward.
To use flexible tactics in the fight to destroy the Bantustans. Depending upon the specific situation in a specific Bantustan, both the weapons of complete boycott or rejectionist participation are legitimate options. The sole test is whether this or that weapon in a given situation is the most effective to destroy the Bantustan or make it
unworkable.
The battle against the Bantustans must engage the mass of the people where they live.
It must not be left to the limited, and often sham, confrontations between the traditional
leaders and the regime.
The consequences of Bantustan 'independence' for the people are no longer a matter of'speculation. We have already referred to the millions of landless refugees, the growing insecurity of black workers in the urban areas, the gap which is growing inside the Bantustans between the ruling elites and the impoverished mass, and the transformation of our people into 'foreigners' who must seek their political salvation in these back-yards. The continued balkanisation of our country must be resisted along the broadest possible front and with all the power at our disposal. This resistance must engage all classes, social groups and individuals who genuinely stand opposed to 'independence'. The seven remaining Bantustan administrations have so far committed themselves, in varying degrees, to a policy of rejecting the final step. The mass of our people, under the leadership of the liberation movement, must ensure that these commitments are honoured.
THE THREE-TIER 'PARLIAMENT'
The proposed new constitutional arrangements for the Coloured and Indian

 people are part of the same pattern as the Bantustans. The struggle against the three-tier 'parliament' is the struggle of all the black oppressed and not just of the separate communities immediately affected. This latest assault on black unity must become the signal for an even more effective cementing of the bonds which link every sector of South Africa's oppressed people. As in the case of the Bantustans, the new scheme urgently poses the question of finding the nost effective tactics to defeat the enemy's efforts. Obviously, the aim must be to destroy these institutions and to make them unworkable. This aim demands flexible tactics and cannot always be achieved through the unconditional adherence to a single formula. In the earlier Namibian elections we witnessed an extremely successful application of the tactic of a complete boycott of the elections. In the case of the CRC the institution was made unworkable by the Labour Party's non-collaboration from within. In each case the fundamental question centres around the best way of involving the people themselves in the most effective opposition to such institutions. But unity is the key. We must ensure that the common hostility against the bogus bodies is not dissipated by purely tactical disagreements on how best to smash them.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND MASS MOBILISATION

The system ofexploitation and oppression in South Africa cannot be defeated without revolutionary violence involving the whole people. The policy of armed struggle, the armed blows being delivered against the enemy and the steps being taken to create conditions for the entrenchment ofa national liberation army in both urban and rural areas, constitute a vital part of the liberation movement's strategy. But, as we have always stressed, it is a strategy which can only take effective shape ifit is rooted in the broadest possible-mobilisation and organisation of our people in mass legal and semi-legal struggles. It is politics which is in command and it is politics which determines the nature and level of armed activity at every stage. For this reason, the build-up towards the winning of People's Power calls for an even greater-emphasis in the area of strengthening the mass instruments of national, regional and local organisation amongst the people. It is only our liberation movement which can effectively guide the whole process through its underground network.

The scope for mass political activity and organisation has widened greatly as a result of the developments we have described. In our approach to such mass activity we must avoid an all-or-nothing attitude. Each and every initiative taken by groups or individuals against the regime's policies or practices must be treated as a contribution to the struggle even if, in some cases, the participants are not yet ready to accept all aspects of the liberation movement's strategy.

OUR PARTY

Our Party is a vital component of the revolutionary alliance for national liberation

headed by the ANC. As such it has no interests separate from any contingent of that alliance which we have always worked to strengthen. This approach does not stand in conflict with our belief that our Party has an independent role to play not only as a constituent part of the alliance, but also as the political vanguard of the proletariat whose special historical role as the grave-digger of capitalism and the builder of socialism we have always safeguarded.

It is our duty in the coming decade to work with greater vigour than ever before:

(a) to strengthen the whole national liberation movement;

(b) to spread the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism as widely as possible; (c) to strengthen the ranks of our Party by attracting the most politically advanced activists, especially from amongst the proletariat;

(d) to spread an understanding of the connection between racial oppression and capitalist exploitation and to win mass support for the perspective of a future socialist society in South Africa.

(e) to reinforce the weapon of proletarian internationalism and to combat all forms of narrow and backward nationalism and racism; and

(f) to devote special attention to the political and trade union organisation of the working class, especially at places of work.

The SACP has a proud record of almost 60 years of dedicated struggle to the cause of the working class and the people as a whole. Communists like Kotane, Marks and Fischer are representative of a long list of our members who have

become honoured symbols of the unconquerable spirit of resistance to national and class tyranny. They have helped spread the vision of a new life in our country without exploitation of man by man. On all fronts of our struggle - in the underground, in the combat units, in the trade union fields etc. - our cadres have always shown, and continue to show, the most outstanding commitment, courage and devotion to the cause of the revolution.
Both as a Party and as part of the alliance of revolutionary forces, we enter the new decade with a keent awareness of the heavy responsibilities ahead, with absolute confidence in the justness of our cause and with the certainty that our people will destroy the racist tyranny, win People's Power and move on to build a socialist South Africa.
APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE
We the people of South Africa know that there is no power that can withstand our organised force.
Despite the most savage repression, we have demonstrated in action our inexhaustible capacity to develop new forms of mass struggle, uniting more and more people and extending mass action and resistance to all fronts.
Wherever we are, at all levels and in all fields -at our work places, in the urban and rural areas where we live, in the schools, universities, churches, in cultural and sports clubs- we must mobilise ourselves and confront the enemy as never before,

Underground Resistance andArmed Struggle 467 We must support every act of resistance and draw it into the mainstream of revolt.
WITH OUR UNITED STRENGTH: Let us in 1980, the 25th year ofthe Freedom Charter, build the broadest front of all patriotic and anti-racist forces under the banner of the ANC. Let us fight the regime's labour policy; make 1980 the year of the worker; build genuine trade unions under the leadership of SACTU. Let us isolate the enemy and its collaborators. Let us fight for the release of all political prisoners; stand by the detained, the banned and banished; demonstrate our solidarity with those facing political trials. Oppressed African, Coloured and Indian people unite in action. Democratic whites, join in the struggle. Mobilise for People's War! Support the struggle of Umkhonto we Sizwe and its combatants!
Unity and Organisation mean Victory!
Long live the SACP!
Long live the unity of the patriotic forces of our country! Death to racism and fascism-Forward to People's Power! Victory is certain!
DOCUMENT 136:
'The Situation in Afghanistan', statement issued by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, January 1980.
The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party expresses its full solidarity with the Afghanistan People's Democratic Party and the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in their determined and all out efforts to defend the gains of the April 1978 Revolution for the elimination of feudalism, for national independence and social progress on the road to socialism. The events in Afghanistan must be seen against the background of the frantic campaign by

imperialism to shore up the remaining bastions of capitalism throughout the world and to hold back the forces of change. Now they talk of 'Soviet aggression against a neighbouring country'. But the truth of the matter is that on December 28, 1979, Radio Kabul transmitted the following message:
'The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, taking into account the continuing and broadening interference and provocations of external enemies of Afghanistan, and with a view to defending the gains of the April Revolution, territorial integrity, national independence and maintaining peace and security, proceeding from the treaty of friendship, good neighbourliness and co-operation of December 5, 1978, approached the USSR with the insistent request that it give urgent political, moral and
economic aid, including military aid.'
To us it comes as no surprise that the Soviet Union has met the request of the Afghan side.

For years now the imperialists have been concentrating their strategy for a counter-revolutionary revival, leading to increasing confrontation with the Soviet Union and ultimately the threat of nuclear war. When the Soviet Union has taken the lead in proposing measures of detente and disarmament, the imperialists have resorted to delaying tactics and both secret and open rearmament. The ratification of SALT 2 has been repeatedly deferred, and now once again the Carter regime has used the excuse of Afghanistan to withdraw it from the consideration of the Senate. When the Soviet Union unilaterally withdrew 20,000 men and 1,000 tanks from the German Democratic Republic, the imperialist response was a NATO decision to deploy hundreds of new atomic weapons throughout Western Europe and threats of nuclear war against the Soviet Union from Mrs Thatcher and her allies.
The Iranian revolution was followed by the dispatch of American naval forces to the Persian Gulf and the threat of military action to secure the oil wells of the Middle East for the West. Hatred of the Soviet Union has united China with the imperialists and opened the way to massive military and economic aid to China as an ally of imperialism against the world revolutionary movement.
Step by step hatred of the Soviet Union is being deliberately fanned by the Governments and media in the imperialist countries, whose people are being brainwashed to regard the Soviet Union as an enemy, and conditioned to accept that war against the Soviet Union is inevitable and intervention to stop the spread of socialism desirable.
The hypocrisy of the imperialists is exposed by the fact that aggression perpetuated by themselves or their allies against the forces of progress and democracy throughout the world are passed over in silence. China's brazen invasion of Vietnam was accompanied, not by the threat of sanctions, but by a frenzied rush of Western businessmen to negotiate trade deals with Peking. French invasions in Africa and continued occupation of African territories are ignored.

Imperialism's global strategy is of particular concern to us in South Africa. We have already witnessed the collusion of Britain with the racists of South Africa and Rhodesia in a bid to impose a neo-colonialist settlement on Zimbabwe, and similar attempts are being made to frustrate the liberation movement in Namibia. Mrs Thatcher herself has confirmed that the aim of these exercises is 'to make progress towards an ending of the isolation of South Africa in world affairs.' The alliance between Israel and South Africa as the main bastions of imperialism in the Middle East and Africa is being cemented ever more strongly.

The present tactic ofthe industrial-military complex in the imperialist countries is to keep the economy going by massive expenditure on armaments, and the vicious anti-Soviet campaign is designed to make this acceptable to the masses at a time when their social services are being cut to the bone. The danger, inevitably, is that preparations for war can so easily spill over into open conflict -a conflict from which the human race is unlikely to survive.

It is in this context that we interpret the events in Afghanistan. We appreciate that it is for the people of Afghanistan to decide for themselves the nature of their

social system, but ever since the April 1978 Revolution the imperialists have refused to leave them to settle their own affairs and have strained every nerve to turn the clock back. In the dangerous situation which has developed in the region, with both American and China threatening, and indeed either directly or indirectly or through surrogates, actually waging war, the Soviet Union had every right to respond to the appeal of the Afghan Government to help defend their revolution. The South African Communist Party declares its full understanding of and support for the Soviet action, and calls upon progressive forces throughout the world to resist all anti-Soviet pressures and consolidate the ranks of the antiimperialist forces in the struggle for the new and better world order for which we are all fighting.

We appeal to our people at home to demonstrate their solidarity with the people of Afghanistan; we appeal to the international communist movement and progressive forces to defend the Afghan Revolution, to expose imperialist machinations and to support the fraternal act of solidarity which the Soviet Union renders to the Afghan people.

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