

UMSEBENZI

VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY



1986 — A YEAR OF DECISION

The enemy must be given no rest. The prospect of breaking the back of the race tyranny is no longer a dream; it is beginning to loom on the horizon. The people's offensive must be spread to all fronts! Let all roads lead to people's power! Let us make 1986 a Year of Decision!

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

From Ungovernability to an Organised Offensive

The mass of the oppressed in most of the main urban centres have responded to the call to make the country ungovernable. In place of the collapsed enemy structures let us everywhere create united, organised and disciplined popular organs. These organs can become the seeds of people's power and the mass instruments for raising the community's struggle to even higher levels. From outburst to an organised offensive! From ungovernability to popular organisation!



From the Towns to the Countryside

The flames of resistance and defiance must be spread to the millions in the countryside. When the countryside also catches fire the enemy will be on his last legs. Militants from the towns must go among their country brothers and sisters and help spread the message of organisation and revolt. Let the towns surround the countryside!

The Working Class is the Key

Our working class, in alliance with the landless and rural poor, holds the key to victory and to a future of real people's power. Strengthen the workers vanguard — the South African Communist Party! Under the overall leadership of our liberation front the trade union movement of the oppressed must become a stronger and stronger instrument of struggle. We hail the creation of COSATU as a giant step in the direction of mass workers' unity. Let COSATU grow to a million strong in 1986!

Continued on page two ...

Combine in One Fist

Let all contingents of our revolution act as one. The organised workers, the communities and the youth must be like one clenched fist. Together they are unconquerable.

Spread the Mass Offensive

The time has never been more ripe for the complete destruction of influx control and the hated pass laws. The consumer boycott against white business can further weaken and divide the ruling class. Action in the universities and the schools are a vital part of the social forces in our revolutionary upsurge. Teachers, parents and the organised workers must become part of one co-ordinated offensive together with the youth. At the right moment a national general political strike can paralyse the enemy's grip on the economy. Let us shout 'no' to higher rents, higher transport costs, taxation without representation and all other methods by which the racists milk the oppressed. The regime must be forced to lift the emergency and release all political prisoners unconditionally. The spirit of resistance, defiance and civil disobedience must be raised to new heights in 1986.

Above all, the spread of mass defiance and revolt must be backed by increasing armed blows against the



enemy and by growing contingents of people with arms in hand. Let MK hit out as never before in the Year of the People's Army!

The Liberation Front

The popular front for majority rule in one united South Africa must spread its roots to every corner of our land. The ANC stands at the head of this front; only under its umbrella can the struggle for people's power be led and won.

**The SACP — A Vital Part of the Alliance — Says:
LET US MEET THE CHALLENGE!
LET US MAKE 1986 A YEAR OF DECISION!**



ORGANISE THE OFFENSIVE!

DOES INSURRECTION NEED PEOPLE'S WAR?



People's war is not the only path to a victorious and armed insurrection. The Great October Socialist Revolution was not preceded by a guerrilla war. Therefore, in formulating strategy, revolutionaries have to identify conditions which dictate the approach of **people's war and possible insurrection** and those which allow for **insurrection without prior protracted people's war**.

For a start, let us look at the question why revolutionaries plan for a protracted war when they and the people want their freedom without delay.

This strategic approach is adopted in situations where the people are forced to take up arms but find themselves materially weak compared to the enemy. They have to patiently build their forces; confront the enemy in small units and in conditions most suitable to them. In the course of many years, they sap the enemy's strength and create a general crisis allowing for the final armed insurrection and the seizure of power.

For the strategy of an armed insurrection that is not preceded by a protracted guerrilla struggle:

- ★ The economy should be so developed that private ownership of the wealth should have become a brake on its further development;
- ★ The class(es) on whom the economy depends should have a history of mass action as well as a vanguard organisation to lead them;
- ★ Such actions should occasionally lead to great revolts and political crises of the ruling class(es);
- ★ The ruling class should not command decisive resources outside the country which is the theatre of struggle;
- ★ The state machinery should be made up mainly of forces from the classes and strata that are in revolt.

A guerrilla war can be waged where all these conditions exist, for example in Cuba and other Latin American countries. In this instance, we should take into account other national conditions (such as the revolutionary traditions of the people) and international factors (for example, how the country relates to imperialism).

Our situation displays almost all the conditions for a violent revolution that does not have to mature from a guerrilla campaign. The

economy is over-ripe for revolution. Black workers and the rest of the oppressed people have a tradition of mass struggles including partial uprisings. At their head is an experienced revolutionary movement. The ruling class is based in South Africa; it does not command significant resources outside the country.

However, the core of the army and police is made up of whites — who have a stake in the colonial system. Though an important element in the defence of white power, black soldiers and police are not the main pillar of the regime's defence structure. Our strategy of protracted people's war compensates for this, our material weakness.

But our conduct of people's war has to take into account the other conditions, especially the ongoing uprisings which have elements of an insurrectionary revolt. For us insurrection is much more than a possibility at the very end of a protracted war. We have to merge the strategy of protracted war and the science and art of insurrection.

Concretely:

1. Armed and mass activity should reinforce each other, develop to achieve harmony and to merge into one. This means we should at all times possess an armed potential that we can put to good use at periods of heightened mass activity — transform 'simple' mass uprisings into armed uprisings. It means also that we must cultivate mass initiative and mass creativity in the acquisition and usage of weapons, in battle tactics, etc.
2. Physical confrontation with the enemy army and police must be accompanied by a rigorous organisational and political campaign within these institutions.
3. Combat units should be formed at the **workplace**, in the suburbs and townships.
4. Armed action should reinforce and defend rudimentary organs of popular power.

In this way we shall worsen the political crisis and make our people's war the less protracted.

SEIZE THE TIME!

MASS ACTION CAN DISABLE THE SADF!

A few weeks before his accidental death in Angola, David Rabkin entered the discussion in Umsebenzi on insurrection. Even this brief contribution underlines what a rare talent has been lost to the liberation and communist cause. We will tell our readers more about him in a future issue in the 'Pen Pictures' section.

Here are my views on insurrection and the SADF:

1. Although defection of sections of the army has often accompanied insurrection, it is not an indispensable factor. In Nicaragua, the National Guard stuck with Somoza, but was defeated by a nation-in-arms. The Sandanistas won by a combination of mass struggle and armed actions that eventually overwhelmed the guard by **sheer weight of numbers**.

2. Although the SADF is a powerful military machine, it needs **political direction** in order to function. But politics has to consider other factors beside force. We can **paralyse the political direction** behind the SADF so that it becomes unable to act. If one million people took to the streets of Johannesburg, would the government bomb the city centre, slaughtering tens of thousands and devastating its own business offices, communications etc? I doubt it. There is a moral dimension to politics, where we hold the aces. We must play them soon.

3. How do we combine these elements?

- We must visibly raise the pitch of MK actions so as to further energise the mass struggle.
- We must weaken the SADF by winning over black soldiers and sowing doubt and division among whites. **Much more can be done here.**
- We must **greatly increase the numbers on the streets**, by mobilising still inactive sections. The youth are not enough. To mobilise the broad masses on the streets we need concrete and appropriate **demands and slogans**. We're neglecting slogans which Lenin saw as a key factor in revolutionary situations. 'Amandla' is not enough.
- On the same basis, we must mobilise the organised workers.
- We must mobilise the rural people. Why not 'green marches' for jobs and land? Or against the pass laws, which are already crumbling?
- We must put arms into the hands of the mobilised masses.

In a revolutionary situation, audacity and imagination are the keys to victory.



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WE SALUTE THE FALLEN MARTYRS!

YOUTH AS AN ORGANISED FORCE

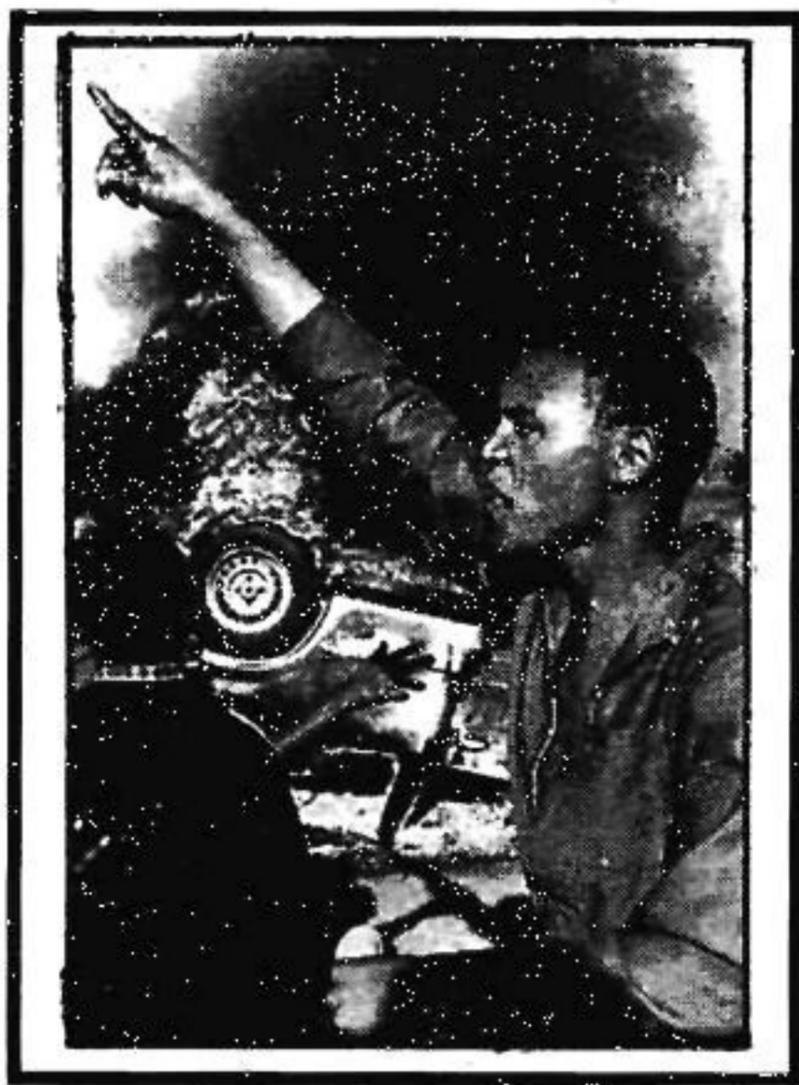
Faced with the brave and determined struggle by black youth and students, the racist regime has decided to ban Cosas. Cosas was not a front for the ANC nor the SACP, as the regime claims. Cosas was a product of the student struggle which gained its momentum from the Soweto Uprising. It is the maturity of the student struggle over many years. Why do the youth need their own democratic organisations?

The emergence of democratic youth organisations is the objective consequence of the very logic of the liberation struggle. Young people have their specific forms of involvement, their own problems and programmes. Education itself has a historic and class nature. The real education of the youth can't be separated from their revolutionary struggle. Only struggle discloses to the youth the magnitude of its own power. The effectiveness of their role depends primarily on with what class they link their destiny. That is why our youth has not limited their struggle to the classroom but have taken a central role even in the struggle of the oppressed community as a whole.

The existence of youth organisations ensures practical involvement in the struggle by the grassroot membership of the youth. Practical involvement is an important factor in raising awareness. It helps the youth to develop social maturity, to develop creative initiative and experience. It helps to build leadership and loyalty in the organisation. People defend better what they have helped to build up. In recruiting the youth, the Bolsheviks started by giving them simple tasks like distributing leaflets and telling people about meetings. This would be followed by more complicated tasks like defending and protecting demonstrations and meetings. This was considered the beginning of class tempering.

A high state of mobilisation, anger and militancy does not replace the need for organisation. We need propaganda and agitation. But, more importantly, we need organisation. The high state of mobilisation and agitation does not make the organisation of the struggle less necessary. On the contrary, it makes it more necessary.

A correct organisational structure is



vital for a youth organisation to develop as a living organism. Every member is to be organised into a unit, whether in the township street or the classroom. This makes more effective the principle of democracy and accountability. While debate must be allowed, it should not become an end in itself. In a state of heightened repression, like the present state of emergency, more secretive and centralised ways of organising become necessary even though they might temporarily affect some democratic procedures.

Aims of a youth organisation should harmonise with forms of struggle. Incorrect forms of struggle and poor organisation make the youth organisations rely on spontaneous action. Youth organisations should be able to initiate and guide mobilisation. Each stage of mobilisation should be harnessed to give rise to more permanent forms of organisation. Each campaign must lead to greater organised strength.

MEET THE ENEMY WITH UNITED ACTION!

Capitalism Equals Misery!

We can all see that something has gone wrong with the way the South African system works. It was always difficult to find work, but never so difficult as now. Thousands of people who had jobs a year or two ago are now out of work. This affects both whites and blacks, though not to the same degree. Because white workers have votes but blacks have none, the government does what it can to make sure that what jobs there are go to whites. In spite of these efforts, the number of whites without jobs went up from 29 000 in 1984 to 55 000 in 1985.

What happened to the blacks over the same period? There are no exact figures, because the government keeps the record of black unemployment. But the people need no figures to tell them the truth. In many towns one in every four adults has no work. Everyone who still has a job knows somebody who has lost his job. The people of the Eastern Cape know that whole factories which used to make cars now stand empty. Only the old can remember the last time that things were so bad — around 1930.

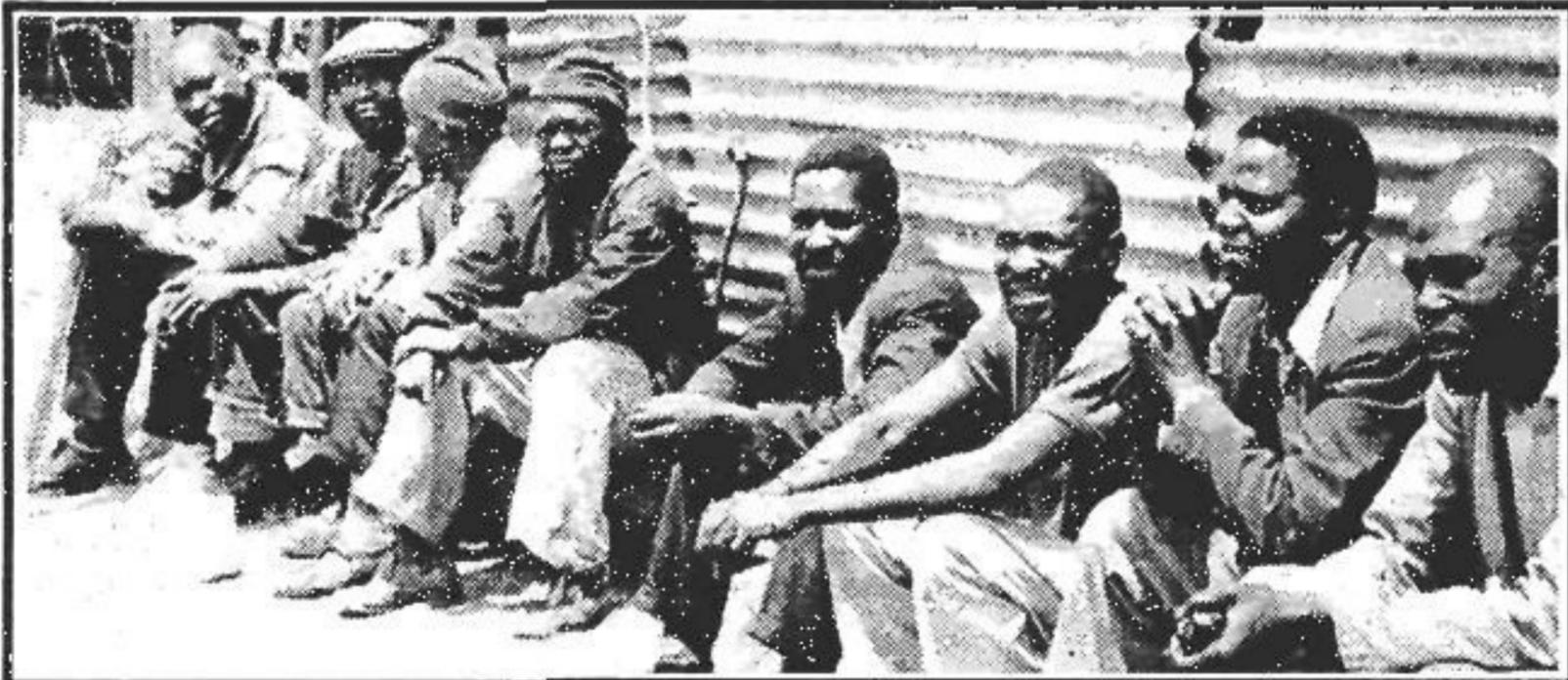
Lack of jobs is not the only problem that the people face. There is also the frightening rise in prices. This is now growing at such a rate that at the end of one year, a rand only buys as much as 84c would buy at the beginning of the year. It takes only five years for a rand to lose half its value. What is the use of saving money under such conditions? Even the rich begin to feel the effects as their savings are eaten away. But their sufferings are small next to the sufferings of the poor. For a person earning a fixed wage, the rise in prices can make the difference between life and

death.

The way in which the system is failing to work has got even the bosses worried. Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American Corporation, told his shareholders at their last general meeting: 'No one should be in any doubt that the next few years will be painful for all of us'. For years he and his kind told us that we were all going to be better off and better wages, better jobs and more money would solve our problems. Now he has to admit he was wrong.

The truth is that the capitalist system cannot give the people a better life. The failures that we are seeing now have been seen before, in the 1930s. The problems of South Africa have a lot in common with those of other capitalist countries. In America and England people are also out of work. In Israel and Brazil they have money which becomes worth less and less with every month that goes by. Only the socialist countries have learned to solve these problems. There people are not only sure of jobs, but also know that their wage will buy as much tomorrow as it does today. In the socialist countries it is not the closing of factories but the opening of new factories that makes the headlines.

The successes of the socialist countries contrast with all capitalist countries, but with nowhere so strongly as with South Africa. The South African economy is in a worse mess than that of almost any other country. This is because apartheid is one of the causes of our problems. We will never be better off until we get rid of apartheid. Let us work for an end to the system of capitalism which is the foundation of racism and poverty in our country. Let us unite to fight for jobs, homes and food!



The unemployed sit and wait.

DEMAND JOBS, HOMES AND FOOD!

THE REFORMIST ROLE OF WORKERISM



Workerists are those who talk endlessly about the leading role of the working class to overthrow capitalism but who, in practice, reject all forms of disciplined revolutionary organisation. Instead, they throw about phrases like 'worker independence', 'worker control', 'worker identity', and so on. They even say that we need an 'independent workers organisation', but they do not mean the Communist Party. What they have in mind is a loose organisation of wage workers, separate from the liberation movement and the Communist Party. Such an organisation must base itself on what they call 'the democracy of the shop floor'.

It is clear that 'workerism' is really about wages and working conditions and not about the overthrow of capitalism and the achievement of socialism. **Because the workerists talk such a lot about the purity of the workers' struggle, they sound revolutionary. But in fact they are reformists with many similarities to social democracy.**

Every black worker knows that the struggles against capital and the conflicts on the shop floor cannot be separated from the struggle against oppression and for democratic rights. The emerging democratic trade union movement in our country has long ago understood the connection between economic and political struggles. This is the lesson which has been driven home by the entire history of the struggle against oppression and for socialism.

In real life there is no such thing as pure 'working class politics'. The workers' struggle cannot be restricted to the factory floor and to union membership. The struggle against racism and for the destruction of the capitalist system of exploitation is not just a trade union struggle. The struggle of women, students, youth and community organisations are inseparable from the working class. It is not a trade union movement but rather a workers' political vanguard Party which can lead the fight for an end to oppression and exploitation.

The workerists confine their concerns to the factory floor. They give an almost exclusive place to the economic struggle for work and wage improvements. But we

know that pure trade union struggles have never threatened capitalist relations of production, nor have they advanced the cause of socialism. The mistake which the workerists make is to confuse the economic struggles of trade unions with the political and social struggle led by the working class for the destruction of the whole profit system. Such a struggle can only be led by a political vanguard of the working class.

The workerists talk a great deal about the need for the rank and file to participate in decision-making, about the 'principles of accountability', and about 'workers control'. These are sound principles for the trade union movement but the struggle to emancipate the whole of society needs more than these shop floor rules.

We are in the middle of a revolutionary upheaval which is led by a liberation alliance whose most important constituents are the African National Congress and the Communist Party. Workerists spread the false idea that our war of liberation is in some way separate from the workers' struggle. They even say that the leaders of the liberation struggle will be hostile to the interests of the workers. Some of them argue that the workers' struggle is only against capitalist relations of production and not national oppression. This argument, in the end, serves the interests of capital. Workers who stand behind machines do not inhabit a different planet from the unemployed, women, the youth and the rural poor; all of these participate on different sides of the same struggle. The struggle against racial discrimination is at the same time a political confrontation with capital and the state. It is an important part of the class struggle.

The workerists call our movement 'populist'. They hope to make the ANC and SACP irrelevant to the struggle. They want to replace this alliance with a kind of shop stewards' federation.

The workerists claim to be socialists but they in fact undermine all the scientific principles of Marxism. Workerism has no programme for the social emancipation of the whole of society. That is the purpose and objective goal of the Communist Party.

LONG LIVE THE LIBERATION ALLIANCE!



Pen Pictures of South African Communists



Albert Nzula was one of the outstanding communists in the 1920-30s. He was born in Rouxville, in the Orange Free State, in 1905. He qualified as a teacher at Lovedale but was drawn into the political arena at a young age.

After serving as Aliwal North secretary of the Industrial and Commercial Union, he moved to the Transvaal and joined the ANC and the Communist Party in 1928. He was elected assistant secretary of the Communist Party in 1929 and acting editor of the Party paper, the *SA Worker*. In 1931 he was sent to study at the Lenin School in Moscow where he published a number of articles and papers on South Africa. He died of pneumonia in a Moscow hospital in 1934.

Motso Mokgabudi, born in Orlando in 1952, was popularly known as 'Obadi'. A member of the 'Soweto generation', he studied law at Turfloop but dropped out as a result of student unrest.

He became involved in ANC activity and left the country six months before the 1976 uprising to join MK. After undergoing military training he became a commander in our army.

He was brave, intelligent and skillful and became a dedicated and capable leader, responsible for many daring actions. During this period he became a member of our Party. Together with other comrades he was murdered by the enemy at Matola in January 1981.

READ THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST
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39 Goodge Street, London W1P 1FD, UK

IN 1986 LET US OBSERVE THESE HISTORIC EVENTS!

July 30th
the 65th Anniversary of the SACP

August 12th-19th
the 40th Anniversary of the
Mine Workers Strike

December 16, the 25th Anniversary
of the Formation of
Umkhonto we Sizwe

June 13th, the 40th Anniversary of
the Passive Resistance Campaign

June 16th, the 10th Anniversary
of the Soweto Uprisings

The 80th Anniversary of the
Bambatha Rebellion

The 200th Anniversary
of the Birth of Moshoeshe

STRENGTHEN THE WORKERS' VANGUARD!

BOTHA'S POLICIES — FORCE AND FRAUD

Events in Southern Africa prove that the power of Pretoria is still based on the two favourite weapons of the racists — force and fraud.

Botha's first instinct is to grab for his guns. But when that fails he falls back instead on lies and deceit.

Nothing shows this more clearly than the policies of Pretoria in Angola, and the sensational revelations of the Gorongosa papers in Mozambique. In both cases the Botha government made solemn and binding agreements with sovereign states — without the slightest intention of ever sticking to its word.

The simplest morality that every child learns — that 'a promise is a promise' — is totally unknown to this government of liars.

Let us look at two examples. In signing the Lusaka Agreement in July 1984, Pretoria promised to pull its troops out of Angola. It never did so. Instead, in September this year, it launched a massive attack to try and save its puppets, Unita, from defeat at the hands of the Angolan people and their Cuban and Soviet helpers.

In March 1984 PW Botha went to the banks of the Nkomati River. There he signed the Nkomati Accord, promising to stop helping the MNR bandits trying to overthrow Mozambique's Frelimo government.

At that very moment Botha's generals were plotting and planning to pour arms and other aid into Mozambique to help the bandits. And they have been doing so ever since.

Some people believe the generals were doing this behind the backs of the politicians. No such thing. Whatever the soldiers told the MNR leaders, the truth is that Botha and Magnus Malan work hand-in-glove with the military. It was Botha and Malan who built up the SADF dogs of war. And everyone knows a dog does not bite the hand that feeds it.

If help for the MNR was a secret plot by the generals, why are the bandits still flourishing today, after the 'secret' has been well and truly exposed?

No. Force and fraud are the registered trademarks of the racist regime. The ANC and SACP know this well. That is why, both

before and after the Nkomati Accord, they stated clearly and boldly: Do not trust the liars and cheats in Pretoria!

What the racists cannot get by force they try to get by lies. And when their lies are exposed, they go back to using force.

Why do the men in Pretoria behave in this way? Lenin said that the capitalist ruling class has two methods of clinging to power. One method is the use of force. The other method is trickery and lies. He added that the first method was preferred by dictators and rulers like the Czar of Russia. The second was preferred by the so-called democracies of Western Europe and the United States.

In South Africa the rulers have always relied on force. This is the typical method of colonial rule. But in South Africa colonialism has taken a special form — the white settler minority has no homeland to retreat to.

So from time to time the racists try to pull the wool over the eyes of the South African people and the states of the region. They try to fool the neighbouring states that they and the racists can live in peace in Pretoria's 'constellation of states'. And they try to fool South Africans with their constitutional frauds and reform lies.

But the racists' deeds speak louder than their words. After the blatant attacks on Angola and the Gorongosa revelations, who can believe Pretoria's promises?

Certainly not the South African people. And certainly not the ANC and SACP. They know very well that when Pretoria talks about negotiations and reform they are only trying to get by lies what they can no longer keep by force.

Pretoria's offer of talks with the ANC, if it will only break the alliance with the SACP and give up the armed struggle, is exactly the same hollow promise they made at Nkomati. At that time they were already preparing to boost aid to the MNR bandits. Who can doubt that, if the ANC were to agree to talks on these conditions, the racists would at that very moment be preparing to crush the people's movement and annihilate its disarmed fighters?

STOP BOTHA'S WAR MACHINE!



STAGES OF OUR REVOLUTION

South African communists believe that our revolution will go through a number of stages. Our new 1984 Constitution declares that it is our task to lead the working class in a struggle to establish a socialist republic and to achieve 'the more immediate aim of winning the objective of the national democratic revolution' whose main content is the 'national liberation of the African people and the black people in general ...'

From time to time this approach has been questioned, mainly by a few radicals who teach rather than practice Marxism. The so-called 'two-stage theory' is often the subject of attacks against our Party in ultra-left and 'workerist' circles. These attacks are intended to influence militant activists (more especially in the trade union movement) who are still in search of a clear strategy in the struggle for socialism. These activists are tempted with revolutionary-sounding phrases. And because we are illegal there is no communist spokesperson who can immediately expose these distortions in the legal forums and journals where they are often spread.

According to a document issued by Fosatu, the 'two stage approach' which 'the Communist Party appeared to adopt' was amongst the issues debated at its policy seminar in February 1985. The main question asked was 'whether such a two stage programme was possible'. Before we can answer this question it is important to explain what communists mean when they talk about the stages of our revolution. Such an explanation is all the more necessary because of the distorted way in which our critics present this issue.

What Communists Mean

Every person who is actually engaged in struggle (and not just in talking about it) will know that ultimate aims are not achieved in one sudden, blinding flash.

Every form of real life — and this includes social struggle — goes through phases and stages. Was Lenin betraying the cause when he insisted that the first stage of the Russian revolution will have a bourgeois democratic rather than a socialist content? Had Ho Chi Minh suddenly forgotten about socialism when he led his Party into a patriotic alliance to win the objectives of the national liberation stage of the Vietnamese revolution? Do we think that Dr Agostinho Neto turned against his Marxist beliefs when he concluded that, before they could go any further, Angolan revolutionaries had to create a broad people's front to win the national independence struggle?

The more honest of our left critics would of course admit that in the countries mentioned it was correct to accept 'two stage' perspectives. But they may argue that, unlike Russia, Vietnam and Angola, South Africa has got a fully developed system of capitalist production and a relatively large and experienced proletariat. Our critics maintain that because of these special features, the correct strategy is to move straight into the socialist revolution. They also argue that the long-term interests of the workers will suffer if socialist objectives are 'postponed' until after the achievement of the stage of national liberation. They fear that the interests of the working class will be drowned or watered down in a liberation alliance which includes classes and groups which are hostile to the long-term interests of the workers.

No one can dispute that every level of social life in our country (including at the point of production) is infected with race domination. All black workers know that there is no way of separating their exploitation as workers from their blackness. Ever since the emergence of a black proletariat early this century they have been separated from the white workers by a wall of colour. And this wall

FROM NATIONAL LIBERATION

of colour affects not only the black workers but every other class and group within the black community. The destruction of this colour tyranny is the main immediate task of the working class and its political vanguard. The achievement of this task will provide a foundation for a continuing revolution to achieve a socialist order.



The Stages are Separate but Linked

We must be on our guard against the vulgar way in which our critics describe the SACP approach to stages of revolution. They spread the impression that our Party believes that the democratic and socialist stages of our revolution are completely separate from one another and that we will only turn our thoughts to the question of working class power and socialism when we have won a kind of non-racist bourgeois democracy in South Africa.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Our 1984 Constitution reiterates that the strategic aim of establishing a socialist republic is 'inseparably linked' to the more immediate aim of winning the objectives of the national democratic revolution. **It makes crystal clear that this national democratic revolution must lead to a South Africa of 'people's power in which the working class will be the dominant force and which will move uninterruptedly towards social emancipation and the total abolition of the exploitation of man by man'**. In order to ensure such an outcome our Party does all in its power to spread the ideas of Marxism-Leninism among the working people and to mobilise them **now** as the dominant force in the alliance of classes which make up the liberation front.

Although we correctly talk of stages we do not believe that there is a Chinese wall between them. We are taught by Marxist dialectics that the dominant ingredients of the later stage must already

have begun to mature within the womb of the earlier stage. Lenin expressed this thought when he said:

'We all counterpose bourgeois revolution and socialist revolution; we all insist on the absolute necessity of strictly distinguishing between them. However, it cannot be denied that in the course of history individual particular elements of the two revolutions become interwoven'.

(Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution)

The Working Class Leads

Our revolution is a continuing process. Its immediate objectives are clear. Our working class is in the front line in the struggle against racial tyranny; a struggle which is at the same time in the interests of the overwhelming majority in our society. If the working class is to gain power it must show that it can be the saviour of **all** oppressed and exploited groups and strata of our people. The destruction of the racist tyranny demands an alliance of all oppressed classes and groups in which the working class must be the dominant force. Only political infants or armchair revolutionaries reject all political alliances. They make a lot of noise about socialism but do not really understand how to get there. No revolution has ever been made without such alliances. The historic role of the working class must be assured by its independent political vanguard — the South African Communist Party.

A workers' vanguard 'which operates in a bourgeois society cannot take part in politics without marching, in certain cases, side by side with bourgeois democracy ... We intend to guide ... not only the proletariat organised by the Party, but also the petit bourgeoisie which is capable of marching side by side with us'

(Lenin: Two Tactics)

Pass On The Message!



The following translations of our last editorial 'People's Power Not Reform' were widely distributed throughout the country. Help spread the message of the SACP! Pass Umsebenzi on! Discuss the issues raised with your friends, family and fellow workers. Be careful. With discipline and vigilance we will outwit the enemy!

Umbuso waBantu — Hayi Uguquko Mbumbulu

Isikathi sesifikile, ngisho nalabo abahlezi phezu kwamahlombe ethu bezibiza ngababusi sebeyabona ukuthi ukuphinda emuva akusekho. Sebezithoia basesimweni lapho kufanele bezibuze khona ukuthi bangahlephelana kanjani lombuso khona manjalo bawugcine umile?

Zonke lezizigelekege zamaqenjana kusukela kuBotha kuya koGatsha sezibulawa ingebhe yokuketulwa kombuso wezixhwanguxhwangu kuthathe uhulumeni waBantu onguhulumeni weqiniso. Bakhuluma ngoguquko noshintsho, indlela abakhuluma ngayo nolimi abalusebenzisayo ilolu Iwezigebengu nolokwehlukana.

- Ama cowboy anjengo Reagan awakushayimkhuba futhi ayakugqoguzela ukupatha komuntu omnyama uma nje eyicelebana njengo Muzorewa, Banda no Gatsha ngoba bazi kahle ukuthi bazoqhuba futhi bavikele umnotho wabo (yikho sibona oGatsha begibela izindiza mihlanamalanga beyokhankasela ukufakwa kwezimali e South Africa).

- Amanye amaqembu o Gombela kwesabo, bancamela ukuthi umuntu omnyama akwazi ukuvota, uma lokho kuyisiqiniseko sokuthi umnotho wezwe uhlala ungowabo.

- Ezinye izimuncagazi ezimnyama, zingathokozela inqubo engenza ukuthi nazo zikwazi ukuthi zithole amaqebelengwana emabhizinisini abamhlophe nabo bakwazi ukubamba iqhaza ekuxhashazweni komuntu omnyama.

- Abaholi bezabelo, Izimpimpi, oRajbansi noHendrikse benza konke okusemandleni ukuvikela amaholo abo amakhulu nobucwazicwazi abakunikwa uBotha ukuze bathengise ngabantu base South Afrika.

Yini Efunwa Abasebenzi

Ukuxhashazwa kwezomnotho kwezindimbane zabantu abamnyama e South Afrika, kuyimbangela enkulu yokucindezelwa kwabantu ngokwebala. Lenqubo embi kangaka isimama ngokuba sithole abamhlophe kuyibo abaphethe wonke umkhiqizo, umcebo nendawo eningi, ukuvikela lenqubo yakhe, uhulumeni usebenzisa izinkantolo, iphalamende, amaphoyisa, amasoja etc.

Angeke ibekhona inkululeko yeqiniso uma umphakathi ungakhululekile, noma umuntu omnyama engavunyelwa ukuvota kodwa izwe, izimayini namabhizinisi amakhulu aqhubeke nakuphathwa isigajana sabantu, ukucindezelwa ngokwebala kuyoqhubeka.

Ukuqikelela ukuthi ukucindezelwa ngokwebala kuyaphela kumele amandla ezepolitiki abekwe ezandleni zeningi; kumele izincelebana, nezakhiwo zobandlululo zidilizwe, kufakwe uhulumeni wabantu. Ngenxa yokuthi lezizigcwelegcwele angeke zicale umaluju zibuyise yonke into ezandleni zezindimbane zase South Afrika; ngakho ke ukuketula umbuso ngodlame yinto engenakuvikeleka.

Ngesikhathi sokuhlelwa kwezinto, amabhizinisi amancane angesibo ogombela kwesabo ayovunyelwa aqhubekeni nokusebenza, kepha ayongezwa yonke insila yobandlululo njengoba kusho iFreedom Charter konke kwenziwe ngentando yeningi.

Umzabalazo Ngezikhali, Impikiswano ne SACP

Ukunqoba izinjongo zabasebenzi uBotha angajabula ukubona uANC eyeka inqubo yakhe yokuketela umbuso ngodlame, nakuhlukana noma kuphele ubumbano phakathi kukaKhongolose ne SACP, uzimisele futhi ukuxoxisana naKhongolose uma ungenza njalo.

Asiphikisani nokuxoxa nesitha, kodwa uBotha ufuna ukuxoxa noKhongolose mbumbulu.

Udlame luyoqhubeka uma nje kungakabusi uhulumentu waBantu.

Labo abazama ukunqamula ubumbano lwegazi phakathi kukaKhongolose ne SACP badlaia ngesikhathi. Sizozhubeka sibambisane siyephambili nokulwela ukukhululeka kwabantu.

VIKELA ABASEBENZI BEZWE LETHU!

PHAMBILI NOBAMBISWANO PHAKATHI KUKA KHONGOLOSE NESACP!

Lokhu kukhiswa ku'Umsebenzi No 3 — izwi le SACP

AWAY WITH PASSES!

Spread the Word!

Mmuso wa Batho, e seng go Tsietsiwa

Diphetogo di mo moyeng. Le bao ba re gateletseng ba phaphamela boamaruri ba gore ga go sana poelomorago. Ba gapetsegile gore ba phopholetse ba batlana le karabo mo potsong, a reka busa mmogo le batho batsho empa re sa tshwere marapo?

Kaofela ga bona, go tloga ka Botha go ya ka Buthelezi, ba tshaba mmuso wa batho o tla thenkgollang mmuso wa maburu, ba bua ka phetogo le tokafatso ya Apartheid. Ena ke puo ya dinwamadi.

● BoReagan ga bana taba ge motho o motsho a ka busa, fela ba batla gore e be motho yo a tshwanang le Banda, kapo Muzorewa, kapo Buthelezi, yo a tla sireletsang puso ya dinwamadi tse kgolo.

● Go na le ditlhophana tse ding tsa babusi ba lefatshe la rona ba ba sa boneng molato ge motho motsho a ka fiwa 'vote', morago ga mengwaga e mehlano a ikgethele lekgotla la gagwe, empa mahumo a lefatshe a sale a le mo matsogong a ditlhophana tsego.

● Dinwamadi tsa batsho le setlhophana sa batsho se se jang se namile, ba ikemiseditse go ja mafofora a wang mo tafoleng ya dinwamadi, ka tshepo ya gore le bona ba tla arogelwa mo go gamolleng ga babereki.

● Bontsi ba digosi tsa diBantustan le dintja tsa maIndia le maColoured ba ba tseneng mo palamenteng ya maburu, le bona ba gana mmuso wa batho, gobane Botha oba rekile ka ditshetele le di Mercedes Benz.

Se Rona Babereki re se Batlang

Go kgetholla ka mmala ga se go bua politiki fela. Motheo wa go kgetholla ka mmala ke go gamolla babereki ba batsho. Go bakwa ke gore makgowa a tshwere difactory, di-mine le di-polasa mo matsogong a bona. Seemo se se sireleditswe ke palamente, di-court, masole le maponesa.

Nnete ke gore go ka se be le tokologo ge go sa fetswe ka puso ya dinwamadi. Ge ka moso batho batsho ba ka fiwa matla a go ikgethela mmuso wa bona, empa di polasa, di-mine, di-fabriki le di-banka tse kgolo di santse di le mo matsogong a bona, kgethollo ka mmala e tla nna e tswela pele. Go dira gore moleko o o seke wa diragala, puso e tshwanetse go ba mo matsogong a batho, rona batho ba batsho.

Mmuso wa maburu le ditho tsa ona tse di re gatellang di tshwanetse gore di tihatlamollwe, mo lebakeng la tsona go agiwe ditho tsa puso ya batho. Maburu a ka seke a dumela go re fa mmuso ntle ga ntwala madi. Re tshwanetse go ba lwantsha go fitlha mafellong.

Ka nako ya diphetogo, bo ramabenkele le ba bang ba ba dirang kgwebo ba sa nwe madi a babereki ba tla tswela pele ka tiro ya bona, fela go seke gwa bonwa kgethollo ka mmala mo kgwebong ya bona. Freedom Charter e re kgwebo yeo e tla be e tshabane ka leihlo go bona gore e tswetsa setshaba pele.

Ntwa ya marumo, Dipuo le Party ya Makomunisi ya Afrika Borwa

Go leka go re fenyala, le go fenyala ditokelo tsa babereki ba batsho, Botha o batla gore ANC e le bale maemo a yona a gore mmuso o be matsogong a batho ka bongata, o batla gore ANC e le bale ka Umkhonto we Sizwe, le gore setswalle se segolo, sa kgale, le party ya makomunisi se fediswe. Ore o ikemiseditse go bua le ANC ge e ka dumelana le mabaka ana.

Ga re gane dipuisanyo, le ga ele go bua le sera. Fela Botha o batla go bua le ANC ye e sa tiheng e emetse ditokelo tsa batho ba rona.

Re tla tswela pele ka ntwala ya tokologo go fihla re bona gore e teng tsela ye nngwe ye e ka fang batho bantsho tokologo ya nnete.

Ba ba lorang ka gore setswalle sa ANC le SACP se fele ke bana ba lathegileng. Re tla tswela pele re tshwarane ka matsogo, re le makgotla a mabedi a kopantshitsweng ke gore re batla go fetsa mmuso wa dinwamadi.

SIRELETSA DITOKELO TSA BABEREKI! SIRELETSA LEHUTO LA ANC LE SACP!

E ntshitswe mo Umsebenzi No 3 1985 SACP

Letter to the Editorial Board, Umsebenzi

Dear Friends, Brothers and Sisters

I thank you very much for sending me your excellent paper — *Voice of South African Communist Party*. I am responding to your appeal — 'Forward with *Umsebenzi*' in the first issue to spread this paper in the struggle for freedom.

I appreciate the amount of knowledge you are providing us with this small paper. Every page, every column is filled with ideas to serve us, the exploited and oppressed people, in our struggle to free ourselves from the racist, capitalist, vicious oppressors.

Umsebenzi calls on us to organise trade unions, civic and ratepayers associations and other organisations to help fight black exploitation, oppression and terror. I have come to the conclusion, my dear friends, that what we need now more than ever is to build a strong Communist Party in every area, township and towns in every region.

Forward to Victory!

Athlone, Cape Town

DOWN WITH HIGH RENTS!

HOW TO MASTER SECRET WORK



4. SURVEILLANCE

1. What is Surveillance?

In their efforts to uncover secret revolutionary activity the police put a close watch on suspected persons and places. This organised form of observation is called **surveillance**. There are two general types of surveillance: mobile and stationary. **Mobile** is sometimes referred to as 'tailing' or 'shadowing' and involves following the suspect (subject) around. **Stationary** is observing the subject, his or her home and workplace, from a fixed position. This can be from a parked car, neighbouring building or shop and is referred to as a 'stake-out'. In fact we often see examples of 'tailing' and 'stake-outs' in detective films. Surveillance combines both 'tailing' and 'stake-outs'.

2. Counter-Surveillance

Members of a secret network must use methods of **counter-surveillance** to protect themselves and their underground organisation. You can establish whether you are being watched or followed. These methods can be effectively used and help you to give the police the impression that you are not involved in secret work. Before considering these methods of protection, however, we need to be more aware of the enemy's surveillance methods. For it is not possible to deal with surveillance unless we know how it operates.

3. Aim of Surveillance

The primary aim of surveillance is to gather information about the subject and to check out whether he or she is involved in secret work. The police seek to establish the links between the subject and those he or she might be working with. The enemy wants to identify you and locate the residences and secret places you use. They try to collect evidence to prove that illegal work has been committed. An important use of surveillance is to check on information received from informers.

4. Decision for Surveillance

A decision to place a subject under surveillance is taken at a high level. The decision will include the intensity and duration — for example whether for 8, 16 or 24 hours per day over a period of one, two,

three or more weeks. The decision will involve placing the subject's house and workplace under observation and having his or her phone tapped — either temporarily or permanently. The number of persons involved in the operation will be decided upon and they will be given the known facts about the subject including a description or photograph. Whether the surveillance ends with the arrest of the subject will depend on what is learnt during the investigation.

5. The Surveillance Team

Specially trained plainclothes men and women are used to carry out surveillance. Their identities are kept strictly secret. They are not normally the known or public special branch policemen. They are aged between 25 and 50 years and have to be physically fit for the work. In appearance and dress they are average types. They try to blend in with their surroundings and avoid drawing attention to themselves. For example, smartly dressed whites will not be used to follow a black person in a poor, run-down area.

A team may consist of 2-4 people with a car in support. Usually one team is used at a time but more will be deployed if required. The subject will be followed by foot, car or public transport if necessary. The surveillants communicate with each other by discreet hand signals and small radio transmitters. They make minor changes in their clothing and appearance to help prevent recognition. For the same reason they try to avoid abrupt and unnatural movements when following the subject.

In a crowded city street they will 'stick' close to the subject (within 20 metres) for fear of losing him or her. In a quiet residential area they will 'hang' well back (over 50 metres) for fear of exposing themselves. They have set plans and procedures for 'tailing' the subject which involves the constant interchanging of positions. It is important to know these various techniques of foot and vehicle surveillance. They will be discussed in our next issue. After that we will discuss how to deal with surveillance (i.e. counter-surveillance).



POLITICAL ECONOMY

4. Origin of Capitalists and Workers in South Africa

In this journal we call South Africa a 'capitalist' country. That means that it is a country divided into classes — one small but powerful class owning all the means of producing our goods, all the land, factories, mines and machines; and one much bigger class which owns none of these things, but sells its labour power to the bosses for wages.

How did society get like this? What decided who would be a capitalist owner and employer, and who would be a wage worker? The bosses answer that they are what they are because they worked harder, thought more and saved more. But workers know that they often work harder than the bosses and use their brains to the full, and yet have nothing to save, while even stupid and lazy sons of their bosses grow up into capitalists.

In fact, there are families which remain capitalists from one generation to the next, while others remain working however hard they try. To understand how these chains of class arise, we must turn from economics to history.

History shows us that there have not always been either capitalists or wage workers. In our country, in the times of Chaka or Moshoeshe for example, there were neither. Our people lived by raising cattle or hunting over land which all could use, or by growing crops on family plots for their own consumption. Everything produced was for the producers to consume — or occasionally to barter for something their neighbours could produce and they could not; nothing was sold. Some people, it is true, were better off and lived more comfortably than others; perhaps they had more cattle or more food because they were more skilful, or worked harder, or had more children to help with the work, or had the good fortune to work a fertile plot of land. But still, no one employed others to work for him; no one sold his labour power, though people often con-

tributed it freely to the common good in collective enterprises — hunting, building, irrigating and also in fighting to preserve their tribal lands.

The arrival of white 'settlers' from abroad changed all that. The settlers came from societies in Europe where land was private property; and where those who wanted to use it had to buy or rent it from the land-owners. For the settlers, therefore, the broad South African land was not a 'free' asset for all to use as needed — in the way air, or sea or rain-water is today. For them land represented property; and since no one could prove 'ownership' of it, the settlers grabbed whatever they could. They enclosed the areas they seized, marked out private boundaries with fences, and either expelled the black hunters and herdsmen, or forced them to work in exchange for the 'right' to stay on the now private property.

Seizure of the land destroyed the whole way of life for our people. Those who could retreated gradually into the most barren or mountainous land areas which the settlers either could not or did not want to conquer. But many were turned from independent and self-sufficient producers into dispossessed starving people, without any means of livelihood.

The land grab also changed the way of life of the settlers; most of them had been small peasant farmers in their own countries. Now they were land-owners, often with great tracts of land able to produce far more than they needed for their own subsistence — so great that they could produce crops which they themselves did not need, except for sale at a profit in towns or foreign markets.

Our country thus divided into two classes — a class of property owners living from profits; and a class of dispossessed poor, unable to survive except by working for wages.



TRADE UNIONISM

4. A Look At History

Trade unions have always been involved in some form of political struggle. But this does not automatically mean that workers know their position in society and their role in bringing about change. One of the main tasks of a workers' vanguard is to raise the level of workers' understanding so that they become militant revolutionaries and not begging reformists. Workers must become conscious of their existence as a class and they must be made aware of their leading role in the struggle for social change.

There is a further task which faces the revolutionary trade unionists. It is not enough to provide the best theoretical and political perspectives. It is also necessary to be the best political trade unionist, to understand the union's constitution and rules, the labour laws, the recognition agreements and so on. And it is also necessary to know something of the history of the way in which trade unions developed the different sides of their activities.

From the very beginning the structures of trade unions and their methods of working have been influenced by the changing social and political conditions. For example, at the beginning of the century in Europe, there was a big growth in the size of the workforce at individual plants. Workers' resistance was increasing. The bosses and the state which is their instrument began using more and more force against the workers' trade union struggles. Out of pure self defence the trade unions began to co-ordinate their action in a better way.

The growing influence of communists in the trade union movement helped workers understand that human life is based on work and that work is the source of creativity. That is why organisation in the workplace — industrial organisation — is the highest form of trade union activity.

As time went on the trade unions improved their structures and started doing many new things. They established trade union schools, journals, libraries, clubs and cultural groups.

Subscriptions were collected and money was put aside to make it possible for the unions to help striking workers and to support solidarity actions. With the growing importance of trade unions in society they began to have much more influence and became directly involved in politics.

But different political trends developed. In Britain, for example, the struggle by trade unions for immediate improvements became their main objectives. Leaders began to argue that there is no real conflict of interests between workers and the ruling capitalist class; they began to preach a policy of class compromise. Things were different in Russia. By 1910 many of the Russian trade unions became more and more revolutionary and served as the Bolsheviks' most important means of contact with the masses.

There is yet another trend in the history of trade unionism. Some militant unionists who stood against the system of capitalist exploitation became confused about the strategy for achieving this aim. They were different varieties of ultra-left and anarchist tendencies. But they had a few things in common. They did not like the idea of mass organisations which were led by a central authority; instead they placed too much emphasis on spontaneity and the undirected outburst. Those who were influenced by this approach often called strikes without proper preparations and made calls for continuous actions by trade unions without any organisational or political ground work. The effect of such an approach was to drain the energy of the workers and often discredit trade unionism in their eyes.

In the case of South Africa one of the most interesting historical experiences was the rise and fall of the Industrial and Commercial Union in the Twenties. We shall discuss the lessons of the ICU period in our next issue.



**Under the Banner of
Workers of the World Unite
Cosatu was Launched
on December 1st, 1985**



LINKS IN A CHAIN OF STRUGGLE

3. The Importance of Theory and Practice

The slogan 'Victory is Certain' embodies a profound historical truth. But for the people to be victorious, for the people to overthrow the system and take power into their own hands, neither action on its own nor consciousness (awareness) on its own can be enough. Theory and practice go hand in hand, and the two are welded together into an inseparable whole in the arena of struggle. Concretely this means that united action plus consciousness plus organisation are the conditions for our victory.

How, then, do theory and practice come to be welded together at the level of the masses who are the makers of history?

The classrooms of the masses is struggle. Experience is their primary basis of knowledge. No one can be expected to wear an undersized shoe without beginning to feel the pinch of the shoe on some part of his foot. Oppression and exploitation are felt in concrete and specific terms by the people.

Oppression and exploitation pervade our whole lives. Not a moment passes without each of us coming up against one or other concrete manifestation of this. From this comes the next stage in the development of our knowledge: namely, getting down to doing something to overcome that 'pinch'. That is, taking action. It is here that capitalism unwittingly provides us with one of our greatest weapons.

Capitalist production herds us together into one factory or mine. We are put to work as part of a huge team, cogs in a machine. It is a set up in which our labour power becomes a mere commodity and our humanity trampled upon daily and denied totally. The commodities we produce, the product of our labour, are owned not by us but by our bosses. On the conveyor belt of production we are denied even the satisfaction that comes from fashioning and creating a finished product which a craftsman feels as tangible evidence of his labour that has been used up. We are denied our humanity. At the same time we are provided with the very basis which makes us feel our interdependence as workers and chasm that separates us as workers from our bosses, the capitalists. It is in the factory that we learn that we have

to act together as workers. But we become conscious of this strength only when we use it, when we take collective action.

Everything in our circumstances as workers impels us to act together, to struggle collectively to improve our conditions. But struggle to improve our conditions is one thing. Struggle to end our enslavement is another. The two are inter-connected. The class struggle comes naturally to us but developing the class struggle as a weapon to end our enslavement needs an understanding of capitalism which is the basis of our enslavement. That knowledge comes from theory. Although our condition as workers and the knowledge we acquire from experience and struggle create favourable conditions for us to absorb that theory, it is nonetheless true that theory is introduced into our thinking from outside our work situation.

Until we effectively combine theory with practice we limp along in struggle because we cannot define properly for ourselves the overall goals which will end our enslavement nor the path of that change.

We carry the lessons of struggling together into the rest of our everyday lives, taking the lessons of our factory floor experience into the ghettos where we again learn to fight collectively against rents or any other manifestation of our oppression.

Experience then is the primary basis of our knowledge. But until our experience is generalised and enriched by the scientific understanding of the way in which society is changed, our knowledge remains incomplete and victory remains a glimmering hope.

Communists distinguish themselves because they are part of the people, but above all because they creatively combine theory with practice, passion with truth. That is why they are most feared by the enemy, most hated by the exploiters and oppressors.

**'Theory without practice is blind.
Practice without theory is fruitless'.
Georgi Dimitrov**

MARXISM AND VIOLENCE

3. Political Mobilisation

Political mobilisation forms a major part of all stages of People's War. This involves making sure that the people understand that all peaceful alternatives are exhausted and that revolutionary violence is the only way out. The activists must recruit suitable cadres to train in underground secret work, reconnaissance of targets, simple sabotage, fire-arms etc. Very often these will be cadres already experienced in underground political work. They must always be cadres of the highest political understanding, motivation and revolutionary discipline.

As the war progresses, it becomes important to organise mobile units of fighters who can move from one area to another, as needed. This was perfected by General Giap, the brilliant Vietnamese strategist and communist, who organised such units in addition to the village defence units. These mobile units must then engage in full guerrilla warfare — moving around the country and city, from one temporary base to another. In Vietnam and Zimbabwe, these units liberated certain areas which then eventually became permanent guerrilla bases. These forces also become better armed as time goes on, eventually using weaponry as sophisticated as that of the enemy — most of which is usually captured from the enemy and turned against it. During this stage of mobile guerrilla warfare, a stage of equilibrium is gradually reached between the guerrilla forces and those of the enemy. It is then that a stage of semi-regular and even regular warfare can be reached. This will involve head-on confrontation between the opposing forces. Note that sabotage will continue to play a role throughout the war. It is not only confined to the armed propaganda in the beginning stages. As in regular armies, guerrilla armies need to have specially-trained units to carry out the specific tasks of sabotage. This will develop from simple sabotage, such as throwing nails on a road, to the use of high explosives in destroying bridges,

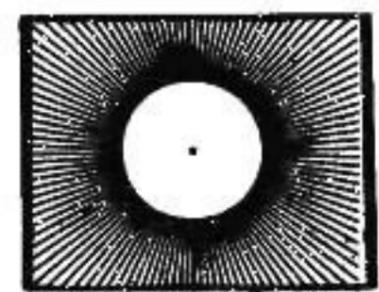
buildings and enemy personnel.

Let us also point out that political mobilisation is a task in all three stages of People's War. There can be no successful guerrilla war without successful political mobilisation. Or, as Comrade Joe Slovo said: 'There can be no people's army without people's politics, and without a people's army, there can be no people's war.' The only way for Marxist-Leninists to ensure a progressive outcome to People's War is to ensure that the working class constitutes the bulk of the guerrilla forces. And this means constant, unflagging political mobilisation, throughout the stages of People's War. Especially in the present stage of our struggle, (which is essentially now for democracy,) we should not become narrow-minded. People's War means that the **entire** population must be involved.

This also means political mobilisation within the enemy army itself. It should be remembered that an army as powerful as the SADF cannot be defeated from outside alone. This is why, at this crucial stage of our struggle, the ANC has made a special call to all blacks in uniform to join the progressive forces and turn their weapons against their masters. But our political work must not be confined to black soldiers alone. White youth still make up the majority of the SADF — and we must demoralise and neutralise them, and organise within their ranks.



PEOPLE'S WAR = MASS MOBILISATION!



THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

3. Black Workers Become the Core

After the defeat of the 1922 Rand Revolt and the subsequent victory of the racist Labour Party-Nationalist alliance, the CPSA devoted itself to organising the black workers. It also formed a close alliance with the ANC.

The Communist Party worked mainly in the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) of Clements Kadalie. Kadalie depended heavily on Communist organisers such as E J Khaile, Jimmy La Guma, Gomas and others.

The ICU grew quickly from a few hundred members in Cape Town to a national organisation with 250 000 members. It organised also among the peasants and rural workers. The ICU fought not only for better wages, but also against white domination and segregation.

But Kadalie fell under the influence of British anti-communist trade unionists who told him the ICU should keep out of politics and set him against the communists. At the end of 1926, Kadalie persuaded the ICU conference to ban all communists from holding office in the union.

Within two years the once-mighty ICU had split several times and virtually collapsed.

The Party also actively supported the ANC. ANC president J J Gumede told an international conference 'the Communist Party is the only party that stands behind us'. After visiting Moscow in 1927 for the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution, Gumede said: 'I have seen the new world to come, where it has already begun.'

The new direction taken by the Party changed its character. By 1928, 1 600 of its 1 750 members were black. But the leaders were still mainly white.

The same year saw the 6th Congress of the Communist International. This was a turning-point for the CPSA. The Communist International put forward a programme for South Africa for a national liberation struggle leading to a Black Republic of workers and peasants. It said the Party must base itself on the black working people and this must be reflected also in the composition of its leadership.

The Communist International outlined the basic ideas that should guide the Par-

ty. It said 'South Africa is a British dominion of a colonial type' where the land 'has been expropriated by the white minority'. South Africa was dominated politically 'by the white exploiting class', it said.

The CPSA 'should pay particular attention to the ANC. Our aim should be to transform the ANC into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists, based upon the trade unions, peasants' organisations, etc,' the Communist International said.

The ideas of the Communist International were more radical than anything being demanded by the ANC at that time. Its ideas also differed from the approach of the CPSA. The Party had turned to the black workers, but it still did not understand the connection between the class struggle of the black workers and the national struggle of the oppressed black majority.

The Communist International's programme was based on Lenin's ideas. In a colonial situation the workers have **two** tasks — to fight for democracy together with all classes among the oppressed people; and to fight for socialism and the end of exploitation of man by man.

Both tasks are part of the class struggle of the workers.

The CPSA delegates to the Communist International conference opposed the idea of putting national liberation at the top of the agenda of struggle. But the Party as a whole accepted it — though not without a struggle. In 1929 Albert Nzula became the first black General Secretary of the CPSA. Also elected to the leadership was workers' leader, Johannes Nkosi.

In 1930, as the Great Depression began, the CPSA called for a national anti-pass campaign leading to mass burning of pass-books on December 16th, then known as Dingaans' Day. At a mass meeting held in Durban that day, Johannes Nkosi was first shot, then stabbed and beaten to death by the police.

He became the first — but not the last — among the leaders of the Communist Party to sacrifice his life in the struggle for freedom and socialism.

THE PHILIPPINES: PROBLEMS OF STRUGGLE



The difficulties of achieving change from neo-colonialism to a national-democratic society have been a constant challenge to Filipino revolutionaries in the 40 years since Philippine independence from US colonial rule. In that time armed liberation struggles have never been absent from the scene, but errors and disunity have prevented their success.

Founded in 1930 under colonial conditions and quickly outlawed by US imperialism, the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) rooted itself among workers and landless peasants while illegal. During World War Two the PKP built a powerful guerrilla resistance movement against Japanese occupation, the People's Army Against Japan or Hukbalahap, and the PKP itself became strong as a consequence in an important region of the country. This was because the Party followed correct united front tactics against a clearly-understood enemy and was able to rally *broad class forces for national liberation*.

In the immediate postwar period the PKP was confronted with the question of another kind of armed struggle. US imperialism, although compelled to grant independence in 1946, imposed extreme neo-colonial terms on the Philippines. To do so, it had to destroy the PKP which was giving the most effective opposition to US wishes. Armed suppression was resorted to by the neo-colonial government, and the PKP and its supporters took up arms to fight back defensively.

At this point a debate took place in the movement, on whether to engage in parliamentary struggle, in a combination of armed and mass legal struggle, or in full-scale armed struggle alone. Adherents of the lat-

ter policy won out, and the movement embarked in 1948 on military expansion from the original mass base to all regions and islands. This decision, however, led to leftist tendencies: initial small-scale armed successes caused PKP leaders to think that the PKP could win power virtually on its own; existing popular discontent was looked upon as readiness for revolution; and a revolutionary situation was declared along with a call for the overthrow of the pro-imperialist regime. These estimates all proved to be erroneous: the movement by the mid-1950s was unable to withstand a US-armed and directed government offensive and was crushed militarily, the PKP becoming almost annihilated and politically isolated.

Drawing lessons from this period, the PKP has concluded that basic errors were made in assessing conditions, forces and possibilities at the time, in failing to build a broad anti-imperialist united front, and in failing to involve masses in varied forms of struggle that were possible around its programme. In such circumstances, armed struggle became a narrow form that caused relative isolation for the movement. During the 1960s, therefore, a shift was made toward legal mass organisation and broad struggles. It was successful. A genuine broad anti-imperialist national-democratic movement was created.

This promising development, however, was disrupted by a Maoist group, fostered by China's leaders under Mao tze Tung, calling itself 'Communist Party of the Philippines'. It promptly set up a 'New People's Army' and launched an armed struggle against the government in 1968. Attacks on the PKP and

its mass organisations were a feature of this, and unity in the people's movement was wrecked. There was no revolutionary situation, and significant masses did not rally to the 'New People's Army'. To gain a mass base, its leaders turned to an alliance with bourgeois sectors, while continuing to treat the PKP as an enemy. Fragmentation of the people's forces has been the result, with imperialism benefiting.

The PKP has continued to build legal mass organisations and to call for the unity of all anti-imperialist, national-democratic groups as indispensable for a successful struggle against neo-colonialism and for social emancipation.



US — STOP EXPORTING COUNTER-REVOLUTION!