

# UMSEBENZI

VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

**Peace among the people!  
War against the enemy!  
Unity of the oppressed!  
Hammer blows against  
the oppressor!**

These are the interdependent watch-words which must guide and inspire us in 1987. To separate these watch-words is to risk the revolution.

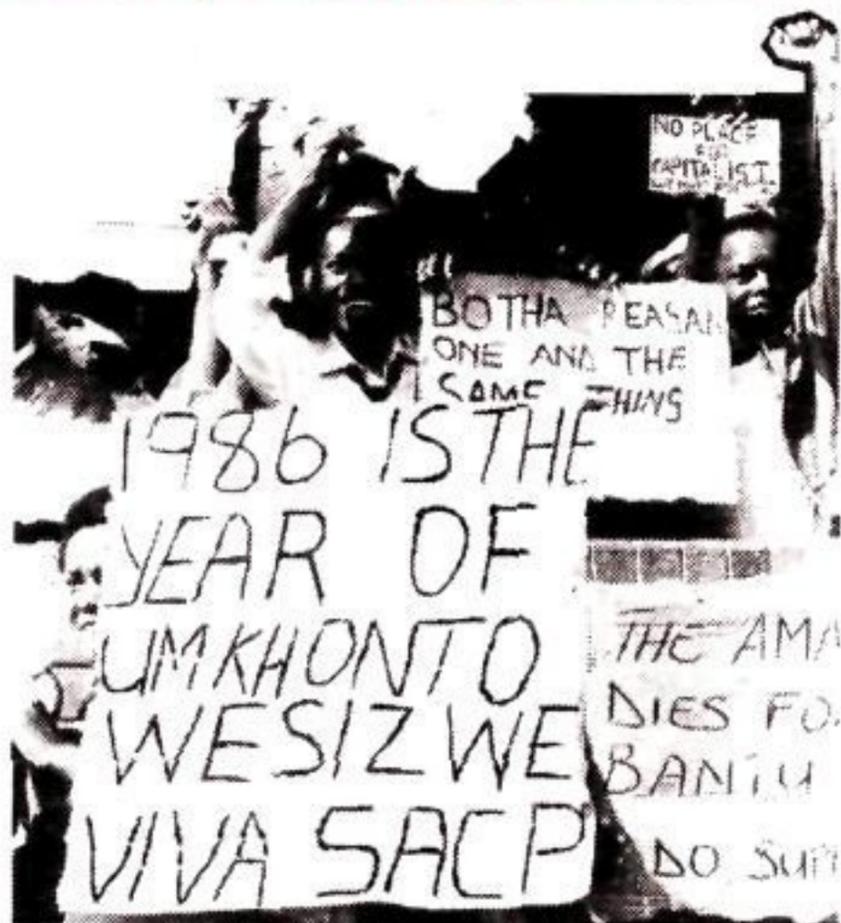
Without unity we can let the racists off the hook. With unity the way lies open to deliver the kind of hammer blows which could truly make 1987 the Year of Advance to People's Power.

The racists have moved from one excess to another. They have stopped even pretending about so-called reform. They speak only with the gun. And to hide their daily butcheries, the only information which can be published comes from their lying communiques.

But despite all this 1987 finds our people ready for the spoil. The racists have failed to get on top of them. They remain defiant and ready to press home the offensive. Tactics of struggle are responding to the changing conditions. Forms of organisation which are better suited to the growing repression are emerging. The mass challenge on the streets is giving way to mobile harassment of the enemy by smaller groups. The community organisations and the thousands of street and people's committees fill the gaps left by mass arrests and harassment of organisations like the UDF. The power of organised labour continues to loom large, reinforced by the lessons of the 1986 stay-aways. From their reoccupied bases in the schools the youth stand ever-poised to move to the offensive.

Despite his blanket of silence, Botha knows all this. He has seen the clear writing on the wall. Force on its own will never be enough; **the racists have now correctly concluded that, at the end of the day, they cannot hope to survive without black collaboration and without disunity among the oppressed.** And they work day and night to sow disunity and to mobilise stooges.

It is not too difficult to identify some of the mercenaries and puppets which the regime attempts to unleash against the people wherever there are signs of organised liberation activity. We all know about the role of the Crossroads *witdoeke* and other vigilantes including some of the Inkatha thugs. But the enemy is also served by other acts of disunity sometimes of our own making and sometimes because we do not do enough political work.



**PEACE AMONG  
THE PEOPLE!**

**WAR AGAINST  
THE ENEMY!**

*Continued on page two ...*

### **Tribal Fights**

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

### **Mass Organisations**

One of the greatest achievements of our struggle in the field of mass legal work has been the formation and impact of the United Democratic Front. The assault by the regime on all levels of its leadership demands more than ever a cementing of unity both nationally and regionally. We must be more vigilant than ever against allowing petty, personalised and non-antagonistic differences to paralyse activity. Politics must rule. Our ideological differences with the smaller organisations (such as Azapo) cannot be settled in the streets but in political work among the people who show an overwhelming surge in the direction of the ANC-led liberation front. Of course we must defend our lives against attacking thugs whatever T-shirts they happen to be wearing. But revolutionaries must be on their guard against allowing provocations (often carried out by infiltrated agents) to divert our energies away from the main enemy and towards internecine strife.

### **Social Strata**

The emergence of organised contingents representing the varied strata which make up the oppressed population is not a weakness but rather a strength. In every township the mosaic of resistance is made up by a number of social and class sectors such as workers, youth and students, parents, women, professional and middle strata etc. They are bound together by a common urge for liberation, and, at the same time, face struggle tasks linked to some specific conditions confronting each group. Yet, especially in today's stirring conditions, every campaign involving a specific group requires co-ordination and consultation with all sectors of the community. Action by youth and students must involve workers and parents. Action by workers must involve youth and students. This applies at all levels. Maximise co-ordination, consultation and united action by all sectors of the community!

### **Ungovernability**

The African communities have shown the way. It is a matter of priority that they be joined more forcefully by the Coloured and Indian areas. Ungovernability must be extended to the whole oppressed population. And its impact must be felt also in the white areas.

### **The Trade Unions**

1986 has once again shown the giant power of our militant working class. The successful political general strikes once again underlines the historic truth that the very future of our revolution depends overwhelmingly on the political level and mass organised strength of our working people. And one of the key instruments of that organised strength is a united and militant trade union movement with a firm commitment to genuine national liberation. The formation of Cosatu was a major step in this direction. But the process is far from complete. The launching of Cosatu regions should not be impeded by parochial political differences. The process of consolidating unions on the basis of industrial organisation must not be blocked by officials whose only concern is to protect their posts. We believe, too, that the emergence of Cusa-Azactu as a competing black trade union federation can only bring joy to the people's enemies. 'One country, one federation' must become a reality in 1987. This message must reach our working people everywhere. There are no differences between genuine trade union leaders which are big enough to justify disunity in this most fundamental sector of the forces ranged against the racists.

**A UNITED PEOPLE CAN NEVER BE DEFEATED!  
PEACE AMONG THE PEOPLE!  
WAR AGAINST THE ENEMY!**

# WORK IN THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

The terrain of united mass struggle is one of our greatest strengths. But it is also the point at which our revolution is most vulnerable. This is because such struggle takes place under the direct eyes of the enemy. It is the terrain on which the enemy can study us closely in order to encourage and take advantage of divisions that might emerge among us. That is why we should give special attention to how communists and tested revolutionaries ought to conduct themselves in their work among the masses.

The mass democratic movement in our country is in the full tide of growth, development and forward momentum. It is an open secret that many differences of opinion have emerged in this field. Some of these differences are healthy because they are a necessary part of the process of arriving at correct decisions in formulating policies and planning mass activity. Let us look at some of these in order to derive guidelines as to how we should conduct ourselves.

## **Respect Democracy**

Each of us should respect the democratic decision-making processes of the mass democratic organisations in which we work. It is true that often those who make the greatest noises about keeping to this rule are the biggest culprits at subverting them. It is understandable that, in the face of repression and given the nature of the problems, like-minded activists consult each other and even caucus ideas. But it is unacceptable that any group should impose their ideas on the mass organisations by ignoring or manipulating the democratic processes. Always bear in mind that mass organisations are the training ground of the people in the exercise of their democratic rights.

## **Enforce Accountability**

State hostility and repression make it necessary that certain information should not be publicly known. But what does this mean in practice? The racists want to know our funds and material resources so that they can deprive us of them. But this cannot remove the principle of accountability for those who are entrusted with the task of administering these resources. What these resources are used for can still be decided collectively and how they have been used accounted for. It may be necessary to conceal the printing works but the leaflet produced has to be public.



## **Don't Think in Labels**

It is inevitable that questions of ideology, politics and organisation should generate ferment and debate around ideas. When class and national oppression and exploitation interact, as they do in our situation, the range of ideological positions can be truly baffling. But let us characterise the different tendencies scientifically and not use them as labels to discredit those with whom we disagree, simply because we disagree.

Similarly, let no one force down his ideas by invoking the authority of an underground organisation. Let whoever has a particular view persuade his comrades by the facts and analysis he presents. The underground of the ANC and Party have their own and recognisable ways of informing us what their organisations think, and they always try to do so by means that do not expose activists and leaders within the country to the enemy.

## **Debate Must Lead to Action**

To be among the people, to serve the people, is a profound duty we have committed ourselves to. Concrete evidence of the success with which we fulfil this duty is measured by the unity in action that we help our people to achieve. Let us ensure that the debates we engage in, the ideas we contend about, and the manner in which we conduct ourselves serve to deepen the political consciousness and determination of the masses to act against the regime and not to confuse and demobilise them.

This makes it all the more important that different ideological and political tendencies be correctly and scientifically debated and characterised. The rule here must be to expand the mass base of the revolution, isolate the enemy and deprive the counter-revolution of a base. **Ideas never stand alone: they are intended to influence action.** The ultimate testing ground is, therefore, in the field of action.

**COMBINE LEGAL WITH ILLEGAL WORK!**

# EDUCATION AND THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE

As in any other class society, the content of formal education in South Africa is determined by the fact of the dominant position of the capitalist class. Education is itself part of the fabric which constitutes the capitalist socio-economic formation. A product of the imperatives of this formation, it also serves further to entrench and give permanence to it.

It is for this reason that, as part of the socialist revolution, the victorious proletariat also has to carry out a cultural revolution. While making available to the people the treasures of knowledge accumulated through the ages, the system of education has to be transformed to ensure that it helps in the accomplishment of the tasks that face the socialist revolution.

In our country, the democratic forces are grappling with the need to transform the system of education to ensure that it serves the purposes of the democratic revolution. The system that has to be changed is not only characterised by its class nature. It is also infused with the specific forms in which capitalism expresses itself in South Africa, the ideas and the practices of racial and colonial domination and exploitation.

It can be argued that the task of changing the system of education should properly belong to the state power that will emerge as a result of the victory of the democratic revolution. The point, however, is that the process of struggle itself demands that the subjective factor must mature to make victory possible. The level of consciousness and the content of that awareness should measure up to the requirement that the masses, under the leadership of their vanguard movement, must act as their own liberators.

The growth of that revolutionary democratic consciousness could not but confront the question of the consciousness that the ruling group in our country has been trying to inculcate in our youth in the schools, colleges and universities. This is especially so because the ruling group openly set out to use education as an instrument to perpetuate the status quo.

The whole system was designed to camouflage the use and abuse of knowledge, to deny the people the ability to understand nature and society, and therefore to expand their freedom of action by deepening their understanding of necessity. Stripped of its misleading falsehoods, apartheid education stands naked as a tool in the hands of the ruling group to entrench exploitative capitalist relations, national oppression and fascist terror.

**Revolutionary Consensus v Bantu Education**  
The struggle for a people's education is therefore a struggle to build up the conscious forces that must confront the ruling class for the victory of the democratic revolution. For this reason, it would be incorrect of the liberation movement and the people as a whole to expect that the situation in the schools and other black educational institutions can 'return to normal'. There can never be normality because the process of the growth of the revolutionary consciousness of the youth and the people cannot coexist with the perpetuation of a system of slave education.

All this emphasises the need for the entire democratic movement to conduct a limited struggle for people's education, viewing this struggle as crucial in our overall offensive for a people's victory. The right to know the truth, the duty to develop a revolutionary consciousness and the obligation to advance the democratic revolution stand at the heart of 'the education crisis'.



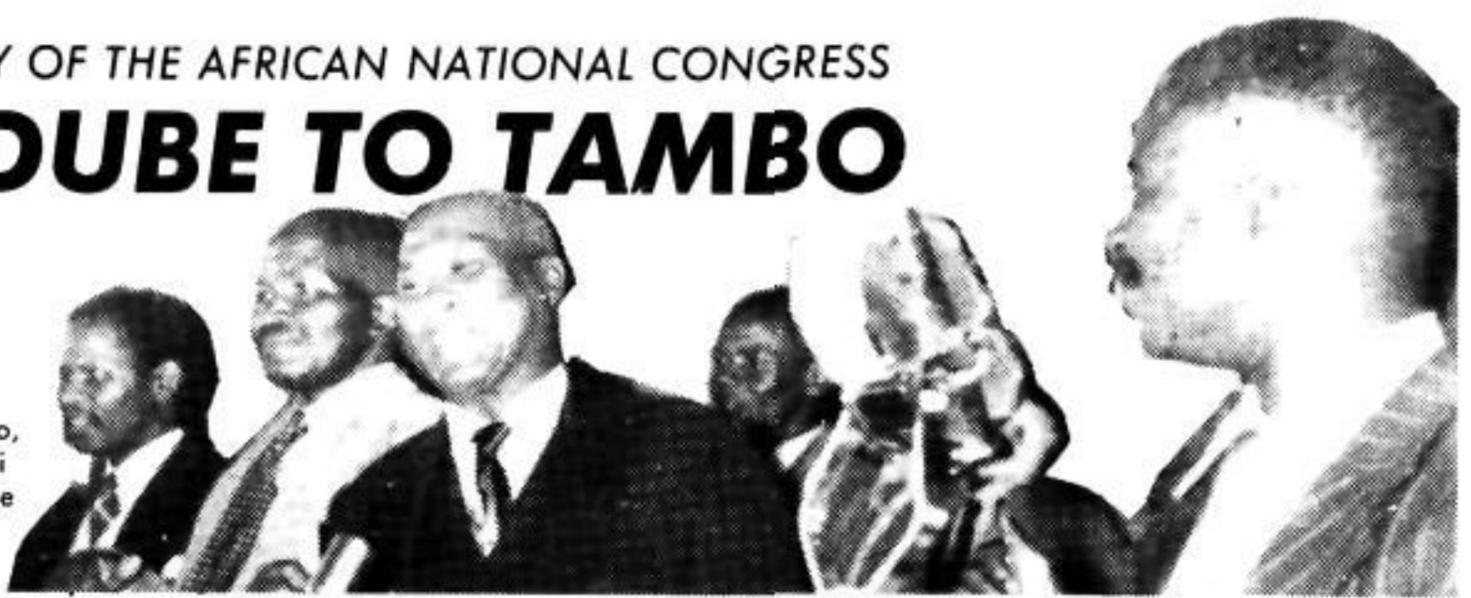
## **Boycott — A Tactical Weapon**

Events of the period since 1976 have amply demonstrated the uniquely important contribution which the students 'education struggle' has made to the overall advance in the revolutionary upsurge. Today the schools and universities continue to be key flashpoints of resistance to racist tyranny. We do not believe that the consolidation and advance of student pressure depends mechanically on the slogan of boycott under any and all conditions. The base from which the struggle is carried out depends upon the united elaboration of revolutionary tactics in changing conditions. A student return to school (like a workers' return to a factory after a strike) is not necessarily a retreat; it can often become an indispensable step of re-occupation to consolidate collectivism and organisation for the battles ahead. Students, parents, teachers and workers must move in unity so that the whole community can stand shoulder to shoulder in this vital front of struggle.

**EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION!**

# FROM DUBE TO TAMBO

Left to right: Oliver Tambo, GSD Nyembe, Chief Lutuli and Moses Mabhida at the ANC 1959 national conference



On 8 January, 1987, the African National Congress of South Africa celebrated its 75th anniversary. When the ANC was born in 1912, it brought together leading African personalities from all over Southern Africa wishing to register their protest against the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, when the British government transferred effective power into the hands of the white minority. In addition, the leaders of the African people wanted to take action to prevent the passage into law of the Land Bill, finally enacted in 1913, which deprived the Africans of access to and ownership of 87% of the land area of the country.

The formation of the ANC went unnoticed at the time. It was not written up in the newspapers, and its representations to authority, including the British government of the day, were ignored. Many prominent personalities came together at that inaugural meeting in Bloemfontein — chiefs, ministers, teachers, clerks, traders, small-scale businessmen, lawyers and journalists. But the organisation had no muscle, no grass roots. There were no trade unionists present because there were no African trade unions. Industrialisation had only just begun.

The seeds of change were being sown. In his summons to the founding conference, the lawyer Pixley ka Isaka Seme had stressed the need to forge African unity and bury tribalism.

'We are one people', he said. 'Let us forget the differences between Xhosa-Fingo, Zulus and Tongas, Basutos and other Natives'. And in his key-note address he declared: 'We have discovered that in the land of their birth Africans are treated as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The white people of this country have formed what is known as the Union of South Africa — a union in which we have no voice in the making of laws and no part in their administration. We have called you therefore to this conference so that we can together devise ways and means of forming our national union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges'.

The names of those pioneers now have their place in the pantheon of the liberation movement — lawyers like Seme, A Mangena, RW Msimang and GD Montsioa, ministers like JL Dube and WB Rubusana, and teachers like Solomon T Plaatje, who became the first secretary general of the congress.

The founders of the ANC were moderate men, who believed that the reason and justness of their cause could not fail to move the hearts and minds of their rulers. They submitted petitions, went on deputations, pleaded and argued, often with passion and authority, but to no avail.

Two main streams came together to form the mighty stream of resistance which we see flowing today. One was the Communist Party, which produced giants of the calibre of A Nzula, E Mofutsanyana, J Nkosi, A Maliba, M Kotane, JB Marks, M Mabhida, G Mbeki, and many others who were active in leading positions in both the Communist Party and the ANC. The other was the African National Congress Youth League, which, in the late forties and fifties, shouldered aside an ageing and conservative leadership and brought to the fore more militant and revolutionary policies, and outstanding leaders like Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu.

The fusion of nationalism and internationalism galvanised the South African masses into action. Nor can we forget the contribution of the women, amongst whose leaders can be named Charlotte Maxeke, Lilian Ngoyi, Josie Mpama, Frances Baard, Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela. The giant campaigns and demonstrations of the fifties and sixties, culminating in the launching of the armed struggle spearheaded by Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Spear of the Nation, on 16 December 1961, propelled the ANC into the undisputed leadership of the liberation front.

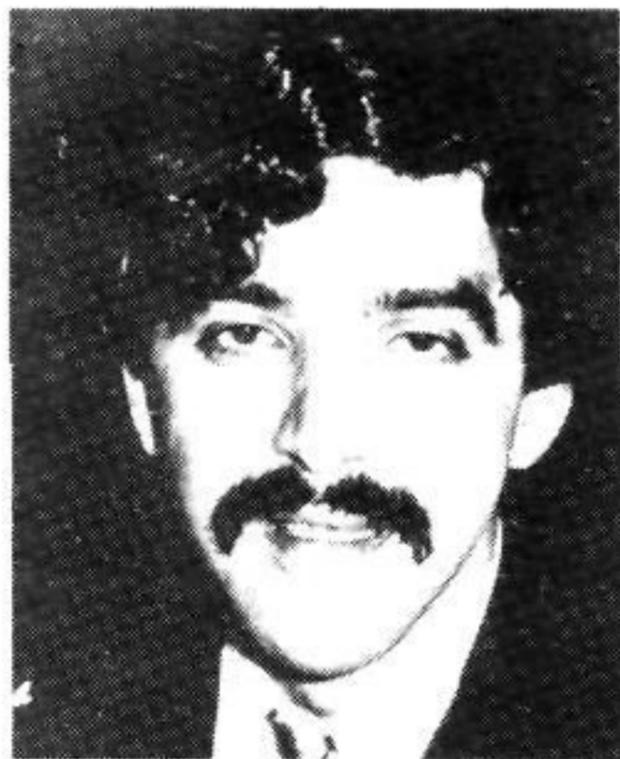
Today, allied with the South African Communist Party and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the ANC is seen by all as the architect of the new South Africa based on the Freedom Charter, whose foundations are being laid in the bitter struggles raging in all corners of our country today.

**LONG LIVE MANDELA AND TAMBO!**

Ahmed Timol, born in 1941, had from an early age shown an interest in the political struggle. His father, Haji Timol, was a close colleague of Yusuf Dadoo and some of the other Indian leaders who succeeded in transforming the Indian Congresses into powerful, progressive militant national liberation movements.

Timol was a keen sportsman and popular teacher. In the late Sixties he left South Africa to further his studies. An avid reader, he studied with diligence and enthusiasm the Marxist-Leninist classics, progressive and revolutionary writings. After joining the Party he was sent to the Lenin School in Moscow, where he was a model student.

A brave and courageous fighter, Timol returned to South Africa to help rebuild the underground structures of the revolutionary movement. In the course of carrying out his duties he was arrested on October 22, 1971. Five days later he was murdered in the notorious John Vorster Square police station in Johannesburg. His fingernails had been pulled out, his right eye gouged out and his testicles crushed. Timol's murder caused a public outcry and his funeral was attended by thousands of mourners.



**AHMED TIMOL**

## PEN PICTURES OF SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS



**VUYISILE MINI**

Vuyisile Mini was born in the Cape in 1920. After completing elementary school he worked as a labourer and trade union organiser. In 1951 he joined the ANC and the Party, and in 1952 was jailed for three months in the Defiance Campaign. A defendant in the Treason Trial of 1956, he was discharged in 1958. He became Sactu secretary for the Eastern Cape in 1960.

Charged in 1963 with 17 counts of sabotage and the murder of a police informer, Vuyisile Mini, together with Zinakile Mkaba and Wilson Khayingo, was convicted and hanged in Pretoria Central Prison on November 6th, 1964.

Mini, of the Eastern Cape High Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and his two comrades were offered their lives in exchange for giving information about sabotage activity in their area.

Mini wrote: 'I am presently awaiting execution at Pretoria Central Gaol having been sentenced to death

at the beginning of the year. On October 2, 1964, Captain Geldenhuys and two other policemen came to see me. They asked me if I had been informed that my appeal had been dismissed. I told them I was not interested to know from them what my advocate said. They then said there was still a chance for me to be saved as they knew I was the big boss of the movement in the Eastern Cape. I must just tell them where the detonators and revolvers were, and they would help me. I refused. They then asked me about Wilton Mkwayi (subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment) and whether I was prepared to give evidence against Mkwayi, whom they had now arrested. I said no, I was not. When they asked would I make the Amandla Ngawethu salute when I walked the last few paces to the gallows, I said yes.'

Mini's unmistakable bass voice, ringing out loud and clear, sent his final message in Xhosa to the world he was leaving. Charged with emotion, but stubbornly defiant, he spoke of the struggle and of his absolute conviction of the victory to come. Many of the songs sung by the freedom fighters of today are Mini's compositions.

Vuyisile Mini's daughter, Nomkhosi Mary, a founding member of *Amandla*, the Cultural Ensemble of the ANC, was among those killed in the South African commando raid on Maseru, Lesotho, on December 20th, 1985.

**RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!**

# PARTY ELECTIONS

Following the death last year of comrade Moses Mabhida, the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party announces the election of comrade Joe Slovo as general secretary. Comrade Daniel Tloome was elected chairman. The biography of Joe Slovo previously appeared in *Umsebenzi* Volume Two, Issue No.3, Third Quarter 1986.



**Daniel Tloome**, known to all his comrades as Uncle Dan, was born in the Orange Free State and as a young man in the late 1930's and early 1940's, entered the ranks of the Communist Party, the African National Congress and the trade union movement more or less at the same time, regarding them as the three main pillars of the South African revolution. He served as secretary of the African Milling Workers' Union and in 1941 was elected vice-president of the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions. The main task of the trade union movement, he declared at that time, was to 'bring home to all lovers of mankind, progressive-minded citizens, and all those intent on the industrial development of the country, the immediate need and urgency for the removal of the industrial colour bar'. The time was long overdue, he declared, for the government to offer statutory recognition to African trade unions and enable them to take part in free collective bargaining. In 1947 Dan Tloome was elected, together with JB Marks (later ANC

executive member and chairman of the SACP) and Gana Makabeni, to represent South African workers at the Dakar conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions, their report being received with acclamation by the delegates.

Dan Tloome was equally active in the political sphere, being elected chairman of the Orlando, Johannesburg, branch of the ANC in 1945, and later full-time secretary/bookkeeper of the national ANC. In 1949 he was elected to the National Executive Committee of the ANC at its annual conference. He played a prominent part in the organisation of the historic Defiance Campaign of 1952 when 8 000 Africans went to jail for breaking specified apartheid laws. Together with other ANC leaders, he was tried and convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act for his part in leading that campaign. The accused were given a suspended sentence of nine months imprisonment, the judge commenting that they were guilty of 'statutory communism' which had 'nothing to do with communism as it is commonly known'.

In 1953 Daniel Tloome was served with banning orders by the Minister of Justice ordering him to resign from all trade unions and political organisations and forbidding him to attend gatherings or leave Johannesburg. The banning order was renewed at intervals, and all Daniel Tloome's activity was confined to the underground from 1953 onwards, apart from a period of some years during which he served as a publisher of the progressive magazine, *Liberation*. Placed under house arrest in 1963, he was sent out of the country by the Party to promote the work of the movement abroad. He has been a member of the Central Committee of the SACP and of the executive committees of the ANC and the South African Congress of Trade Unions for many years, and has represented one or other of these organisations at many international conferences.

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Read the *African Communist* — theoretical quarterly journal of the SACP.  
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**ANTI-COMMUNISM IS ANTI-LIBERATION!**

## FROM OUR READERS



### THE ENEMY ARMED FORCES & INSURRECTION

*Umsebenzi* regularly refers to the thorny problem of how to deal with the enemy's armed forces. In the need to win over black troops we are clear. But when it comes to neutralising the majority of white troops we tend, in my opinion, to be vague in our answers. I would like to raise a few points for discussion.

1. One of the objective conditions required for a successful revolution is the inability of the ruling class to rule in the same old way. Notwithstanding the political and economic crises facing the apartheid state, and the inevitable and deep-reaching effect they have on the armed forces, a military crisis — where the loyalty and fighting ability of the armed forces is seriously threatened — must surely be the key to the state's ability to rule. Despite increasing disaffection and falling morale in the enemy's ranks, they are as yet far from this point.

2. However difficult and imprecise it might be, we need to quantify our estimation of how the enemy's forces are likely to respond at any given time. In the final analysis, when the state orders a full mobilisation to put down insurrection, how will their troops behave: will disaffection take place at an individual level or will platoons, companies or whole battalions withdraw their support in one way or another? What do we mean by neutralising enemy forces: will they fail to report for duty, fire over our heads, refuse to go into battle, etc. My point is not that we can simply dream up answers to these questions. Rather that we cannot just sit back and abstractly hope that on day one of insurrection something might happen.

3. The success of the anti-conscription/war resistance movement outside of the armed forces can and must be duplicated within the enemy's ranks. While work aimed at dividing the ruling class in general and undermining the political direction of the armed forces is crucial, it is not a substitute for a specific **propaganda and organisational offensive within the armed forces**.

4. In determining our target constituency for such an offensive, we need to take into account not only priorities based on the composition of the armed forces today — centred on the permanent force and national servicemen — but rather on the composition of a fully mobilised army which will consist mainly of part-time forces (the Citizen Force and Commandos).

5. Our propaganda aimed at enemy troops has, to date, relied primarily on the power of moral reasoning. Without abandoning such arguments we should, though, be putting more of our energy into exploiting objective factors, namely:

- the success of the liberation struggle
- the failure and divisions within the ruling class
- the material interests and personal fears of individual troops.

**The behaviour of the enemy's armed forces when called upon to put down insurrection is a key factor in our struggle. It is not an issue we should be leaving to chance.**

#### WE COULD EXPECT NO BETTER COMPLIMENT A Letter from a Worker in Kattlehong

Dear *Umsebenzi*, I am so very thankful of getting my articles of *Umsebenzi*, Vol. 2, Issue No. 4. In fact I am not well educated, because I left my schooling early. But I am so very much concerned about politics. I would like to have more knowledge about politics, because when reading these articles I can see that it does not need very much education to understand what you say.

Please send me other articles as much as you can. Forward to the People's Struggle!  
Long Live to the ANC, MK, SACP!



**TURN YOUR GUNS AGAINST THE ENEMY!**

# FORMS OF PEOPLES' POWER: THE SOVIETS

Every revolution has its own form of peoples' power. There are modern and classical examples. In Europe, in 1871, 'ordinary workmen at normal workmen's wages' took over the government of the city of Paris. They declared an end to high rents and massive debts. They organised food supplies and ran the city, demonstrating to the world for the first time that workers were able to run a government. They stripped the state of its pomp and mystique and governed in the interests of the majority. The threat they posed to the official state was so great that the authorities moved in with all the armed force at their disposal to crush the dual power, as it was called, and restore the rule of reaction.

But the example of the workers' deputies of Paris blazed a trail to be followed later, when the revolution in Russia, first in 1905 and again in 1917, actually established a new type of state — the Soviets — which Lenin likened to the Paris Commune. It was not a bourgeois parliamentary democratic republic and nor was it a state in the proper sense of the word, **but a structure born of the entire people.**



Similar in type to the Commune, it was, as Marx noted at the time, 'the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labour'.

The Soviet was the centre of all events and every call to action arose from it. It had authority but no traditions. Yet it could organise thousands of scattered people, despite its modest organisational form. It provided leadership, and could surface from underground at the shortest notice. There would be errors in the organisational development of the people, but these were initially inevitable as the workers advanced towards peoples' power.

The Soviet, in 1917, stood alongside the actual government which held the organs of power (the military, the police and the executive) and acted as a parallel and 'controlling' government. Although it held none of the organs of state power, Lenin was quick to note that it drew its strength and support from the 'obvious and indisputable majority' of people. Collectively, they constituted a power **resting not on the law but directly on the force of the armed masses.**

Two governments opposed each other: a **dual power** which, Lenin noted, reflected the unusually rapid increase in the number of ordinary citizens who, as the struggle intensifies, begin to participate actively in political life and in the **organisation of the state.** This was a symptom of every real revolution, in which the source of power stemmed from the direct initiative of the people below, in their local areas.

Each revolution finds its own precise forms of struggle, but the broad historical continuities are clear. Although our civic structures do not yet represent a 'parallel and controlling government', it is appropriate to note the similarities with peoples' organisations in other places and former times. The village committees in our rural areas, the civic structures, the student, women's, youth and street committees — not least the shop steward locals — already give clearer direction and greater co-ordination to our struggle. Actions are mandated and more representative as delegates act through civic structures and street committees. They are replaced if they act undemocratically.

As our revolution matures, our reply to the bloody repression of the regime in its agony, is to consolidate these forms of peoples' power!

**POWER COMES FROM THE PEOPLE!**

# PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

Organs of people's power — in the form of people's committees — have emerged in many areas of the country. These include such strategic areas as the PWV area, the Eastern Cape and the Northern Transvaal. Attempts by the regime to smash them have not had much success. Over the past few months, especially under the State of Emergency, the Street and Area Committees have proved their efficiency in organisation and mobilisation, thus complementing the work of mass democratic organisations. They are beginning to master methods of work suitable for conditions of repression and to evolve battle tactics for self-defence.

## Organs of Struggle

Our experience has taught us that People's Committees are essentially organs of struggle. They emerge in struggle and they can only survive and develop in struggle. Necessity sometimes forces them to undertake administrative functions such as refuse collection, but they are all the time seized with the task of leading the people in struggle to defend themselves against the troops, police and the regime's vigilantes.

If these Committees were to remain on the defensive, they would easily be besieged by the enemy's state machinery. In fact, they would find themselves gradually dislodged. The organs of people's power have to be on the offensive all the time.

Such an offensive has to include both mass and armed actions. Through the general strikes, the consumer boycott, rent strike and other actions we are able to defend people's power and at the same time advance the struggle. By forming and committing self-defence units and combat groups to action we render the troops less effective and weaken the state machinery.

As organs that have emerged in the place of the regime's institutions of administration, as organs based on the will of the people, they are a new political

power in South Africa: a local people's government in the making. But to become a real power in fact, the People's Committees have to further muster the political and military potential of the masses to effectively challenge the regime and paralyse the system. **This can be achieved only if and when mass and armed actions, ungovernability and people's power, spread to other areas of the country, to the Coloured and Indian areas and, above all, to the 'white areas'.** By white areas we refer to the areas where the mines, factories and other enterprises are to be found, to the farms owned by the Boers and monopolies, to the white suburbs and other districts, where the enemy has his 'rear base'.

In many areas of the country we have effectively destroyed enemy rule in the ghettos and villages. But these areas are important in so far as they provide services to the economy and life-line of the entire system. To advance, we must destroy this life-line. We must make the areas where we work ungovernable and move ahead to control them.

People's (or Workers) Committees and combat groups should be formed in the enterprises. Already, recent actions by workers which include occupation of enterprises show that we can impose our will on the factory floor.

## In the Rural Areas

In some rural areas, for example Sekhukhuni, Steelpoort, organs of people's power in the form of Village Committees have been formed representing all the people including farm workers. Having destroyed and replaced the regime's 'tribal and homeland authorities', the community launched an offensive on the white farm areas: strikes by farm workers, burning of sheds and fields, disruption of transport and other actions. In some instances, the white farmers have been forced to pay tax to the People's Committees. This shows that we can impose our will in the 'white' rural

FROM UNGOVERNAB

# ORGANS OF STRUGGLE

areas and finally take control

In order to spread ungovernability and impose people's power in the white areas, we also have to address the regimes organs of government in these localities. In the same measure as we destroyed the township councils, we should render the white City Councils inoperable with the aim of destroying them and instituting our organs of people's power. Certainly this task is going to be more difficult and will require much more effort on our part. But we have the capacity to fulfil it. In addition to the popular actions mentioned above, municipal workers should engage in systematic and purposeful actions. We must prepare for moments when we will successfully disrupt transport, electricity, water and other services run by these councils.

## **Role of White Democrats**

Actions aimed at rendering the City Councils unworkable also have to involve white democrats in their localities, and in joint actions with all the forces genuinely interested in the transfer of power to the people. For example, democratic individuals in the white suburbs could link up with people's committees of domestic workers and workers' industrial and other committees. A variety of organisational forms can be found.

The essential question is that we should,

for example, move from the stage of popular organs in the ghettos — in Ferguson or even New Brighton — to that of All-City Revolutionary People's Committees for the whole of Port Elizabeth — encompassing workers and all other democratic forces. In the case of rural areas the Committees should be geared at rendering the farms unworkable and seizing the land. Organisation of People's Committees by workers on an enterprise basis does not mean that they should not participate in the residential popular organs. Rather, they should do so even more actively, strengthen the township committees and play the leading role in them. The co-operation of some shop steward committees and community organisations in the townships is one example (at the level of legal democratic organisations) of how the two forms reinforce each other.

In our country, national liberation entails, above everything else, the destruction of the colonial power itself. Through action, we have rendered the organs of 'the colony' (in the crude geographic sense) unworkable.

**The task now is to prepare political and organisational conditions which will enable us to storm the citadel!**



*The  
Struggle  
Continues!  
Victory  
is Certain!*

**○ PEOPLE'S POWER!**

# HOW TO MASTER SECRET WORK

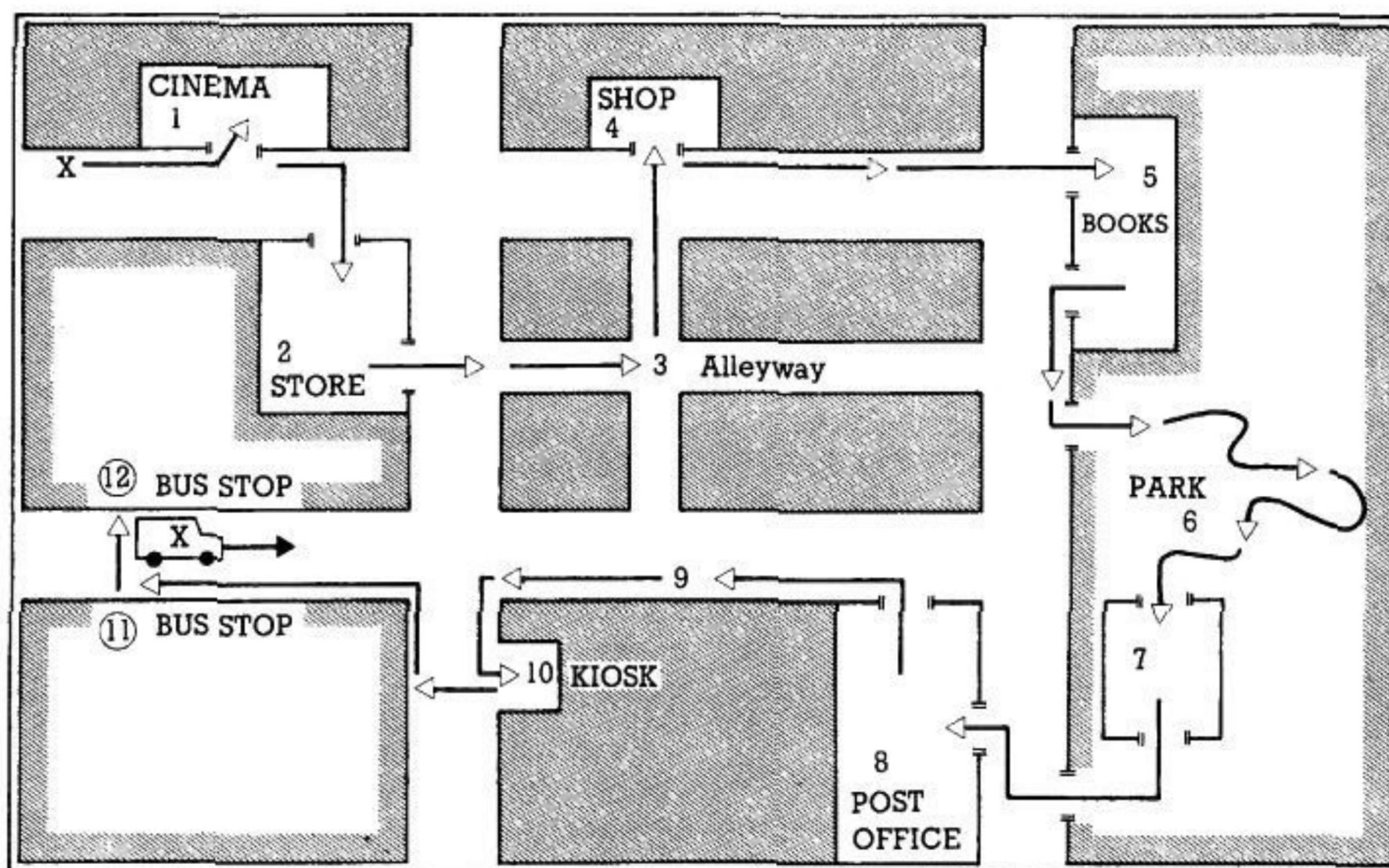


## 8. THE CHECK ROUTE

**Check Route** is a planned journey, preferably on foot, along which a person carries out a number of discreet checks in order to determine whether they are under **surveillance**. These checks take place at predetermined **check points** which must give you the opportunity of checking for possible surveillance without arousing the suspicion of those tailing you.

The check route should cover a distance of 3-4km, include such activities as shopping, making innocent enquiries, catching a bus, enjoying a refreshment etc., and should last about one hour. The route should include quiet and busy areas bearing in mind that it is easier to spot a tail in uncrowded places. It is essential that your behaviour appears normal and that you have a valid reason for your movements. If your actions are strange and inexplicable, you will arouse the suspicions of those following you.

Here is an example of a typical **check route**. Shortage of space obliges us to confine the **check points** into a smaller area — just a few city blocks — than would actually be the case: **Check Points are numbered 1 to 12.**



1. X walks down the street and pauses at a cinema to examine the posters — this gives a good chance to look back down the street and to notice those passing by (without looking over his shoulder);

2. X crosses the road looking right and left and pops into a large store; he positions himself near the entrance whilst appearing to examine goods on display; he notices anyone entering after him; wanders around the store using lifts, stairways etc., in order to spot anyone paying special interest in him; departs at side exit ...

3. and crosses street into little-used alleyway

or arcades; here he slightly picks up speed and crosses street, where ...

4. shop with large plate glass windows gives good reflection of alley out of which he has emerged; X notices whether anyone is coming out of that alley to catch up with him ...

5. X now proceeds down the street into bookshop with commanding view of the street he has come down; he browses around noticing anyone entering after him; he also observes whether anyone examines the books he has been browsing through (for a tail would want to check whether X has left a secret communication behind him for a con-

**KNOW THE ENEMY —**

tact); X makes a small purchase and exits ...

6. enters park and walks along winding paths which give good view of rear; X throws away an empty cigarette pack and retires to ...
7. an out-door restaurant where he takes his tea; he observes whether anyone picks up the cigarette pack which a tail would want to check as in 5; and notices the customers arriving after him; any tail would want to check whether X is meeting someone; as X leaves he notices whether any of the customers are eager to leave immediately after him ...
8. X crosses the street into a Post Office; once inside he is able to observe whether anyone is crossing the street from the park after him; he buys some stamps and notices anyone queuing behind him (a tail will be especially interested in transactions taking place in post offices, banks etc.); X may also make a 'phone call at a public box and check whether anyone attempts to overhear his conversation;
9. on departing X stops a stranger in the street to ask the way; this allows him to check whether anyone has followed him out of the Post Office; a tail would also show interest in this stranger (who might be X's contact) and a member of the surveillance team might follow this 'stranger';
10. X continues down the street, turns sharply at the corner, and abruptly stops at a cigarette kiosk; anyone following will most likely come

quickly around the corner and could become startled on finding X right in his path;

11-12. X crosses the street and joins the queue at bus stop (11) noticing those joining the queue after him; a bit of acting here gives impression X is unsure of the bus he wants to catch; he could allow a couple of buses to go by noticing anyone who is doing the same; as a bus arrives at the stop across the road (12) X suddenly appears to realise it is his and dashes across the road to catch it as it pulls away; X is alert to anyone jumping on the bus after him and will also pay attention to whoever gets on at the next few stops.

Such a series of checks must be carried out immediately prior to any sensitive appointment or secret meeting. If nothing suspicious has occurred during the **Check Route** X proceeds to his secret appointment or mission. If, on the other hand, X has encountered certain persons over and over again on the **Check Route** he will assume he is under surveillance and break his appointment. Bear in mind that anyone following you, even professionals, may become indecisive or startled should your paths unexpectedly cross. A **Check Routine** should also be carried out from time to time to check whether a person is 'clean' or not.

**Next Issue: More on Counter-Surveillance**

## DATES TO COMMEMORATE IN 1987

**1917 — 1987**

70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution

**1487 — 1987**

500 years since Bartholomew Dias arrived at Mossel Bay, which he called the 'Bay of Cowherds', marking the beginning of colonial conquest of our country

**1787 — 1987**

200th anniversary of the birth of the great warrior, Chaka

**1947**

40 years ago the Xuma-Dadoo-Naicker Pact was signed on behalf of the ANC, TIC and NIC, laying the foundations for national unity and the Congress Alliance

**1957**

Following the Alexandra Bus Boycott, a £1-a-day National Minimum Wage campaign was launched

**1962**

The 'Road to South African Freedom', the Programme of the SACP, was adopted 25 years ago

**1967**

20 years ago the Wankie and Sipolilo Battles took place in what was then Rhodesia, now independent Zimbabwe

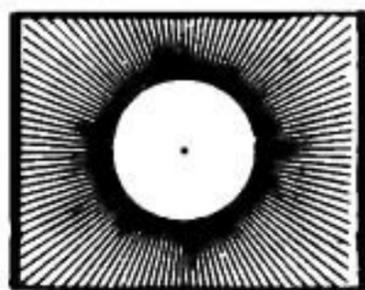
**1912 — 1987**

75th anniversary of the formation of the African National Congress

**1987**

27th October is the 70th birthday of Oliver Tambo

# KEEP HIM IN THE DARK!



## HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

### 7. DISSOLUTION AND REBIRTH

The Suppression of Communism Act became law in June 1950. The Communist Party of South Africa was declared an unlawful organisation and it became a punishable offense to defend or advocate 'the doctrine of Marxian socialism' 'or any related doctrine'. This was the first major measure by the Nationalist government on the road to transforming South Africa into a fascist police state.

Faced with this draconian measure, the Party revealed certain weaknesses which had developed in its ranks, as well as its indestructible virtues. A certain tendency towards legalistic illusions had penetrated the Party and sections of its leadership. Despite the open threats of the Nationalist Party to ban the CP, no effective steps had been taken to prepare for underground existence and illegal work.

A hastily convened Central Committee meeting held in May 1950, when the terms of the new law became known, decided by majority vote and without consulting the Party membership, to dissolve the Party. It was suggested, among other things, that the rank and file would not be prepared to face dangers and difficulties of underground work.

The fallacy of this argument was proved in the ensuing period, when the great majority of the Marxist-Leninists, including most of the leaders who had earlier voted for the dissolution, showed their courage and devotion to their principles by successfully rebuilding the South African Communist Party in conditions of illegality.

Subsequent events made clear the distinction between those among the former leadership who had regarded the dissolution as a temporary and tactical expedient and those who had come to doubt the need for the very existence of the independent Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class.

Despite the illegalisation of the Party, the great majority of communists remained at their posts in the working class and liberation movements, but they did not lose sight of the need, reinforced by daily experience, for independent, collective, Marxist-Leninist discussion, organisation and leadership. Immediately after dissolution, the seasoned Marxist-Leninist core came together to hammer out a course of

action in the light of South African realities. Two minority views were expressed. The first was that communists should withdraw from all public activities in such mass organisations as were still legally permitted, to concentrate on 'the underground'. The other was that there was no need for the communist party at that stage in South Africa.

The majority firmly rejected both of these incorrect views. It was vital to maintain such mass work as was legally possible. An independent Marxist-Leninist party was essential as well, both to fulfil its long-term mission of winning a socialist South Africa based on workers power, and also to ensure the success of the immediate fight for national liberation and democracy. Hence the communists, as part of an organised collective body, had both to participate actively in the public, legal mass movement and to combine this with persistent planned illegal work to rebuild and strengthen the Party as the vanguard of the most advanced class, the working class.

Accordingly, a provisional centre set to work to accomplish these twin, and related, objectives. Through methodical, though necessarily cautious, work Party cells and district committees were established in the main centres of the country. By the beginning of 1953 a national conference was convened which adopted a Programme and Rules, and adopted the name the South African Communist Party. Its purpose was 'to carry forward and raise still higher the banner of the communist movement under the new and testing conditions of illegality'. Its task was that of 'combining legal mass work with the illegal work of building the Marxist-Leninist Party'. While distinguishing itself in its name and approach from the former CPSA which, 'despite its great achievements in struggles ... proved incapable of surviving under illegal conditions', the reborn Party declared itself 'the heir to the tradition created by the CPSA ... of unflinching struggle against oppression and exploitation, for unity of the workers and freedom-loving peoples of our country, irrespective of race and colour'.

*(This section of the series consists of extracts from Fifty Fighting Years by A. Lerumo (M. Harmel).)*

**STUDY THE PARTY PROGRAMME!**



In this Issue we start a new series:

# PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD

## 1. THE LEGAL SYSTEM

No exact definition can be given now of the legal system in a transitional post-apartheid society. Much will depend on the manner in which the people achieve power, the extent to which the institutions of state are disrupted in the process, and the precise correlation of forces at decisive moments. Yet certain fundamental themes can be mentioned even at the present stage.

First, the legal system which today openly and unashamedly defends capitalist class interests and racist minority rule, has to be radically transformed. It must become an instrument which defends the economic interests of the working people and which guarantees majority rule. The rights of all citizens as individuals and not as ethnic entities must be enforced. This will mean:

- **transforming the laws themselves**

The whole panoply of apartheid law will have to be destroyed: racist land laws, race classification, Group Areas, all the laws that keep the country divided and reserve privilege for the racist minority will have to be repealed.

- **transforming the personnel who operate the legal system**

The courts today are thoroughly racist in their composition and attitudes. Very few of the judges and virtually none of the other personnel have used their positions to defend even the most elementary rights of the people. It is not simply a question of more black faces: what will be needed will be persons dedicated to genuine social justice. The legal profession will require transformation to make it more representative of the people as a whole.

While private legal practise will continue, public legal service will be greatly extended to become the main form of legal support.

- **transforming the structures, procedures and institutions of the system**

The present complicated, technical and expensive system puts the law out of the reach of the mass of the people. In all its principal areas, the law will be made simpler and more accessible.

Clearly, the legal system will have to be cleansed of all its racist aspects, but formal non-racism will not be enough. The people as a whole will have to be drawn into the creation and implementation of the laws. Ancient democratic tradition of popular participation, together with new forms of community justice being developed in the course of the struggle today, must be injected into the system so as to ensure that it takes on its true function as defender of the people's rights.

Acting in the tradition of revolutionary humanism, which has always been the dominant trend in the people's struggles, the new legal system will consolidate the people's gains, serve as an instrument for coherent social and economic advance, and, within this context, vigorously protect individual rights from abuse and arbitrary behaviour.

Democratic legality, then, should be seen as a major means of giving 'the man and woman in the street' a sense of confidence in the new society, of ensuring that there is no retreat to the days of unbridled exploitation, apartheid and racial oppression, and of paving the way to further and higher social development in the future.



*Law as practised in South Africa today*

**LAW MUST SERVE THE PEOPLE!**



# MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

## 3. Dialectical Materialism, versus Vulgar Materialism

Last time, we described the philosophy of Dialectical Materialism, which Marx worked out in co-operation with his friend, Frederick Engels, as a struggle to defend the truth of Materialist theories about the world and, especially, about history, against the falsity of Idealist theories. It is time now to improve our understanding of this word 'Materialism', because it can be used to mean very different things, and is sometimes used to describe theories to which Marxism is opposed.

Marxists distinguish *Dialectical* from *Vulgar* Materialism. The ideas of the Vulgar Materialists were inspired by the tremendous advances in the physical sciences which took place in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries. Many philosophers were gripped by a picture of the world as consisting entirely of tiny particles of matter. They thought of the movement of these particles as determined by simple mechanical laws, so that the whole universe seemed to them like a huge clock. These materialist philosophers hoped to explain everything, including human social processes, in terms of this simple picture of matter and this mechanical view of motion. The attempt to explain everything, even complex things, in such simple terms is called *reductionism*, and the view of all processes as machine-like movements is called *mechanism*.

Dialectical Materialism holds that this mechanical, reductionist way of seeing things cannot be correct. It is, especially, incorrect to see social processes in this way. Humans make machines. They are not themselves machines, although workers are treated like machines by the capitalist system that exploits and oppresses them. Just as incorrect is the idea that Materialists ought to deny the existence and importance of the spiritual side of our lives, treating our thoughts as if they were some strange product of chemical happenings in our brains.

The Dialectical approach does not bind us to such a narrow point of view. It recognises that human beings have thoughts and powers of reason and imagination. Indeed, in *Capital*, Marx makes a point of saying that it is these powers which distinguish the constructions of insects from the products of genuine human labour. What Marxism insists on, however, is that the spiritual side of human life cannot be understood apart from the material reality which makes it possible. Our physical powers and the objective conditions which enable us to produce goods we need to survive are part of that material reality.

Marxist Dialectics sees human history as an immensely complex process of change, a process involving every aspect of human life. This process is essentially a process of struggle — struggles between social classes, such as workers, peasants and capitalists. Often one class will form alliances with others against a dominant class or to preserve the dominance of a class.

These struggles are fundamentally about ownership of the means whereby society reproduces its material and spiritual form of life. When control of these *means of production* passes from one class to another, the whole *mode of production* changes, and this is not merely a quantitative change, but a qualitative change which we call a *revolution*.

The theory which explains how revolutions happen is Marx's theory of Historical Materialism which we shall discuss next.

### Philosophy and Class Struggle by Dialego

No matter how passionately we hate oppression and wish to see things change, there is only one force capable of eliminating colonialism, capitalism and reaction, and that is the oppressed and exploited masses led by an organisation of revolutionaries. The organisation of a popular movement, the organisation of a disciplined communist party around a political programme able to unite and co-ordinate various forms of struggle and direct them towards a common goal, is essential.

Yet once we talk about a movement, a party and a programme we are not simply talking about action, we are talking about action which has been thought out, for the only way in which anyone can plan activity and produce a programme is through revolutionary thinking — the development of revolutionary theory which, if it is properly worked out, does not hold back our practical activity but rather serves as a compass which enables us to move in the direction we want to go.

**IDEAS MUST SERVE SOCIAL PROGRESS!**



# POLITICAL ECONOMY

## 7. The Last Stage of Capitalism

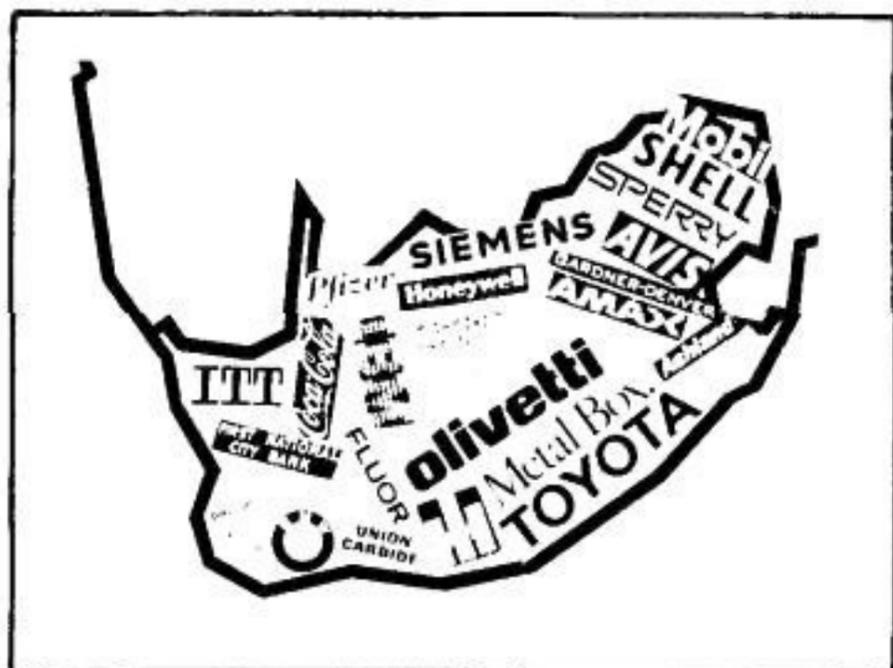
These great modern giants which dominate every field of modern production compete only in marketing — only in salesmanship through advertising and small, unimportant changes to produce 'new', 'improved' products, almost exactly like the one before. No longer competition to cut prices, or improve the durability of the products. Instead, the giants agree amongst themselves to keep prices high; but the drive to lower wages and increase exploitation of the workers remains — now even fiercer since every giant concern appears as a single employer, facing and fighting off the demands of thousands upon thousands of those who work for them.

So 'free enterprise' and 'open market competition' have gone and been replaced by their opposite — a closed system of a tiny number of giant monopolies which control a whole industry right across the capitalist world. It is a system of faceless corporations who exploit the entire working class, without ever confronting the workers face to face. It is a system of universal exploitation not only of the world's workers but also of its raw materials and resources — not for public good but only for ever greater private profit.

These great corporations monopolise the world's production and resources; they control resources larger than most national governments, and use their economic muscle to dominate and dictate to governments; they oversee the division of the world's natural resources, so that the old inequality of worker and boss has produced a global inequality of nations, with nations of industrial and financial giants dominating and exploiting whole nations of producers of raw materials.

To call this system 'free enterprise' — or, as the capitalists often do, 'the free world', is to cover over the reality and the truth.

We call it what it is — the system of capitalism, in its modern, monopolistic stage — when the early progressive impulses of capitalism are dead, and only the menacing power, military appetites and exploitative drives remain. This stage of capitalism we communists describe as the



stage of imperialism. We believe it is the last stage of capitalism, because the strains and stresses it produces between classes and nations reach the breaking point where the system itself can no longer serve the needs of people or win their support.

It is capitalism on its death bed, in terminal illness from which there is no recovery possible. Imperialism has destroyed the freedom and the progressive urges with which capitalism once destroyed the old, pre-capitalist world. And now the task of all mankind is to bring imperialism to its final end, and release once again the free enterprise, free spirit and advancing goods and services of which we are now capable if the dead hand of imperialism can be thrown off.

That final end cannot bring back the early days of capitalism. All the world has moved on. And now it is time for the new system of socialism. Why socialism? We will deal with this in our next issue.

### TRUTH WILL OUT

When Gencor's executive director (mining), Johan Fritz, interviewed by the Financial Mail, was asked: 'Do you accept that dismissing migrant workers is a particularly harsh step because once they lose their jobs they may no longer remain in the area?'

He replied: 'Yes. But before striking, a worker must weigh up potential gains against potential losses. We have a shield against their irresponsible actions — a large reserve of unemployed'.

**WEALTH BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE!**

# UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY ECONOMICS



## 3. THE STOCK EXCHANGE

The Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) is near the heart of South Africa's white economy. When we watch the ups and downs of its business, we are taking the pulse of the giant corporations.

When business is booming on the stock exchange, it is a sign that Anglo American is getting more profits from our labour underground in the mines, or Barlow Rand is making more money from our work. When prices on the JSE crash down, they signal that people with big money think that gold mining and industry are running into problems.

What is the stock exchange? How does it work? How does it relate to our struggle?

The Johannesburg Stock Exchange is basically similar to the stock exchanges in London, New York, Tokyo, Paris and the other financial centres of capitalism. They do two related things. First, they enable companies (in industry, mining, commerce or other fields) to *raise money*. They also enable the state to raise money. Second, they enable people and firms with money to *speculate* and make huge profits from it. Speculation is the largest and most important business of stock exchanges. But to see how it works we must begin with the first activity: raising money.

How does a company or the state raise money on the JSE? If a company needs R1 million, for example, to develop a new mine, it can sell *shares*. It issues share certificates which people and other firms buy through a stockbroker who is a member of the JSE. The money goes to the company. The buyer gets a certificate saying he or she is entitled to a share of the company's wealth and of its profits. Alternatively, the company could sell *bond* certificates for money in the same way. They differ from shares mainly because the buyer of a bond gets a fixed rate of interest while the owner of shares gets a proportion of profits which are changeable. An important point is that the *state* also sells bonds in this way to raise money (to finance the boer's army, for example).

How do people make profits by speculating? After the original company or the state has sold its new shares or bonds, the owners can re-sell them to other people. They tell a stockbroker who belongs to the JSE to sell for them. That stockbroker finds out what price other people will pay for each share or bond. If the price is higher than the owner originally paid, he or she will make a profit.

Almost all the daily business of the JSE consists of buying and selling old shares and bonds to make profits from speculation. The big operators are rich individuals, large firms, and financial institutions like insurance companies. They make big profits when share and bond prices rise. They try to predict when there will be a general rise and which shares and bonds will rise particularly strongly, then they buy before the rise occurs.

Dealing on the JSE is dominated by what happens to gold. Its original business was trading in the shares of mines on the newly discovered Witwatersrand gold fields. And buying and selling the shares and bonds of gold mines comprised almost the whole business of stockbrokers until the 1940s. Then shares of industrial and trading companies increased in importance.

But right up to the present day, gold mine shares rule the roost on the stock exchange.

The main economic influence on all shares is the price of gold itself. For example, when the price of gold exports rose dramatically to a peak near \$800 per ounce in 1979, there was feverish activity on the stock exchange. Financiers knew the high price of gold would earn high profits for the gold mines. Desperate to buy gold mine shares, speculators bid against each other to push the price of those shares to new peaks. In 1979 their price had risen to a level five times as high as it was in 1976. Some people made great profits. And their belief that South African capitalism was on to a winner led them to bid up the prices of other shares (of companies in industry and commerce) too. When the price of gold fell sharply, so did gold shares and the other shares on the JSE.

Now politics has a big influence on the stock exchange. Our liberation struggle can send shock waves through the stock exchange. The key to this is that the Johannesburg Stock Exchange is linked to the financial capitals of the whole imperialist system and has attracted much American and European capital. When the struggle intensifies foreign financiers have attempted to sell South African shares in a panic and get their money out. The state was forced to take emergency financial measures which even involved temporarily closing the Stock Exchange at the end of August 1985. Now the JSE speculators are afraid that our struggle will lead to the death of their casino.

**WEALTH MUST BE SHARED NOT GAMBLLED!**

# ORGANISE THE FARM WORKERS!



The majority of people who work the land in our country are farm workers. Commercial agriculture is the overwhelmingly dominant form of agricultural production in South Africa. And it is the more than 1.2 million men, women and children who neither own, nor have access to, land and who must live by selling their labour power. who are responsible for the agricultural wealth that is generated on the farms.

This is so despite the huge injection of capital, through massive state subsidies, that has been pumped into 'white' agricultural production over the past few decades in order to modernise the sector. Indeed, this shift from labour-intensive to capital-intensive production on the farms — which has also meant an absolute decline in employment in the sector — has rested on the *intensified exploitation* of black farm workers.

Like all other sections of the oppressed and exploited working class in South Africa, farm workers do not reap the fruits of their labour. These men, women and children who plough, plant and pick the crops, and who raise the cattle and shear and slaughter the sheep, work to starve. All farm workers earn starvation wages. Pay for so-called casual workers range from 60c to 120c a day. Many 'full-time' workers earn as little as R30 a month. Some workers are never paid. Others are paid in tomatoes and cabbages. The majority of farm workers receive no supplementary food rations. They exist on a spare and monotonous diet of green mealies and mealie meal. Meat is a rare luxury, even on cattle farms. Most workers have to wait for an animal to die. Dairy products are unheard of. Even fruit and vegetables are rare — and when workers get them they are invariably damaged or rotten.

So many workers live on the farms for shelter, or to try and live with their families, or for food, or because there is no other work, or because their pass is stamped *farm labour only*. They are driven to work on farms by force or starvation, and they toil in hunger from before dawn to well into the night, day in, day out, the whole year round. For generations white farmers have seized and monopolised the wealth of the land through raw oppression and naked exploitation. This legacy of unbroken tyranny on the farms — no matter the propaganda of 'progressive' and 'backward' farmers — has made farm workers the most downtrodden of all workers in our country. And it is this historical injustice which has to be redressed.

The deep-seated anger and frustration of farm workers has to be organised and channelled as an indispensable weapon of the working class and national liberation struggle. That is why the challenge of organising farm workers into a trade union is a task for all organised workers everywhere. FAWU must be given every support and facility to meet this duty it has been charged with by COSATU. But the difficulties of organising farm workers into a trade union — not because of their lack of consciousness or desire to be organised — are legion. And that is why every front of organisation — political and social, legal and illegal — must be explored in order to tap and unleash the revolutionary energies of this section of the working class.

The organisation of farm workers is crucial now in the mobilisation for people's power. It is crucial in the future, to implement people's power. To speak of the redistribution of the wealth in the countryside must be to speak also of the needs of farm workers.

**LAND MUST BE RETURNED TO THE PEOPLE!**

# THE MURDER OF MACHEL

Our struggle and the struggle of oppressed and progressive people everywhere has lost a champion and a hero with the death of Mozambican President, Comrade Samora Machel.

The only people to benefit by his death on October 19 last year are the Botha-Malan racist clique in our country and the forces of world imperialism headed by the United States.

Comrade Machel and the FRELIMO Party he led to victory in 1975 began the complex process of creating conditions for building a socialist Mozambique. They also made many sacrifices in support of the struggle against imperialism and minority rule in South Africa.

It is, therefore, no wonder that millions of people concluded there could only be one cause for that tragic plane crash on South African territory: that the enemy had caused his plane to crash.

Whatever the outcome of the inquiry into the crash, millions of us will continue to believe that the evidence indicates the enemy used a false navigational beacon to lure his plane off course and crash.

The Angolan government has disclosed that the racists have used this technique in Angola to trick aircraft pilots. A false navigational beacon is set up by the enemy to make the pilot believe he is on course when, in fact, he is heading his plane for danger.

This is the type of operation for which the racist regime in our country would need help from its allies, such as the Zionist Israelis and the American CIA. There has been an increasing exchange of information and technology between these intelligence agencies in recent years.

Mozambique, under the leadership of Comrade Machel and FRELIMO, has been a pillar on which three of the Front Line States — Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe — have based their programme to reduce their economic dependency on the racist regime in South Africa. The key is Mozambique's ports at Maputo, Nacala and Beira.

The Botha-Malan clique has armed, trained organised and sent the MNR bandits to Mozambique to disrupt these ports as well as the roads and railways that feed them.

The reason for this enemy action is clear.



The enemy wants these Front Line States to depend on South African ports. If the enemy can hold hostage the economies of the Front Line States in this way, it can weaken their ability to help us in our revolutionary effort.

But under the leadership of Samora Machel and FRELIMO, Mozambique fought back to protect its own and its neighbours' sovereignty.

The enemy hopes that the loss of Samora Machel will weaken FRELIMO and, with it, the ability of the Front Line States to help us. The enemy must be defeated in his plans to do this. A setback for FRELIMO is a setback for all of us.

This places an obligation on each and every South African patriot and freedom fighter. We must defend the people of Mozambique, now under the leadership of Comrade Joaquim Chissano, as we defend ourselves against the racist aggressor.

Comrade Machel himself was an outstanding example of this internationalist spirit among progressive people.

A founder member of FRELIMO on June 25th, 1962 under its first president, Eduardo Mondlane, Machel was later to be instrumental in defeating a narrow nationalist tendency within FRELIMO around Uriah Simango.

After Eduardo Mondlane was murdered in 1969 by the fascist Portuguese secret police, the Pide, Samora Machel was appointed to a three-man council of the Presidency of FRELIMO. A year later the Central Committee elected him President.

Under his leadership, FRELIMO was transformed yet further from a national liberation movement into a party with socialist objectives.

We dip the red banner of the South African working people in tribute to this outstanding son of Africa.

**AN END TO RACIST BANDITRY!**