

# UMSEBENZIA

VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

## WATCH THE ENEMY!

Brute force has always been, and continues to be, the racists' first answer to popular opposition. The hundreds of our men, women and children, whom we have already buried this year with bullet wounds in their bodies, bear witness to this truth.

But each coffin covered with an ANC flag has become an heroic symbol inspiring thousands more of our people to greater struggle and greater sacrifice. In place of fear there is a growing contempt for death. In place of submission there is a heightened thirst for hitting back and making them weep at funerals of their own kind.

It is daily becoming more clear to Botha and his outside friends that killing alone is not enough. This does not mean that the police and army killings will stop. It does, however, explain why our ruling class and its allies are trying so desperately to weaken us from the inside. The method they are using — divide and rule — is as old as the history of oppression itself. Let us look at some of the danger spots.

### Tribalism

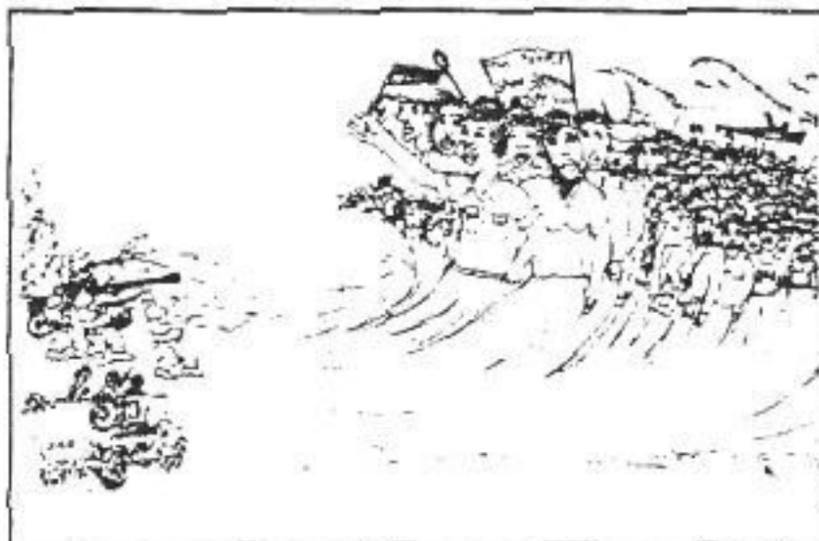
We must be on guard against the evils of tribalism. Those migrant workers who are herded into their ethnic compounds must hear our message that they should not allow themselves to be used by the police against their fellow Africans. We must learn to recognise tribalism even when it tries to disguise itself, as is the case with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

### Police Provocations

We must be on the alert against police provocations. In recent periods false leaflets have been issued aimed at creating and widening the differences between those who oppose apartheid. Organised gangs of thugs and murderers have been employed to burn the houses and to kill activists against the system, pretending they have been sent by one or another anti-regime organisation. Impimpis are sent to join organisations in order to do this kind of work from the inside.

### Dividing the Workers

We must be vigilant against all schemes to divide the trade union movement, and to co-opt it into the system. We are already beginning to hear talk of 'partnership' with



black workers to save the capitalist system. A united trade union movement which uses its power on the side of liberation is the greatest nightmare of the bosses.

We must also beware of some 'revolutionary'-sounding trade unionists who deny the vital connection between black liberation and socialism. By trying to keep us away from the mainstream of the struggle for people's power, they weaken the leading role of the workers at all stages of the struggle. Only the racists benefit from such a policy.

The enemy will continue to work overtime in an attempt to divide the popular forces and to sow confusion. No amount of force can, in the end, defeat a united nation, a united working class and a united liberation front!

**Let us not become the victims of the enemy's dirty tricks!**

**Brother must not fight brother!**

**Worker must not fight worker!**

**Take the Fight into the Enemy Camp!**

**A Soweto Generation Communist Says:**

# MAYIHLOME!



The entry of the army in the conflict between oppressor and oppressed is becoming an increasingly important factor in our struggle. The enemy is engaged in an all-round offensive to put down the revolt, to silence the people's leaders and, more particularly, to destroy our liberation movement and its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. To prevent the gains which have so far been achieved in mass struggle from being reversed, it is becoming more vital than ever that our people, in big numbers, become involved in the armed struggle. The building of our people's army is one of our most important priorities since it is clear that without weakening the racist army we cannot seriously talk of revolutionary transformation.

Each one of us has a role to play in this endeavour. We must rekindle in the hearts of our people the heroic traditions and the creative tactics of resistance to foreign rule. The elders among us know well how Makanda stormed the fort of Grahamstown at midday under the cover of mist. They often talk about how Cetshwayo's men, amounting to several thousand, concealed their presence at Isandhlwana and successfully destroyed the British encampment in 1879.

And our new generation of warriors is becoming steeled in battles against the police and, lately, the army. Young men are once again coming together in the Amabutho. As in old times, the sound of the gun is no threat to their courage. We must combine the lessons of these latest battle experiences, the tactics of our forefathers and the advanced military techniques of Umkhonto we Sizwe, in order to advance to final victory. The same initiative and creativity which has been evolved over the years in the non-violent struggles must now also move into the military sphere.

## **And the Weapons?**

Many revolutions have been won using (at least in the initial stages) weapons found in the country. These include simple weapons manufactured locally by the people.

Weapons have been seized from isolated enemy soldiers or policemen and from small enemy concentrations. Others have been stolen from barracks, from factories where they are manufactured. Others have been bought from corrupt of-

ficials or passed on by disillusioned members of the enemy's armed forces and police. Households belonging to civilians who support a reactionary regime usually contain many weapons which can easily be captured.

But arms can only be used effectively by people who are organised. It is because of organisation that the racist army, numbering only tens of thousands, is able to suppress tens of millions of our people. And we can only deal with that army if we ourselves are well trained and well organised.

Wherever we are we must find ways to deal with the enemy in an organised way. We must observe the enemy, study the way he moves against us, learn from our experiences of past battles, and work out suitable tactics for the different situations in which we find ourselves. Small groups of patriots (four or five) must come together to form disciplined squads which can engage in underground military actions. Enemy formations must be met where they least expect you. Surprise is the strongest weapon of the weak against the strong. We must find ways of acting in support of mass political action.

We must look forward to the time when the people's army will grow from squads to sections, from sections to battalions and regiments, and to a strength when we will be able to meet the enemy in open battles.

We must also pay a lot of attention to weakening the enemy army from inside. Above all, we must try to win over to our side those among our black oppressed who wear the enemy's uniform to avoid starvation for themselves and their families. They must refuse to carry out orders to murder our people. We must teach more and more of them how to organise secretly so as to be able to turn their guns against our common oppressors. Those who begin to see the hopelessness of serving the racist regime must find a place on the side of the people.

*The regime can be defeated by a combination of mass struggle and organised revolutionary violence. Every patriot must prepare for the battles ahead.*

**Let us remember our battle cry: Mayihlome! Ke Nako!**



# SEEDS OF POPULAR POWER

What has been happening in our streets proves once again that the masses are the real creators of history. When they get moving their creativity is enormous. It was the Russian masses in struggle who, in the 1905 Revolution, gave birth to their popular organs of people's power which became known as Soviets. The Russian communists (known as Bolsheviks) learnt from the people that these Soviets could become the seeds of popular power. In 1917 it was the Soviets, guided by the Bolshevik Party, which took power.

In our country the people are also showing a talent for finding ways of sharpening our revolutionary weapons. We must study what we are doing and build upon it. Barricades are being put up with greater and greater skills. New methods are being found to interfere with the movement of police and army vehicles. Home made weapons are being manufactured with greater skill. There are examples of organised disarming of police. In some areas the hand grenade is beginning to make its appearance. In general, people are getting more and more practical experience of armed actions against the police, the army and puppet councillors who are themselves armed.

There are visible effects of the growth of organised popular power. Many black police have been forced to flee from the townships to seek refuge in white towns and suburbs. Organised resistance of the people has forced the enemy to bring in the SADF to help do the work of the police. The united action of the people has begun to influence the nature and pace of the events on a daily basis. It is becoming more clear by the day that the regime, faced with the power of mass action, cannot continue to rule in the same old way.

The enemy has admitted that its administrations in the black urban ghettos have totally collapsed. Puppet councillors have been forced to resign in large numbers. Most of the rest have either run away to seek white protection or have experienced the organised anger of the people. Many urban centres have indeed become ungovernable; the racists still have the power to occupy with armed forces but are unable to set up any lasting administration.

But what is most important is that there are signs of the beginnings of organised popular power. The people themselves are beginning to create organs which are becoming their collective voice. Such organs have not been uniform in character, varying according to the specific conditions in each area. In the vacuum which is created by the breakdown of the racists' political administration in these areas, the People's Committees can take on a new meaning. They can become the embryos of future people's power. Backed by mass action, they can claim greater legitimacy as the people's popular representatives than the administrations which the regime tries to force down our throats.

The developments we have touched on pose a major challenge to our whole revolutionary movement. What must be done?

The people have started the process of destroying the enemy's black local authorities system. This process must become complete throughout the country. The spirit of the total rejection of the government's puppet administrations must be spread to the bantustans.

The creation of popular alternatives to these puppet administrations which the people have already begun, must be given special attention. Our people should everywhere elect or create their own representatives, accountable to them and not to the regime.

It is not being suggested that we have already reached the point where such popular organs can carry out all the functions of civil administration. But as the struggle progresses they can become the popular foundation for the seizure of people's power. At the moment, guided by the objectives of our liberation front, the People's Committees must work to ensure the collective and conscious activity and organisation of the masses. Those who serve on these bodies should be chosen from the people who have been tested in political struggles. And it is vital to ensure a strong working class content.

The spreading of such people's organs and their correct direction and leadership are very important steps on the road to the seizure of political power by the people.

**THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!**

To Mark the End of the UN Decade for Women, our Correspondent Writes:

# No Victory Without Women

The South African Communist Party has always supported the struggle for women's emancipation. We have been inspired by Lenin's Theses that 'there can be no socialist revolution unless very many working women take a big part in it' and that 'the success of the revolution depends on how much the women take part in it'.

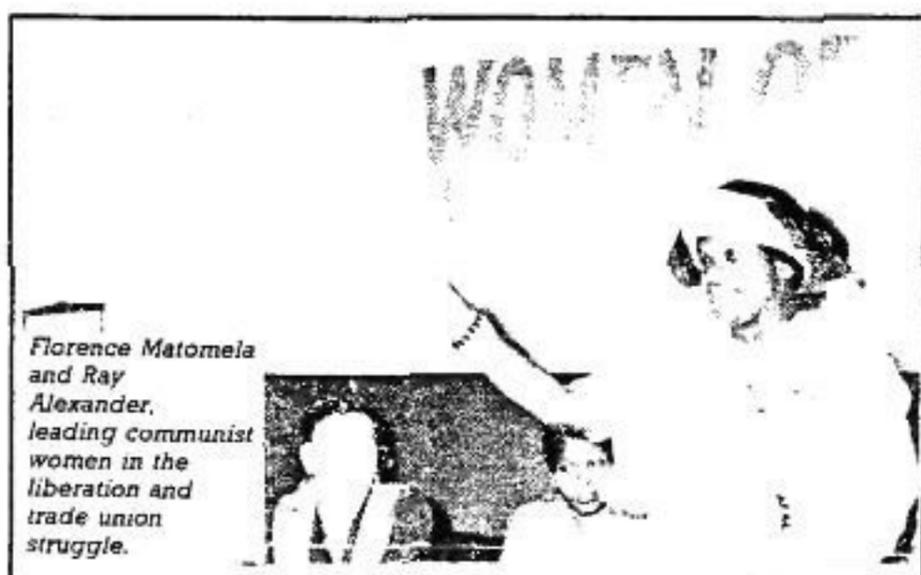
Our Party has always attempted to apply these teachings to the specific conditions of struggle in our country. And we believe that the winning of national liberation for the entire black people is an absolute condition for any change in the social status of women as a whole. We therefore link the cause of women's emancipation with the national liberation revolution and the liberation of the working class.

We black women (particularly African women) suffer from a triple oppression. We are oppressed and exploited as blacks, as women and as workers. Black women suffer first and foremost because they are black; part of the oppressed and subject people. They are exploited as workers as well, and form a big proportion of the reserve army of labour. They are also part of an oppressed sex in a male dominated society. These three elements are closely linked. In general, black women cannot change the conditions of their lives without the overthrow of the apartheid regime. They cannot in the long run change the specific oppression of women without the elimination of capitalism.

The drive for women's emancipation must be based on the class struggle. Women's oppression (like racism, chauvinism and nationalism) cannot be fully liquidated in isolation from the overall struggle. Any attempt to deal with the emancipation of women as a thing in itself, separated from the overall struggle, is self-defeating. It becomes a classless dead end.

Our Party attaches great importance to the struggle of women's liberation. Our Programme states 'the Party will fight for full and equal rights for women in every aspect of state, social and private life. It will work for the elimination of polygamy. It will fight vigorously against all vestiges and manifestations of contempt for, or unequal treatment of, women or their being regarded as mere cooks, domestic servants, nannies and house-keepers'. One of the aims of the Party set out in its new Con-

stitution is '... to combat racism, tribalism, sex discrimination ...'



Florence Matomela and Ray Alexander, leading communist women in the liberation and trade union struggle.

## We Must Also Liberate Ourselves

The SACP believes that a movement or a party which does not ensure equal rights in its own ranks cannot successfully fight for the equality of women in society. Thus it is the duty of all revolutionaries to make it possible for women to play their full part in the liberation struggle. Everything possible must be done to help emancipate women in the home. Women revolutionaries cannot be expected to carry the burden of all family and household duties. They must have opportunities to be politically active. A fight must constantly be waged against those outmoded customs which keep women in an inferior status. Personal example must demonstrate a belief in the equality of all human beings, of both sexes. Lenin correctly stressed that 'we must stamp out the old slave-owning concept down to the last tiniest root, both within the Party and among the masses. This is one of our political tasks'.

The question of women's equality must be treated concretely and not just with lip-service and in the abstract. We must live what we believe in. Experience shows that bad attitudes by both men and women in the family situation, their lack of understanding of each other's role in the revolution, act as a drag on the fighting spirit and determination of both. Women must assert themselves more strongly. They must resist all acts of sex discrimination. And they must remove from their own thinking the psychology of obedience and passivity.

The fight against the deep-rooted patriarchal attitudes towards women, against religious prejudices and customs which stand in the way of solving the women's question, is an urgent political task.

**COMBAT SEX DISCRIMINATION!**

A Delegate Gives His Impressions Of:

# THE ANC CONFERENCE

In June this year, the ANC held its Second National Consultative Conference. The first Consultative Conference took place in 1969. Then I was a mere fledgeling boy at Primary School, barely conscious of the nature of our oppression, let alone the ways and means of bringing it to an end. Now, 16 years later, a young communist and functionary of the ANC, I had the opportunity to take part in what could be called a South African people's parliament.

Many of the delegates were of my age group. Others were veterans of the Youth League, Volunteers of the Fighting Fifties and heroes of the 1967-69 battles in the then Rhodesia. There were 250 of us: commanders and commissars, trade unionists, political organisers, students and professional workers. All national groups — men and women — were there to discuss the most burning question of the day — how to move forward and seize power.

The Conference was a culmination of a full year of discussion by all members of the movement. The overwhelming majority of the delegates were elected by the membership. The rest were selected on the basis of their work and experience.

At the climax of months of discussion, the Conference was also an important beginning. The decisions taken have to be implemented. And the most important decision was expressed in the simple but far-reaching slogan: *'From the Venue of Conference to Victory!'*

Conscious of the challenges facing the movement, the delegates approached each and every issue with utmost seriousness. This mood was brilliantly captured in the message received just before Conference from our leaders in prison. It read in part: 'We feel sure that all those delegates who will attend will go there with one central issue uppermost in their minds: that out of Conference the ANC will emerge far stronger than ever before.'

Briefly, Conference took, among others, the following decisions:

- ★ To strengthen the ANC underground
- ★ To intensify armed struggle
- ★ To further mobilise the people into decisive action and to strengthen the legal mass democratic movement
- ★ To further adapt our structures to the demands of the present stage of struggle and ensure the broadest possible participation of the membership in the



formulation and implementation of policy. Membership at all levels of the movement has been opened to all revolutionaries without regard to colour.

- ★ To ensure the proper training and deployment of all cadres, and to constantly improve their education, health and cultural life.

We had a lively discussion on the issue of our Strategy and Tactics. Various concepts and categories were put under scrutiny: people's war, insurrection, the general strike, etc. All of these questions have been thrown up by the practical struggles inside the country. They have to be understood in context. Like in all other discussions, the deliberations on Strategy and Tactics showed a broad identity of approach among all members of the movement: on the Freedom Charter, forms of struggle and so on.

The historical unity of our fighting alliance was felt throughout the Conference. The delegates received with thunderous applause messages from the SACP and SACTU. We also received messages from our friends and supporters all over the world.

In a Call to the people of South Africa, *'The ANC is With You!'*, Conference outlined the major tasks facing us. The main one is to commit every patriot and everything for the seizure of power.

The ANC and the entire alliance have emerged from Conference very much stronger. The Conference was indeed a council-of-war to plan the final offensive for the seizure of power.

**Victory is Within our Grasp!**

**FROM CONFERENCE TO VICTORY!**

# WHAT SASOL HAS TAUGHT

When Sasol sacked 6 000 strikers and paid them off under the guns of the police in November, it became even clearer to workers and all oppressed people how we must wage our fight on all fronts.

At Sasol, the police acted directly to defend the interests of the capitalists. And the capitalists acted against us under laws that they and their parliament had made to oppress and exploit us.

Thousands of workers were deported to starve in QwaQwa, Transkei and other places. And the bosses were confident they would be able to find other workers from the thousands of jobless people in the bantustans to replace those sacked.

What happened at Sasol showed us again that the police and the country's laws serve the interests only of the racists and exploiters. If we are going to solve our problems as workers and oppressed people, it is we who must control the police and make the laws. That means we must control the government. That means we must throw all our power as workers and oppressed people into the fight to destroy this government.

The time, as we all know, has come for us to define properly our role as workers and trade union members in the political struggle. Our trade unions, our shop stewards councils and other organisations must be turned into an important sector of our mass revolutionary bases. From these bases we and the revolutionary organisations of the people — the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party — will together launch new and

bigger offensives against the enemy. Our goal is not just slightly better working and living conditions. Our aim is to destroy this government of the racists and exploiters.

But there are a few trade union activists who still say we must fight only for better wages and working conditions. These few have been slow to see that we need to fight for a new government, for our own government that serves our interests. That, in the end, is how we will solve all our problems.

This small group must wake up now to the fact that we need to take our struggles as workers to a higher level, that we need to build our central role as workers within the forces of the national liberation movement. If they do not wake up only the interests of the enemy will be served.

The battle at Sasol has also shown us again how important it is for us to help organise the jobless in the bantustans, towns and cities. We must do all we can in the coming months and years to help the unemployed get organised. If this is not done, the racists and exploiters will always be able to use some of us against others from our ranks.

We are marching towards the unity of all workers, whether we have jobs or not. We are marching towards unity between all workers, all oppressed people and all progressive forces.

**The battle ahead is not only about our wages and working conditions. It is also about who owns the factories, farms and businesses. It is, above all, about the struggle for political power.**

**WHERE WE COME FROM**

Our journal *Umsebenzi* comes from a line of official Communist publications whose very names symbolise the most important elements of our struggle. In 1915 the forerunner of our party, the International Socialist League, began publishing a journal called *The International*. In 1921 when our Party was established, *The International* became its official organ. It was followed by *The South African Worker* which began publication in the mid-1920s, changing its name to *Umsebenzi* in April 1930. When it ceased publication in March 1938 it had been the Party's official voice for 23 years. Two years later, in 1940, *Inkululeko* became the official organ of our Party and was published regularly until we were outlawed in 1950. During this underground period we began publication of our theoretical journal, *The African Communist* and from time to time we published issues of *Inkululeko*.

*The International*, *Freedom* and *The African Communist* — these are titles which reflect what our Party has always stood for. In the present stage of our struggle when it has become more important than ever to stress the fundamental role of our working class we have decided once again to spread our message under the time-honoured banner of *Umsebenzi* (*The Worker*).



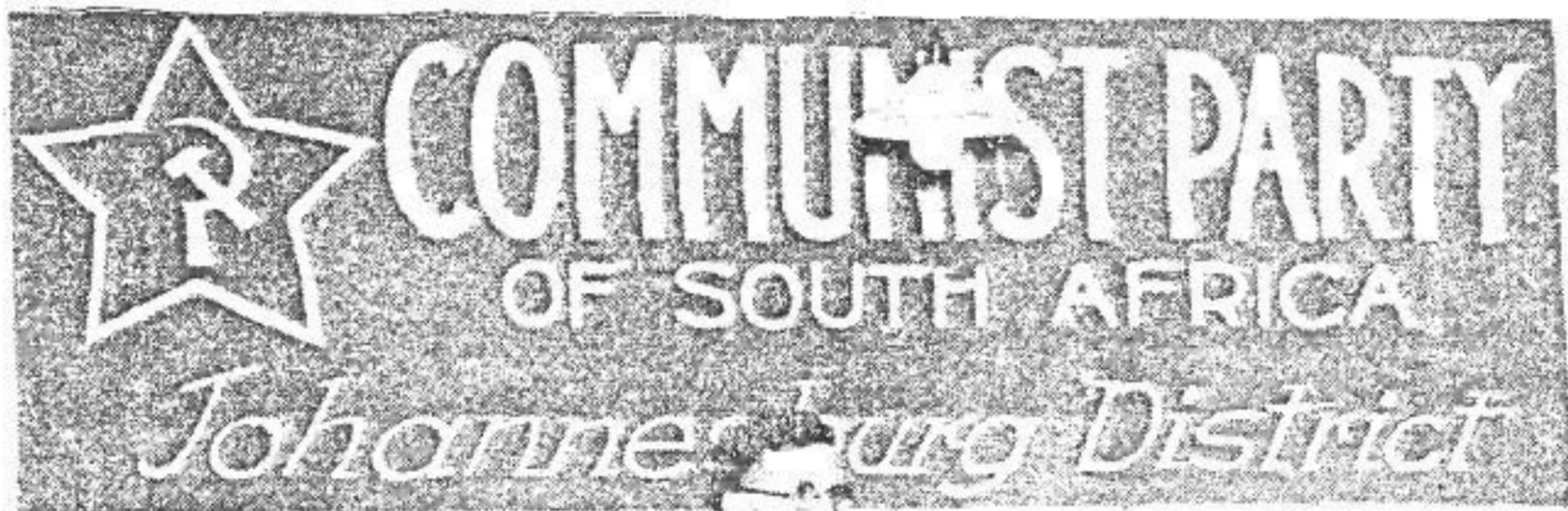
**DESTROY RACISTS & EXPLOITERS!**

# PEN PICTURES OF SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS

Moses Kotane was born at Tamposstad near Rustenberg in the Northern Transvaal in 1905. After only a few years of formal schooling, he worked as a photographer's assistant, domestic servant, miner and bakery worker. He joined the ANC in 1928 and the Party in 1929. In 1931 he became a full time functionary of our Party. He was a member of the Bakers' Trade Union and in 1929 was elected Vice Chairman of the South African Federation of Native Trade Unions. In 1931 Kotane joined Nzula as a pupil at the Lenin School in Moscow. When he returned in 1933, Kotane was elected to the Political Bureau of the Party and became its General Secretary in 1939, a position which he held until his death in 1978. In 1943 he served on the ANC Committee which drafted the historic document, African Claims, and in 1946 was elected to the National Executive Committee of the ANC. He was arrested in the Defiance Campaign of 1952, the Treason Trial of 1956-61, and the Emergency of 1960. In 1962 he was placed under house arrest. The following year he was sent abroad by the ANC and CP to help organise the external apparatus of the liberation movement. During this period he served as Treasurer-General of the ANC. On his 70th birthday he was awarded *Isitwalandwe*—Seaparankoe and the Soviet Order of the Friendship of the People.



Moses Kotane  
(‘Malume’)



Bram Fischer was born on a farm in the Orange Free State in 1908, a son of one of the most distinguished Afrikaner families in South Africa. He won a Rhodes' scholarship and studied at Oxford, returning to practice as a barrister in Johannesburg. The SA colour-bar, Hitler's racist barbarism combin-



Abram Fischer ('Bram') Addressing the  
Party Congress  
of the Johannesburg District, 1948

ed to move Bram out of the nationalist laager and he joined the Communist Party in the early 1940s. From 1945 until his death he served on the Central Committee of our Party. He acted as a defence lawyer for the Treason Trialists of 1956-61 and for the accused in the Rivonia Trial. He was held in high regard by his colleagues in the legal profession and, despite his open commitment to national liberation and socialism, was elected to serve as Chairman of the Bar Council. In 1964 Bram was arrested together with a group of other communists active in the Party's underground. He was granted bail and permission to proceed to England to argue an appeal on behalf of a client at the Privy Council. Despite this opportunity to win his freedom from certain life imprisonment, Bram insisted that he should return to South Africa. He did so, and after skipping bail, changed his identity and worked underground as head of the Party's leadership group. He was captured a year later and sentenced to life imprisonment for 'sabotage'. In 1975 he died, still a prisoner of the racists.

**SA BELONGS TO ALL WHO LIVE IN IT!** 7

The Freedom Charter was born thirty years ago. Since that time, changes in our situation have greatly influenced the form and content of our struggle. Yet the Freedom Charter does not look dated.

Its popularity is growing by the day. It is fast becoming the minimum platform uniting the radical, democratic and patriotic classes and groups in the struggle to destroy racism. The vision of a future South Africa, so poetically proclaimed in each clause of the Freedom Charter, is as relevant today as it was at Kliptown on the 26th of June, 1955.

From the moment of its birth the Freedom Charter was forced to fight off attacks on its legitimacy from every direction. The racist regime immediately tried to prove in the courts that the Freedom Charter was treason and a cover for creating a communist South Africa. The PAC claimed that the Charter was treason against the people because it said South Africa belonged to all who live in it. Trotskyites, confused academics and other armchair revolutionaries screamed that the Charter was treason against the working class and stood in the way of a socialist future.

It is not too difficult to understand why the fascist right, the confused ultra-left and the backward nationalists all felt threatened by the Charter. It is because the Freedom Charter became the ideological cement which bound together the revolutionary liberation front headed by the African National Congress. Those who gathered around the Charter have a common understanding of the immediate objectives of our revolution and the alliance of class forces historically necessary to achieve those objectives.

The Charter is not a programme for a socialist South Africa. For example, it proclaims the right of all people 'to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades ...' But neither should it be seen as a recipe for a capitalist South Africa. It proclaims that the wealth of our country must be restored to the people

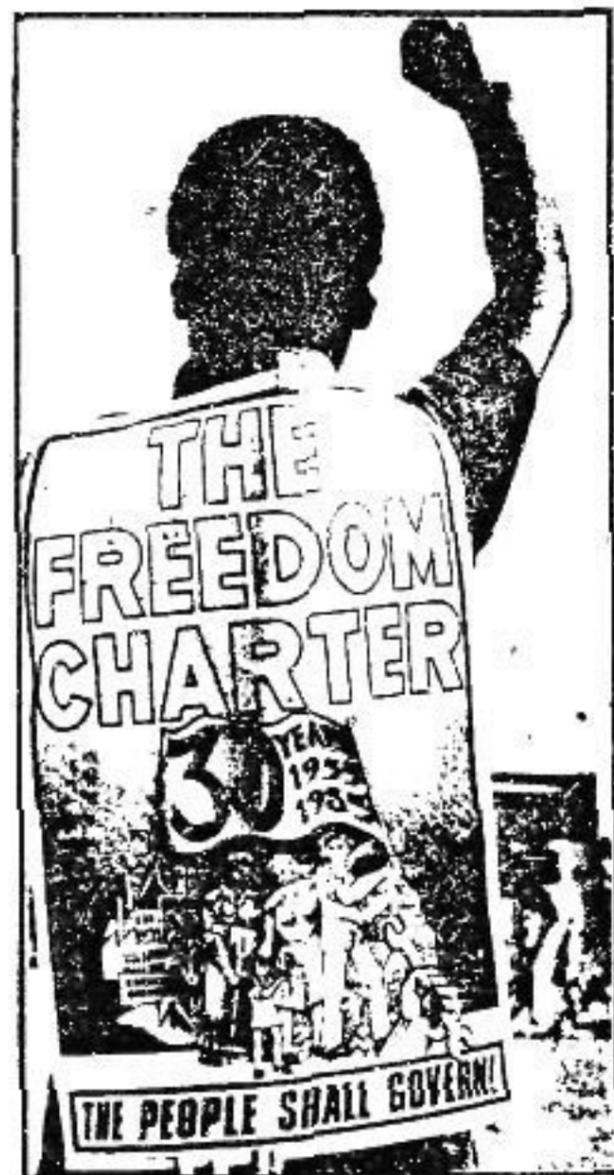
and aims to transfer to the ownership of the people as a whole 'the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry'. It provides further that all other industry and trade 'shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people'.

Three questions immediately arise. First, is there a contradiction between those clauses in the Freedom Charter which sound socialist and those which promise free enterprise rights for the small man? Second, when power is achieved on the Freedom Charter platform will South Africa continue with capitalism or take the socialist road? And third, is the Freedom Charter an obstacle in the way of the struggle for a socialist future? The answers to these three questions depend very much on how we understand the objectives and the class content of the present stage of our struggle.

### **Workers and National Liberation**

The national liberation struggle represents the most important immediate class interests of our proletariat. Other classes and strata among the black oppressed can and must also be mobilised to support the immediate objectives of national liberation. We communists therefore believe that an alliance between all classes, whose interests are served by the democratic revolution, is necessary.

## **ON THE 30th ANNIVERSARY OF The Freedom Charter**



# **ter and Socialism**

## **LENIN ON A REVOLUTION OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE**

One of the objections raised to the slogan of 'the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' is that dictatorship presupposes a 'single will' and that there can be no single will of the proletariat and the petty-bourgeoisie. This objection is unsound, for it is based on an abstract 'metaphysical' interpretation of the term 'single will'. There may be a single will in one respect and not in another. **The absence of unity on questions of socialism and in the struggle for socialism does not preclude singleness of will on questions of democracy and in the struggle for a republic.** To forget this may be tantamount to forgetting the character of the democratic revolution as one of *the whole people*: if it is 'of the whole people', that means that there is 'singleness of will' precisely insofar as this revolution meets the needs and requirements of the whole people. (*Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*)

Only political children reject all alliances. Only classroom revolutionaries believe that the working class must abandon an objective just because that objective also serves the temporary interests of another class. What we do have to ensure is that the working class plays the leading role at all stages of the struggle and that the ultimate victory is not hijacked by new exploiters with black faces.

The class shape of the power structures which will emerge when the racist ruling class is destroyed has no definition, one way or the other, in the Freedom Charter. This will be determined on the ground in actual revolutionary practice. A people's government dominated by the black middle strata and aspirant capitalists could attempt to misuse sections of the Freedom Charter to stop the revolution in its tracks. On the other hand there is more than enough in the Freedom Charter to enable a power bloc dominated by the working people to take giant strides in the direction of social emancipation.

In its programme our Party pledges 'unqualified support for the Freedom Charter'. It also makes the point that 'the Freedom Charter is not a programme for socialism' but rather 'a common programme for a free, democratic South Africa, agreed on by socialists and non-socialists'. But it also concludes that the achievement of the aims of the Freedom Charter will not only answer the pressing and immediate needs of the people but will also provide a basis for an advance to a socialist future.

Let us now attempt to answer the questions which we raised above.

### **The Road Ahead**

There is no basic contradiction between the socialist-sounding and free enterprise-sounding clauses of the Freedom Charter. On its own, large-scale nationalisation does not necessarily mean socialism. On its own, the toleration and even expansion of small-scale private enterprise (which the Bolsheviks encouraged for some years during the post-1917 period of transition to a socialist economy) does not necessarily mean a choice of the capitalist system as a way forward.

**The question as to which road South Africa will follow on the morning after our liberation flag is raised over Union Buildings, will in practice be decided by the class composition of the forces who have come to power.** That is why the issue of the role of the working class in the national democratic revolution cannot be postponed to any later stage; the working class, as our Programme emphasises over and over again, must be the leading force at every stage of the national democratic revolution.

It follows (in answer to our third question) that the Freedom Charter is in no way an obstacle to the struggle for a socialist future. The evils of national oppression cannot be wiped out without breaking the racist hold on the land, mines and factories. This fundamental objective unites all genuine patriots whether they are socialist or non-socialist. The opening up of lower level trading opportunities to those who were previously barred because of their colour, will not necessarily prevent a revolutionary people's government from creating conditions for a socialist South Africa during the transition period.

**STORED TO THE PEOPLE!**

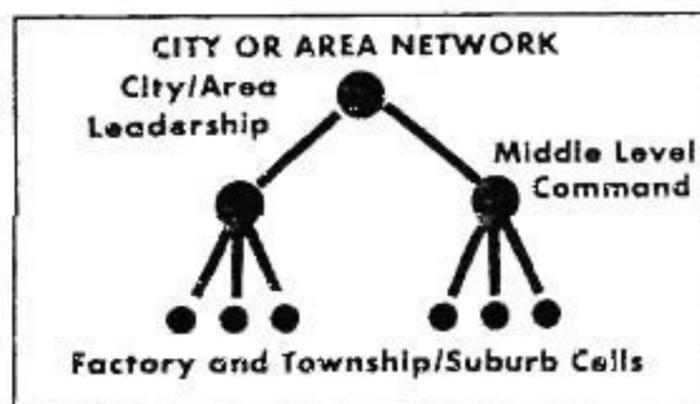
# HOW TO MASTER SECRET WORK

## 2. SETTING UP A SECRET NETWORK



We have said that **secret work** helps us overcome the problems created by the enemy. This helps in the vital task of building an underground organisation or **secret network**. The network must lead the people in the struggle for power. It does not compete with the progressive legal organisations but reinforces them. Let us look at some of the main measures involved:

1. Only serious and reliable people can be included in the secret network. The leaders must study the potential recruits very carefully. They are looking for people who are politically clear, determined, disciplined, honest and sober. People who can keep a secret. People who are brave and capable of defying the enemy even if captured.
2. Recruits are organised into a **unit** or **cell** of three or four people. The number is limited in case of failure or arrest. The cell leader is the most experienced person. The cell members must not know the other members of the network.
3. Only the cell leader knows and is in contact with a more senior member of the network. This senior contact gives instructions from the leadership and receives reports.
4. A small committee of the most experienced people leads the network. This is a leadership cell of two or three persons. This cell might be in charge of a factory, location, township or city. A city network takes the form of a pyramid. The city underground committee is at the top. Local cells are at the base. Middle command cells are in between. Start with one cell. Gain experience before building more.



5. A rule of secret work is that members must know only that which is necessary to fulfill their tasks. Everyone, from top to bottom, must have good **cover stories** to protect them. This is a **legend** or story which

hides or **camouflages** the real work being done. For example: a secret meeting in a park is made to look like a chance meeting between friends. If they are ever questioned they give the **legend** that they simply bumped into each other and had a discussion about football.

6. All members of the network are given code names. These conceal their real identities. They must have good identification documents. Especially those living an illegal life. A lot of time and effort must be given to creating good **legends** to protect our people. There is nothing that arouses suspicion as much as a stranger who has no good reason for being around.

7. All illegal documents, literature, reports and weapons (when not in use) must be carefully hidden. Special hiding places must be built. Codes must be used in reports to conceal sensitive names and information.

8. The leaders must see that all members are trained in the rules and methods of **secret work**. It is only through this training that they will develop the skills to outwit the enemy.

9. **Technical methods** such as the use of invisible writing, codes and disguises must be mastered. **Counter-surveillance** methods which help check whether one is being watched by the enemy must be known. Secret forms of communicating between our people must be studied and used. This is all part of the training. These methods will be dealt with later in this series.

10. **Specialisation:** Once the network has been developed some cells should specialise in different tasks such as propaganda, sabotage, combat work, mass work, factory organisation etc.

In the meantime you can start putting into practice some of the points already dealt with. Begin to work out **legends** in your work. What innocent reason can you give if a friend or a policeman finds this journal in your possession?

**NEXT ISSUE: Rules of Secrecy**

*The Series on  
Marxism and Violence Will  
Continue in the Next Issue*

**BUILD THE UNDERGROUND!**



# POLITICAL ECONOMY

## 2. Wages and Surplus Labour

In the last *Umsebenzi* we talked of exploitation. We said 'The workers are always robbed of that part of their labour which creates surplus value'. Always? Perhaps you thought that if we and our trade unions fought for and won better wages, that would be the end of robbery and exploitation.

But would it? Let us look closely at what happens when one works for wages. The boss, so it would seem, buys your working time — perhaps eight or nine hours a day. Then for every minute of the day you work, you put a little parcel of the actual labour of your brain or muscle into his products or his crops; this adds to their value. So what he seems to buy is time; but what he gets is real labour, which is invisibly buried in the finished product. If, for example, you decide to work faster and make more products each containing a little parcel of your labour, will he pay more? Not likely, if he has hired you by time. Nor is it likely that he will pay you more if he provides a new tool or machine to turn out more products in a day.

But why not? After all, your labour adds value to his products. But the bosses answer that they are not buying your actual labour; they are buying your time — your power to labour for a certain number of hours each day. The truth is that whatever they claim to be paying for, what they are getting when you actually start working is in fact labour.

How is the price for your labour power fixed? Perhaps by argument and agreement between you and the boss; perhaps by negotiation of a trade union with all the bosses in the industry. But however it is fixed, what is it really worth? What is its real value? If you ask that question about any other thing which is bought and sold in our society, the answer will start with 'the cost of producing it'. Let us try the same answer for the sale of labour power.

What does it cost to produce your power to work? Well, so much for food and clothing and housing and transport, because without these you would be unable to work; and then add so much for education and training, because without them you would lack the skill to work; and also add so much for raising a family and bringing them up to working age, because without

this the whole class of workers would die out in one generation. All this is its real value.

And, on the average, those things are produced in less time than an eight hour working day. So even if we can sell our labour power at its real value — the bosses would be buying eight hours or more of our work, and paying for it with wages which represent perhaps four or five hours of working time, spread across our food and rent and so on.

Which means simply that all wage workers — **all** — work surplus hours in which they put parcels of their labour into the bosses' products, creating extra value for those products; but for those surplus hours they receive no value themselves in the form of wages. It might seem that they are paid for their full day, but in fact they are paid only for part. The rest of the day they are doing unpaid labour — 'surplus labour', the value of the work they do in that surplus time is 'surplus value'. It goes straight into the pockets of the bosses — even when the worker is paid the full value of his labour power.

Of course, labour power seldom sells at that high price. Whenever there are more workers than jobs — and there nearly always are — desperate work-seekers will accept wages far below that full value; and the result is that there are always thousands of workers underfed and sick, badly housed, with uneducated and untrained children growing up without skills. Even in the most advanced societies with free trade unions, wages scarcely ever reach that level of the full value of labour power.

But even if they did, still the boss would be getting some part of the day as 'surplus labour' — unpaid labour. And the value created by the workers in that part of their day would still go straight into his pocket. It would still be robbery and exploitation.

That is why there is no way to end robbery and exploitation of working people as long as wage labour for bosses remains. In the end we have to change the whole system — not just the wage rates.

**DESTROY CAPITALISM!**



# TRADE UNIONISM

## 2. Trade Unions and Political Struggle

As soon as workers begin to fight for better conditions in the factory, the question of their democratic rights arises: the right to organise, to meet, to speak, to strike, to picket, to bargain collectively and to resist victimisation. And the moment the question of rights arises, workers come up against the law and the making of law. We thus cannot avoid the issue of the struggle for political power.

Trade unions cannot be effective if they isolate themselves from the political struggle. From the day of its birth a South African trade union faces the whole system of race oppression. Pass laws restrict movement and job possibilities. Recently, at Sasol and on the mines, we saw once again how the bosses use the bantustan system in their fight against trade unions. The political system makes sure that the economic and social burdens of segregation are always placed on the shoulders of the black workers. Unequal pay for equal work between black and white workers is part of the general political pattern.

As in all capitalist countries, the state always acts as an instrument of the bosses. It is an organ for the oppression of one class by another. When the bosses do not want to negotiate, they call in the army and police. The violence used against workers during strikes brings trade unions into direct confrontation with the regime.

The bosses would very much like to see the workers accept the framework of the capitalist system and to struggle merely for day to day economic improvements. Some of them are even beginning to talk about the joint interests that the bosses and workers have in making the system work. They are suggesting a so-called 'partnership' between the workers and themselves. The main voice of big business, the *Financial Mail* recently warned that 'if the capitalist system is to have any place in a future South Africa', black workers must be made the 'accomplices' of the system. Their intention is clear; it is to prevent the kind of radical transformation which could lead to an ending of all forms of exploitation of man by man.

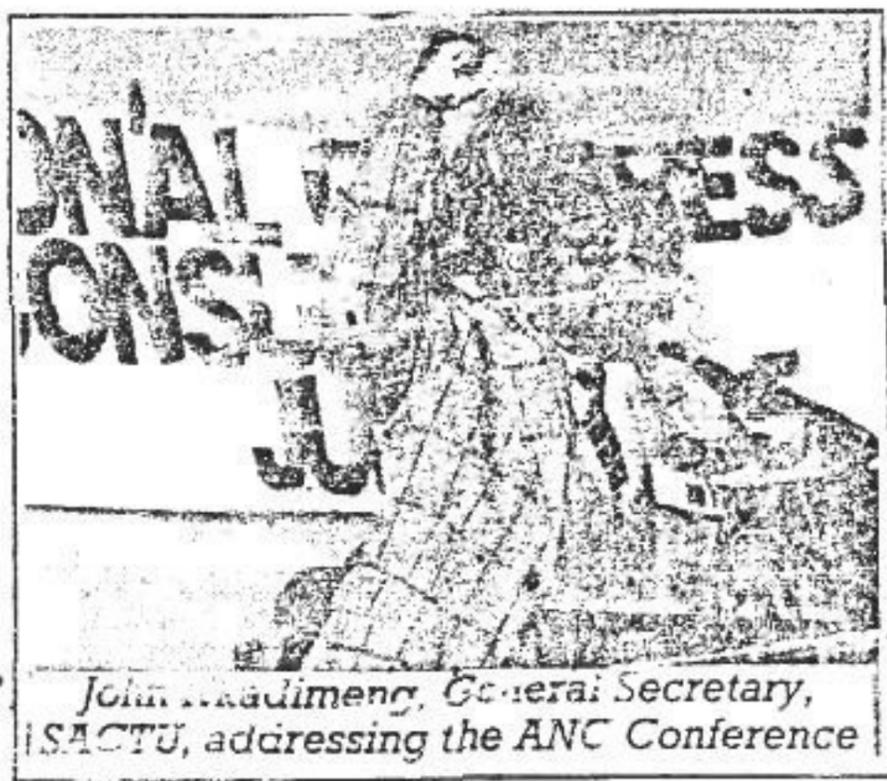
In South Africa, the link between economic exploitation and the national liberation struggle is very clear. Those trade unionists who attempt to deny this link are taking their members along the road

which leads to a dead end.

Early this century, Russian revolutionaries also discussed the role of trade unions in the struggle for democracy and national liberation. The workers' vanguard — the Russian Bolshevik Party — correctly believed that the struggle for democracy and against Tsarist tyranny was the most important immediate objective of the working class and its allies. Lenin stressed that in this struggle the working class and its trade unions cannot and must not be neutral. He said: 'The immediate demands of the day are the *democratic demands* of the workers in the political sphere, and the *economic demands* within the framework of capitalism in the economic sphere'.

In our country too, trade union 'neutrality' in the democratic struggle is impossible. Either unions participate actively in the struggle against the racist oppression which daily faces their members, or they help the ruling class by their silence.

Although trade unions have an independent role to play as mass organisations defending and struggling on behalf of their members in the economic sphere, there cannot be an 'independence' from the democratic movement. In the movement, trade unions must play a very important role. At the same time, when we take up political issues affecting us as workers we must of course make sure that we take our fellow workers with us; we must all be prepared to accept some of the sacrifices and organisational unity ready to resist the retaliation of the bosses and their government.



John Madimeng, General Secretary, SACTU, addressing the ANC Conference



# LINKS IN A CHAIN OF STRUGGLE

## 1. Introduction

The struggle for national liberation has reached a stage where everyone is agreed that change must come.

In this series we shall be examining some of the basic questions that need to be answered if we are to make certain that the people seize power. In particular, we shall look at the different forms of struggle employed by our people. We will consider how these different forms of struggle complement each other and how they need to converge, to come together, in order to turn the spirit of defiance into a mighty weapon with which we can hammer the enemy into submission.

The foundation of any struggle against oppression and exploitation is the people. It is the people who are oppressed and exploited. Freedom does not come as a gift. It is the people who have to struggle to resist, to fight back and take the offensive if they are to win.

The strategy of the National Liberation Front headed by the ANC is based on four central factors. These are:

1. The mobilisation and organisation of the masses of our people into united, active struggle;
2. The development of a solid political underground, the backbone of our revolutionary forces, engaged in all-round vanguard activity;
3. The use of revolutionary violence in which the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is the main striking force; and
4. The international campaign to isolate the apartheid regime and develop solidarity and support for our struggle.

What is the relationship between these four factors?

A telling blow cannot be thrown with the five fingers of the hand outstretched. Those five fingers have to be brought together into a clenched fist. That is common sense — everyone knows that. But when it comes to a struggle for national liberation whose victory is not an accident of history but the result of conscious action by the people, it is necessary to understand the relationship between these key factors of our strategy. We must ensure that they converge, so that victory is assured.

The Botha-Malan clique is determined to hang on to power in our country. Like all previous white minority regimes, all their manoeuvres, all their repression, is aimed at one thing: to continue the oppression and

exploitation of the majority of our people for the benefit of the ruling class.

One of the most important ways by which they hold onto power is by determining for us, the people, the forms of struggle that we should be allowed to use. They want to decide for us which form of struggle is legal and which is not. They fragment our country and our people and tell us to use the bantustans, the President's Council, the Community Councils, the Local Affairs Committees and the Management Committees to further our interests. They make laws to decide which strike by our workers is legal and which is illegal. Violence is inherent in their rule yet they tell us not to use revolutionary violence.

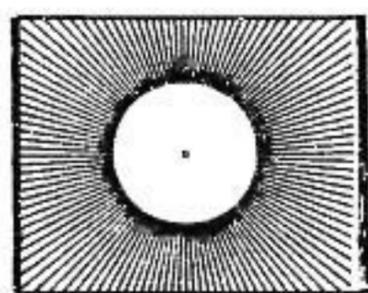
All this because in the face of our mounting resistance they would like to entrench their rule by making sure that whenever we fight back we should fight with our fingers outstretched.

The forms of struggle that we use are determined by the conditions under which we have to wage our war. They are determined by what we, through the history of our struggle, have come to understand to be the only way we can be victorious. Now as never before our people know that there can be no victory without revolutionary violence. We have to wage an all-round People's War — a war in which we combine legal and illegal forms of struggle; a People's War based on united mass action; a People's War which is linked to the insurrectionary power of the masses. In order to be victorious we need to clench our fists; to forge all the links of our struggle into an unbreakable chain.

But it sometimes happens that those of us who are involved in any specialised task connected with one or other of the four factors we have mentioned, become prisoners of our specialities. We can easily forget that we are just links in a chain. For example, a combatant in MK may begin to think of revolutionary violence in a narrow way, as if it is exclusively associated with his work in MK. The trade unionist may see his work as the centre of the struggle. The political organiser or propagandist may begin to think of their area of work as the only important part of the struggle. There is a danger in such tendencies of overlooking the unity of our struggle. All four factors are intimately interrelated. All have one common base and that is that they are rooted in the people and involve the mobilisation of the masses.

**ORGANISATION IS EVERYTHING!**

To Mark our Party's 64th Anniversary on July 30, 1985,  
We Begin a New Series on:



# The History of the South African Communist Party

## 1. The Party is Born

On July 30, 1921, the Communist Party of South Africa was born in a world and a land filled with crisis, class conflict and national struggle. The birth of the new party was announced at a meeting in Cape Town. The founding conference took place over the next three days.

The newly-formed CPSA (we will explain in a later issue why in 1953 the Party changed its name from CPSA to SACP) dedicated itself to fight against the oppressor and for a world in which 'the necessities of life ... the culture, the honour and the power shall be to him who toils not him who exploits'.

On the first executive were two lifelong fighters against oppression and exploitation — Bill Andrews, secretary, and SP Bunting, treasurer.

The new Party was a child of its times. The capitalist system was in crisis after the 1914-1918 imperialist war. All over the world communist parties were being formed and joining the new Communist International, set up by Lenin after the victorious 1917 Russian Revolution.

In South Africa there was a sharp economic recession. The living standards of the impoverished masses were being reduced still further. The ANC and the ICU took up the struggle against national oppression and exploitation. Premier Smuts lashed back with bloody massacres at Port Elizabeth, Bulhoek and in Namibia.

The CPSA was a child of its times in another way too. It was the successor of the International Socialist League (ISL) which broke away from the SA Labour Party when the latter shamefully supported the imperialist war. Like the ISL it consisted mainly of white workers, many of them recent immigrants from Britain.

But the mass of South African workers, then as now, were black. The black workers bore a double burden — exploited as workers and oppressed as blacks. How to fight against this double burden was something the CPSA would only learn with time — and as it changed from a mainly white to an overwhelmingly

black Party.

But the CPSA had one big advantage. It joined the Communist International (CI) whose leader, Lenin, hated any kind of racism or chauvinism. Under his leadership the CI declared war on colonialism and national oppression.

It was the first time, Lenin himself said, that the European working class movement had taken notice of the existence of black people.

More important, Lenin explained the connection between the national liberation struggle and the class struggle. The oppressed peoples, the exploited workers of the capitalist countries, and the new Soviet Republic were natural allies against a common enemy — imperialism, the final stage of capitalism.

This was the main reason why the CPSA set out on the road leading to its historic alliance with the ANC. Even before the Party was founded, the ISL had called for the abolition of passes and equal rights for African workers.

In his report to the CI in 1921, Ivon Jones, the main theoretician of the Party, described the ANC as 'a revolutionary movement in the fullest meaning of Lenin's terms'.

The CPSA denounced the Bulhoek massacre and supported the efforts of the ICU to organise black workers. But it criticised the ANC's 'middle class' leadership. It did not yet understand the need for a broad liberation movement of all classes and groups amongst the oppressed people, nor how this fitted in with the workers' struggle.

In 1922 the white workers of the Rand rebelled against attempts by the bosses to cut their wages and jobs by putting black workers into jobs reserved for whites. Almost before it had taken breath, the young Party was faced with this very complicated situation in which national and class interests were entangled.

How the CPSA fared and what it learnt from this bitter struggle will be described in the next issue of *Umsebenzi*.

# What Reagan and Botha Want

The present rulers in Pretoria and Washington like to talk about a 'communist conspiracy' to take over the world — with Southern Africa and especially the Republic high on the communist hit-list.

Such talk is nonsense. But what is blindingly clear is that Washington has its own plans for Southern Africa. The aim of these plans is to make sure that the rule of Big Capital in South Africa is never endangered.

It is no less than Mr George Schultz, head of US foreign affairs, who has let the cat out of the bag. He openly admits that it was the US that forced Mozambique to sign the Nkomati Accord and is now pushing Angola to expel its Cuban helpers.

In a keynote speech Schultz said the USA was pressurising Lesotho and Botswana to 'come to an agreement' with the racists to expel the ANC. The Botswana people have once again learnt what Schultz means by 'pressure'; the butchering of yet another group of innocent men, women and children.

It is tiny Lesotho that is also facing the crunch Schultz has helped to prepare. Pretoria is doing everything it can to destroy the government of Leabua Jonathan.

Jonathan's crime? To be friendly to the ANC and allow a Soviet embassy in Maseru.

Pretoria has given up trying to create puppet parties like Mofeli's BDA. Now it wants a military coup to oust Jonathan. The method is to stir up trouble between the Basotho and the ANC.

If the racists succeed, Lesotho will be condemned to years as a virtual bantustan.

But the Basotho people know their enemy. They will see the efforts to create hatred between themselves and their brothers and sisters in the ANC as the shallow tricks that they are.

In Namibia Pretoria is busy with tricks of another kind. It has set up an 'interim government'. It says Swapo can join this puppet body and it drops hints about disagreements with the US over Cuban withdrawal. Pretoria says it wants an



*Peter Mofoka, six-year-old victim of 'constructive engagement' in Gaborone Botswana, 14th June 1985*

'African settlement'.

This is an obvious trick to (1) delay Namibian freedom as laid down in UN Resolution 435 and (2) persuade Washington to step up the pressure on Angola's MPLA-Party of Labour Government.

Meanwhile, South African troops are still in Angola, and towards the end of June they entered in even greater numbers.

But not all of them. *Umsebenzi* has information that the notorious Buffalo Battalion, the mercenary outfit guilty of atrocities in Angola, is now in the Eastern Transvaal. At the same time, Pik Botha says South Africa and Mozambique may have joint patrols on their border and even inside Mozambique.

If this happens, it would be as if the fox and the hen were to agree on joint patrols of the hen-hock.

PW Botha's tactics are so crude they sometimes embarrass even his best friends. Washington sometimes has to tick off Pretoria and then Pik Botha thunders about South Africa 'going it alone'.

Let no-one be fooled. Though there are differences in how they operate, the ultimate goal of the imperialists and their regional policeman in Pretoria is the same. This, as Schultz made very clear, is to prevent a people's revolution in South Africa.

It is the same aim that is behind Pretoria's aggression against the Front Line States.

# A CENTURY OF BANDITRY



One hundred years ago an important event took place in the history of colonialism and imperialism in Africa. The 19th century Scramble for Africa (as it was called) reached a climax in Berlin on 26th February, 1885. The gang of imperialist thieves from Europe sat around a table, smoking their cigars and drinking their cognac, and divided up the whole of our continent among themselves like a birthday cake. Britain, France and Germany received 80% of the cake and the remaining 20% of the slices went to Belgium, Portugal and Spain.

Earlier, rich European explorers focused the attention of European capitalism on our continent. They were followed by missionaries who used biblical ideology to divide African society, the mercenaries who used force to rule and the merchants who came in waves like vultures to feed off the kill. The European capitalists ordered their navies and armies into Africa to seize the minerals below the ground and to exploit the soil and labour of the African people.

As time went on more and more clashes took place between the imperialist agents of European capital in Africa. They made many secret agreements and went in for many conspiracies. They battled with one another to get a bigger share of the opportunity to exploit the ten million square miles of African soil and the total control of the 100 million African people.

The Berlin Conference which ended in 1885 was an attempt to resolve the problems and conflicts of the European imperialists. It imposed a partition of Africa, without consulting Africans. It was like a meeting of the international mafia which divides up the territory of criminal operations and appoints a Godfather to be the boss of each territory. After this meeting only Liberia and Ethiopia remained officially independent of the seven imperialist governments. Germany was 'given' Cameroun, Tanzania and Namibia. The French 'received' most of North Africa and part of West Africa. The British became the masters of West Africa and most of East, Central and Southern Africa. Our racist state is one of the legacies from the Berlin Conference.

But, as we know, the story did not begin or end in 1885. The epic resistance of the

people of our continent from the Fish River to the Nile, often facing modern guns with spears in their hands, would fill many volumes. Today, one hundred years after the Berlin Conference, most of Africa has achieved formal independence. This was made possible by the struggle and sacrifice of the people themselves. It was also made possible because of the new world situation created by the victorious workers' socialist revolution in the Soviet Union and the appearance of the world socialist community.

The imperialists could no longer sit around the table, whether in Berlin or Washington, to divide up their stolen loot. Struggling peoples in every part of the world, including our continent of Africa, could look to the socialist world in their struggles to achieve and maintain their national independence. In Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Guinea Bissau the imperialists faced the AK and Papashai instead of only the spear which our forefathers were forced to use. And the story is the same in the territories still fighting for freedom and independence — Namibia, Western Sahara and our own South Africa.

Today, one hundred years after the Berlin Conference, the face of Africa is different. But the ambitions of imperialism have not changed. They continue to try to find other ways through economic blackmail, local puppets and collaborators and the use of military threats to continue the exploitation of our continent and its riches. Wherever direct colonial rule has been ended, they attempt to maintain control indirectly through neo-colonialism. Their best friends in Africa are those among the people who want to use independence and liberation to enable them to join forces with imperialism in the exploitation of their own people.

That is why we communists believe that in the long run socialism and the ending of exploitation of man by man is the only way to achieve true national liberation and sovereignty. That is why the struggle for true independence and true national liberation must everywhere be linked with the struggle for social emancipation.

**The People Shall Decide Their Own Future!**