

**65 YEARS
IN THE FRONTLINE
OF STRUGGLE**



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**The spectre
of revolution
is haunting
South Africa.**

Throughout the country today, at demonstrations and funerals in urban and rural areas, the masses of our people, fighting back against the racist tyranny of the apartheid regime, are raising high the black, green and gold flag of the African National Congress and the red banner of the South African Communist Party. In multifold ways the people are demonstrating their support for the indestructible alliance of the ANC and SACP which lies at the heart of the liberation movement. In defiance of the Casspirs, machine guns, sjamboks and tear gas deployed against them by the racist occupation army, the youth proudly display on their sleeves and epaulettes the flashes and insignia of the SACP and proclaim their adherence to the revolutionary line of struggle.

The regime responds with an intensification of its reign of terror. Many of our cadres are arrested, imprisoned, tortured or even murdered. The most ghastly atrocities are perpetrated by police and vigilantes in the townships. But though the racist-colonialist regime has declared war on the people of South Africa and carries its aggression into the front line states, the spirit of resistance which rages in the hearts of the oppressed and exploited masses will never be subdued.

There is universal determination that the unbridled aggression of the apartheid regime must be defeated by the combined efforts of all classes and strata opposed to racism and oppression. The enemy is on the run and has to be pursued relentlessly. It is imperative that we consolidate and extend our armed revolutionary structures and take to even greater heights the mass resistance exploding in all corners of our land.

The leading role in the fierce struggle facing us is being played by the working

class, who comprise the effective majority of the population and carry the heaviest burdens of exploitation. The South African Communist Party, which represents the interests of the working class, is in the forefront of the struggles which are taking place, and will be equally involved in those still to come.

It is essential that the role of the SACP, its policy and programme, should be known and understood by all freedom fighters, in every corner of the land. Never before in our history has interest in the science of Marxism-Leninism been so widespread and the demand for literature of the SACP and the world communist movement been so strong. Yet never has the censorship of the regime been more intense, the search for the truth rendered more difficult. Apartheid and truth are incompatible.

This pamphlet is an attempt to lift the regime's iron curtain and bring to the people the truth about the South African Communist Party and the invaluable contribution it has made to the struggle for liberation since its foundation.

The last decisive phase of our struggle for national liberation will be extremely difficult and bloody, but communists will not shirk their responsibilities. As in the past, the SACP will make its contribution, and our cadres will be found at the centre of every action. At its last meeting the Central Committee of the SACP adopted a statement declaring:

'As part of that broad movement, the Communist Party has to play its role in further deepening the crisis of the apartheid system and helping to shift the balance of forces in favour of the victory of a genuinely democratic people's revolution. In this regard, the Party has an historic role to play to assist in the organisation of the workers, to spread further socialist consciousness within the ranks of the working class and to mobilise and ac-

tivise the workers in the struggle for freedom and socialism.

The rural workers and the working masses require our special attention. They constitute a vital mass reserve of the revolutionary proletariat ... The demand of "land to the tillers" must become a rallying call mobilising the landless masses to seize what is theirs.

The current situation which makes communist ideology attractive to very large numbers of our people also requires that the Party should engage actively in the ideological and political struggle to win over as many people as possible, especially the workers, to the ideas of scientific socialism. Inevitably, during the course of this work, we shall have to combat both right and left tendencies which, among other things, pose the democratic, in opposition to the socialist, revolution, seek to deny the colonial nature of the oppression of especially the African people, work to deny the independent and leading role of the

working class, seek to deny the existence of our Party or in other ways try to liquidate it or dissolve it into the general movement for national liberation.

It is also our vital task continuously to work to strengthen the alliance of revolutionary forces, giving no possibility to the enemy to break the alliance between the ANC and the SACP in particular and the alliance between the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the world anti-imperialist movement on the one hand and our revolutionary movement on the other.

At the centre of our efforts lies the task of further strengthening our Party inside the country, extending its links with the workers and the broad masses and drawing into its ranks the best revolutionary representatives of our people. Communists must earn the respect of the people by the example they set in struggle, be it on the trade union front, in mass community struggles, in military combat or elsewhere.

BUILDERS OF THE PARTY

'Men make their own history', said Marx. They do so in accordance with the prevailing forces and relations of production. It is not enough, said Marx, to interpret the world; the point is to change it!

The historical mission of communists is to lead the working class in the struggle to bring about the transition from the capitalist mode of production to socialism and communism. In South Africa the class struggle is inextricably bound up with the struggle for freedom from white domination, race discrimination and national oppression — to combine socialism with national liberation.

The South African revolutionary tradition is barely a century old. A major function of the Party is to educate its members in revolutionary theory, instil habits of discipline, inculcate the principles of scientific socialism and blend them with the immediate, pressing aims of liberation from the evils of apartheid.

The South African Communist Party, like any human organisation, is made up of people. Many men and women have dedicated and often sacrificed their lives for the cause of freedom. In the brief biographies that follow we have attempted to portray the lives of some of these outstanding revolutionaries who, between them, span most of the 65 years of the Party's existence since its formation in 1921. Outlawed in 1950, the Party has spent more than half its lifetime working underground. Party members have been spied upon by secret police, tapped and bugged, have been subjected to banning orders, house arrests, exile, detention and imprisonment. But the Party survives and grows stronger. The story of its survival has yet to be told. But this much can be said: the Party has at all times contributed much to the fight against white autocracy, its imperialist backers and monopoly capital. The quality of that contribution appears in the following profiles.

These are the so-called 'foreign agitators': African, Coloured, Indian and white revolutionaries, who live and die for the cause of the people and its most oppressed group, the black working class; workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals who became servants to the cause of all the oppressed working people; Xhosas, Zulus, Tswanas, Sothos, who broke with tribalism and regionalism and helped build the unity of the black oppressed; Coloureds and Indians who have made common cause with their African brothers; whites who have rejected the privileges of racist supremacy and have become comrades, brothers and sisters in the cause of liberation.

Such a Communist Party, many of whose members have already played their role in the manner described, will make an even bigger contribution in the coming battles which should result in the further maturation of the revolutionary situation and the emergence of the circumstances in which it will be possible to launch a determined general uprising to overthrow the apartheid regime, transfer power to the people and open the road to the victory of the socialist revolution'.

The Party that our people are so proud of was launched at a conference in Cape Town from July 30 to August 1, 1921. From the beginning the founding fathers of the Communist Party of South Africa — as it was then called — were conscious of the immensely difficult road they had chosen. For 65 years the Communist Party has been in the front line of struggle for national liberation, peace and socialism. Hating the evils of capitalism and apartheid, communists fight to bring about the advance to socialism. Only under socialism can we end the exploitation of man by man; only under socialism can the

working class — the creators of our country's wealth and prosperity — exercise real economic and political power; only under socialism will it be possible for our long-suffering people to enjoy the fruits of their labour; only under socialism can the creative talents of our people flower and only under socialism will our people be able to face the future with confidence.

From the experiences of the Soviet Union, Cuba, Vietnam and other socialist countries we know that socialism can become a way of life only if the working class is led by its revolutionary vanguard, a communist party guided by and equipped with the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. In racist occupied South Africa, such a party is the South African Communist Party.

The SACP has incurred the wrath of the class enemy and earned the respect and support of the oppressed and exploited masses because of its principled and consistent loyalty to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the life and death struggle of our working class. ■

DAVID IVON JONES

DI Jones, born in the Welsh industrial town of Aberystwyth in 1883, contracted TB at an early age and emigrated to New Zealand for health reasons. There he hunted rabbits for a living. He moved to the Transvaal in 1909, working as a clerk for the Victoria Falls Power Company. He lived in South Africa only until 1920, but left an indelible imprint. A great theorist and publicist, he joined the socialist movement and was elected general secretary of the Labour Party in 1914. He denounced the government's pro-war policy, was one of the founders the War-on-War Movement, and in 1915 broke from the Labour Party to form the International Socialist League, of which he became the first Secretary-editor, responsible for producing the weekly newspaper, *The International*.

With remarkable insight, Jones hailed the February phase of the Russian Revolution of 1917 as 'a bourgeois revolution, but arriving when the night of capitalism is far spent'. Wasting away with TB, Jones left South Africa in November 1920, never to return. While on his way to Moscow he wrote a long report on South Africa for the Communist International, stating that although Africans were no more than cheap sources of labour in the colonial system, they soon became good trade unionists and loyal agitators for their class. National interests could not be distinguished from class interests, and formed the basis of 'a revolutionary nationalist movement in the fullest meaning of Lenin's term'.

While in Moscow, DI Jones did a great deal of writing, and was one of the first people to translate some of Lenin's works into English. In his last letter to Bill Andrews, written shortly before he died in Yalta on 13 April, 1924, he argued that the struggle of South Africa took the form of a 'colonial national movement of liberation'. The appropriate standards to apply were set out in the Theses on the National and Colonial Question. 'We stand for Bolshevism, and in all minds Bolshevism stands for the native worker', he proudly affirmed.



THE PARTY AND THE BLACK WORKING CLASS

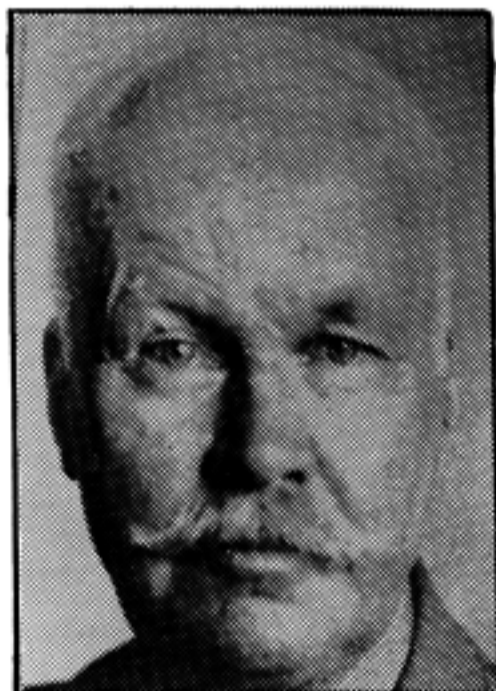
It was the communists who recognised, long before any other political group, that the 'conscious entry' of the African working class 'into the working class movement is the most deadly blow South Africa can deal to world capitalism', in the words of the manifesto adopted in 1921.

Up to the time that the CPSA was banned in 1950, communists, though subjected to persecution, arrest and intimidation, were in the forefront of organising and mobilising the black working class. As early as 1918 the International Socialist League — the main constituent that founded the CPSA — organised the first general union of African workers, the Industrial Workers of Africa. In 1924 the Party initiated a programme of organising African trade unions because the unions existing at that time refused to accept African members. Communists played a leading role in building the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), which was formed in 1919, into a powerful mass movement; and in organising the South African Federation of Non-European Trade Unions (1928) and the Transvaal

Council of Non-European Trade Unions (1941).

During the years of the great depression communists were actively engaged in organising both black and white unemployed. JB Marks, a leading communist, played a prominent role in organising one of the most heroic episodes of our working class history, the 1946 strike of 100 000 African miners. In Johannesburg, leaders of the African Mine Workers' Union and members of the Johannesburg District Committee were arraigned in a mass conspiracy trial under the Riotous Assemblies Act because of their involvement in this strike. Even though the conspiracy charges collapsed the Smuts government later arrested — on a charge of sedition — the Central Executive Committee of the CPSA. The charge was finally dropped in 1948.

Already in the Twenties the Party paid special attention to organising and running Marxist-Leninist education classes. In the face of great difficulties the Party organised night schools for African workers. This was the first attempt in our country at offering the downtrodden and despised an alternative education. These schools helped to develop some of South



BILL ANDREWS

WH (Bill) Andrews, born in England in 1870, emigrated to South Africa in 1893. A railway fitter by profession, he helped form the first Trades and Labour Council and in 1909 was the first chairman of the South African Labour Party. Elected to Parliament in 1912, and later to the Provincial Council, he fought to improve the

conditions and rights of workers. He introduced the first bill to give the vote to women in South Africa.

He broke with the Labour Party because he refused to support the Botha-Smuts war effort, and in 1915 helped to form the International Socialist League, a predecessor of the Communist Party. In 1921 he was elected the first secretary of the Communist Party, and later became its chairman.

He consistently fought for the full participation of Africans within political organisations, and for black and white workers to stand together against their common enemy. South African workers were represented at many international conferences by Bill Andrews, and the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, November 1922, elected Comrade Bill to its Executive Committee. He spent most of the following year in Moscow.

In 1924 he was elected the first general secretary of the South African Association of Employees' Organisations, which was later renamed the South African Trade Union Congress. Throughout most of the 1940s he served as Chairman of the Party. He died in 1950.

Africa's leading black revolutionaries, including Moses Kotane. One of the key aspects of this work was that it enabled black members to take up positions of leadership.

By 1929, an African — Albert Nzula — was elected Assistant General Secretary of the CPSA and acting editor of the Party's official organ, *The South African Worker*, and at its ninth conference in

1931 the CPSA elected a central committee composed of 19 Africans and four whites. Some of our greatest working class and national leaders, such as Albert Nzula, Moses Kotane, JB Marks, Gana Makabeni, Johannes Nkosi, ET Mofutsanyana and Josie Mpama were Party activists. Thus from the early days African leadership of the Communist Party was established. ■



ALBERT NZULA



JOHANNES NKOSI



MOSES KOTANE

ALBERT NZULA

Albert Nzula's life was tragically short — he died in Moscow on January 17th, 1934, at the age of 29. Although his period of activity in the Party was limited to only six years, he made a vital contribution to the Africanisation of the Party which took place at that time, and to strengthening the ties between the Party and the international working class movement.

Born in Rouxville, in the Orange Free State in 1905, his political involvement was stimulated by the popular upsurge which marked the depression years of 1928-1933. After qualifying as a teacher at Lovedale, Nzula took up teaching in Aliwal North, becoming active in the ICU. His entry into the Party took place at a time when the slogan of an Independent Native Republic was being fiercely debated in Party circles.

An avid reader, Nzula had a deep understanding of the role of the national movement in South Africa. He was emphatic that the leadership of the Party must pass primarily into the hands of Africans. Strong and fearless, his influence grew rapidly. He taught in the Party's night school, was active in the Federation of Non-European Trade Unions, became one of the leading speakers on Party and ANC platforms.

Elected assistant secretary of the Party at its conference in 1929, he soon took over as acting editor of the Party paper, the *South African Worker*. In 1930 he was the chairman at the 'all-in' conference held at the Trades Hall, Johannesburg, to launch a campaign to fight repressive legislation introduced in parliament by General Hertzog's Justice Minister, Pirow. He was in the chair again at an anti-pass conference held at the Inchcape Hall, Johannesburg which resolved to work for a mass burning of passes, and thousands throughout South Africa burnt their passes on December 16, 1930. Nzula organised mass meetings of unemployed Africans, and he led African workers on a massive May Day demonstration in 1931, which merged into one huge procession with demonstrating white workers.

Nzula was smuggled out of South Africa and enrolled at the Lenin School in Moscow, the first African from South Africa to do so. While there he wrote a series of articles on the South African revolutionary movement for various communist publications, and co-authored *Forced Labour in Colonial Africa* with Il Pothekin and AZ Zusanovich. He died in hospital in Moscow on January 17, 1934, of pneumonia.

JOHANNES NKOSI

On Heroes' Day, December 16th, 1930, one of the great leaders of the Communist Party of South Africa, Johannes Nkosi, was struck down by police while addressing an anti-pass demonstration in Durban. Below we re-publish the editorial of *Umsebenzi* of January 9th, 1931. The obituary notice for Nkosi (spelt Nkosie at that time) was written by Albert Nzula, the first African Assistant General Secretary of the Party, then also editor of *Umsebenzi*.

'Born on September 3, 1905, farm labourer and kitchen 'boy' at different times, Comrade Nkosie ended on Dingaan's Day, 1930, a career which for selfless devotion to a noble cause — the liberation of the oppressed masses of Africa — is an inspiration to all Africans suffering from the iron heel of imperialism.

Comrade Nkosie joined the Communist Party in 1926. At that time he was employed as a kitchen 'boy' in Johannesburg. His political career, however, began earlier than that. He took an active part in the 1919 pass strike and subsequently in the strikes of the Unions affiliated to the African Federation of Trade Unions. He was appointed Communist Party organiser for Durban at the beginning of 1929 and from that time never ceased to put forward the cause of the Durban workers until he met his death at the hands of the

brutal police thugs of Pirow and Hertzog on Dingaan's Day, December 16 1930.

I stayed for a week with Comrade Nkosie just previous to Dingaan's Day. When I left Durban he hinted to me that I was seeing him for the last time. Other comrades in Durban also state that Nkosie had a premonition of his death. This knowledge of the danger he was in did not in the least dampen the spirits of our comrade, and his last message to the workers of Africa, found among his papers after his death, is as uncompromising as ever. Translated freely from Zulu, it reads:

"Never under the sun has a nation been so shackled with the chains of slavery. We are not even allowed to voice our opinion on the state of affairs in our motherland. Why not awake and stand on your feet, Africans? Why these dissensions and divisions among us, an oppressed race? Men, women and young people, we must support the organisations that fight for our freedom".

As he lived so comrade Nkosie died, without fear and always thinking of the cause and its success. A thousand Africans must take his place. Let the cowardly murderers of the Durban workers tremble at the awakening of the African giant whose progress no power or brutalities can stop.

Long live the name of Nkosie!
Long live a free Africa!

MOSES KOTANE

'I am first an African and then a Communist', said Moses Kotane, speaking at a conference of senior Party members in December 1938. 'I came to the Communist Party because I saw in it the way out and the salvation for the African people'. It was a characteristic remark, challenging and meant to shock. But it also revealed not so much a scale of priorities as a way of fitting Marxist-Leninist doctrine into the African national tradition. He was telling his audience, which included veteran African Party members, that one could be both a good communist and a good nationalist. The Party and the ANC were not competitors, but rather the mailed fists of a single force. They would succeed if both were trained to strike their blows at the same time and in total agreement.

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 Communist 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. Moses Kotane was amongst the members of the Party's Political Bureau who stood trial in 1946-48 on a charge of sedition arising from the great strike of African miners. He was arrested during the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and the Treason Trial of 1956-61. In 1960, during the state of emergency, he worked underground. In 1962 he was placed under house arrest. The following year he was sent abroad by the ANC and the Communist Party to help organise the external apparatus of the liberation movement. During this period he served as Treasurer General of the African National Congress.

On his 70th birthday Moses Kotane was awarded *Isitwalandwe-Seaparankoe* and the Order of Friendship of the Peoples of the USSR. He died in 1978.

JOSIE MPAMA

One of the first women to join the Communist Party, Josie Mpama was active in the campaigns of the late 1920s, mobilising the people against the government's plans to burden them with yet more restrictions under the proposed Native Service Contract Bill, Pirow's amendment to the Riotous Assemblies Act, and a new Urban Areas Bill. Demonstrations were held in many big towns. One such demonstration, in Potchefstroom, where she was branch secretary, was addressed by JB Marks and Josie's husband, Edwin Mofutsanyana. A shot was fired at Mofutsanyana, missing him but killing Hermanus Lethebe, a local Party member. 'For hooligans to shoot a Native is but to break a black bottle, and then congratulate themselves on being such good marksmen', remarked Josie, who, together with the Buntings and Chapman, called a protest meeting in Potchefstroom after the trials, but had to demonstrate through the township before residents plucked up courage to attend.

Josie travelled to the Soviet Union with Mathilda First in 1935 to attend the 7th Congress of the Comintern where she presented a paper to the Congress on the position of women in South Africa. Her pseudonym was *Red Scarf*. In 1937, with JB Marks and others, she was very active in organising and mobilising the people on a nationwide scale, including reorganisation of the

ANC. The work culminated in a Conference of Transvaal African leaders in 1937, part of the process of reviving the ANC. The Non-European United Front Conference held in Cape Town in April 1939 passed resolutions denouncing segregation and calling for complete equality. Boycotts, active and passive resistance, strikes and demonstrations would be employed to free the people. The seeds of a non-racial alliance had been planted. All genuine opponents of class distinction or racial discrimination belonged together, said the communists. All sections of the liberation movement, though divided by race and social conditions, were working along parallel lines and must converge in the course of struggle into one great army. Speaking in Pretoria, Josie Mpama urged Africans to forget that coloured and Indians had failed to help them in the past, and to take the lead in the campaign for unity.

The ANC decided to embark on mass protest action. The National Anti-Pass Council, elected at a conference attended by 540 delegates, included Dr Xuma as chairman, Dr Dadoo as vice-chairman, Bopape as secretary and Mofutsanyana, Marks, Maliba and Kotane. Josie Mpama was elected as Trustee. She was banned in 1955 while serving as the Transvaal president of the Federation of South African Women. She was also detained in 1960.



ALEX LA GUMA

Alex la Guma was born into a political family in Cape Town in 1925. His father, James la Guma, was a leader of the coloured people, and an activist of the ICU. He joined the Communist Party in 1925, and was elected to the central committee in 1926. In 1927 he travelled to Brussels as a CPSA delegate to the first international conference of the League Against Imperialism. He visited the Soviet Union with JT Gumede of the ANC, and returned there in 1927 as a guest at the celebrations for the tenth anniversary of the revolution.

Alex was active in the Franchise Action Council, formed to oppose the disfranchisement of the coloured people, and together with his father, played an active part in the affairs of the South African Coloured People's Organisation after its formation.

Alex la Guma joined *New Age* as a journalist, and developed into one of the finest literary talents to come out of South Africa. His political activities in the Fifties led to his arrest together with 155 others in the infamous Treason Trial. In the years that followed Alex was banned, isolating him politically and socially. But he devoted his time to writing, graphically depicting the life of oppression, deprivation and struggle all around him.

Alex died in October, 1985, in Cuba, where he was the Chief Representative of the ANC. During this period in exile he also became Secretary General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Union, as well as a member of the World Peace Council. The Union recognised his unique literary talent and outstanding revolutionary commitment, awarding him the coveted Lotus Award, presented by the late Indira Gandhi at a ceremony in New Delhi. He was also awarded the Order of Friendship of the Peoples of the USSR. His books have been translated and published in the UK, many parts of Africa, Asia and the socialist countries.

COMMUNISTS AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

At its seventh congress in 1929, the CPSA adopted the Black Republic resolution of the Communist International which called for the setting up of an independent native republic as a stage towards a workers and peasants republic. Thus the CPSA, which contributed essential ideas to the Comintern resolution, has the proud distinction of being the first organisation on our continent to demand majority rule.

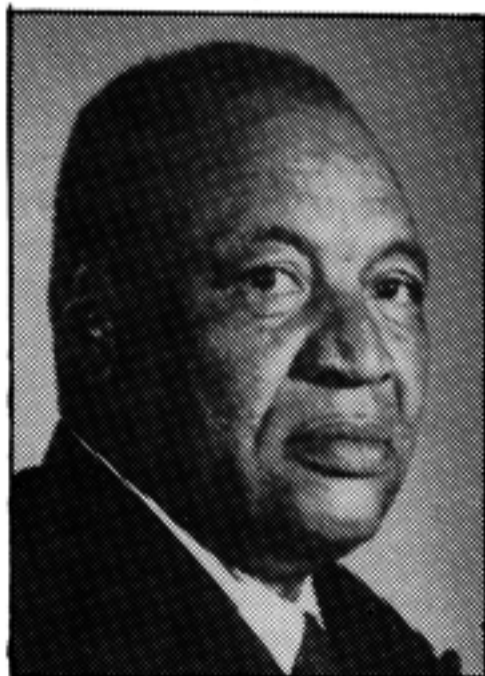
The Party participated with the ANC and the ICU in the mass campaigns of the Twenties and Thirties against that hated badge of slavery — the pass laws. It was part of the All-African Convention set up in 1935 to combat Hertzog's Land Act

which was designed to deprive Africans in the Cape of their meagre voting rights. The Party played a leading role in opposing Hitler fascism and its local variety.

Through organisations such as the Non-European United Front our people were mobilised against fascism and war and in defence of the Soviet Union. The heroic, stirring, death-defying achievements of the Soviet Red Army had a profound impact upon the oppressed people of our country who, since 1917, have had a deep and abiding fraternal attitude to the Soviet Union, its people and Party. During the period of the Second World War communists, who were in the thick of class battles, made a significant contribution to infusing the national liberation movement of the African, Indian and Coloured people with progressive ideas, militancy and organisational efficiency.

JOHN BEAVER 'JB' MARKS

Uncle JB, as he was fondly known in later years, will be remembered in the annals of the revolution for many deeds of valour, for his dedication and for three outstanding contributions — his Chairmanship of the Party from 1962 until his death in 1972, his Presidency of the African Mine Workers' Union from 1943 to 1952 when he was listed and banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, and his Chairmanship of the Morogoro Conference of 1969.



A large man, in mind, body and vision, his father was a railway man and his mother a mid-wife living in Ventersdorp, Western Transvaal. Born in 1903, JB qualified as a teacher in 1921, taught in Potchefstroom and Vredevort, and came into contact with workers in the diamond mines. Coming into contact with SP Bunting, JB

joined the Party in 1928, spoke at meetings and took part in many campaigns.

Dismissed from teaching in 1931 for his political activities, he became a full time organiser, working for the Party, Congress and the Unions. Elected in 1932 to the Party's Central Committee, he played a large part in reviving the Transvaal ANC in the thirties, becoming a member of the Congress Executive in the province and elected Transvaal President of the ANC in 1950.

JB obtained an insight into Marxist-Leninist theory at the Lenin School in Moscow. He took over the presidency of the African Mine Workers' Union in 1943. The 1946 mine strike had important consequences — the dissolution of the Native Representative Council, the prosecution of the Party's political bureau on a charge of sedition, the outlawing of the Party by statute, the formation of the Congress Alliance and the emergence of a police state under the apartheid government, using fascist techniques to entrench white domination.

Banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, Marks nevertheless took part in the Defiance Campaign and served a sentence of imprisonment. The fifth illegal conference of the Party, held inside the country in 1962, elected JB as Chairman, a position he held until his death. He was then instructed to join the headquarters of the External Mission in Tanzania and formed part of many delegations to international conferences. He suffered a serious illness while on duty in Tanzania, was taken to the Soviet Union for treatment, but died on August 1st, 1972.

Communists were active participants in a wide variety of mass actions, including the anti-pass campaigns and mass mobilisation to resist attacks on the 'shanty town' dwellers on the Witwatersrand, the appointment of the Coloured Advisory Council, inflationary wartime price rises and the imposition of residential and business segregation on the Indian people. In 1946 Yusuf Dadoo and other communists participated in the Passive Resistance Campaign against Smuts'

'Ghetto Act', which sought to deprive Indians of their meagre rights to live and trade where they chose.

The growing popularity of the Party amongst the black people was reflected in the growth of Party membership, increase in circulation of *The Guardian* and *Inkululeko* and the election of communists to Parliament, the Cape City Council, Cape Provincial Council and the Johannesburg City Council. ■

DR YUSUF MOHAMED DADOO



Yusuf Dadoo was born in Krugersdorp in 1909 and, after attending school in South Africa and India, qualified as a doctor in Edinburgh. Returning to South Africa in 1936, he was one of the founders of the Non-European United Front in 1938, and he joined the Communist Party in 1939 and in 1953, three years after the Party had been banned, he was elected a member of the Central Committee of the newly-formed SACP at its first, illegal conference in Johannesburg. Elected President of the Transvaal Indian Congress in 1945, and President of the South African Indian Congress in 1950, he was a co-signatory of the Xuma-Dadoo-Naicker Pact of 1947, pledging co-operation of Africans and Indians in the struggle against discriminatory and oppressive laws and demanding full franchise rights for all.

Jailed for taking part in the passive resistance campaign of 1946, defiance campaign of 1952 and on several other occasions, Yusuf Dadoo was awarded the highest honour of the liberation movement — *Isitwalandwe-Seaparankoe* —

at the Congress of the People held in Kliptown in 1955, though he was prevented by a banning order from attending.

After the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 and the banning of the ANC, the Communist Party and the South African Indian Congress sent Dr Dadoo overseas to organise an external apparatus for the liberation movement. The demanding work internationally saw Dadoo leading many SACP delegations to different parts of the world. His work was recognised in honours awarded to him on his 70th birthday — the Order of Dimitrov by Bulgaria, the Order of Karl Marx by the German Democratic Republic, the Order of Friendship of the Peoples of the USSR, the Gold Medal of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, the Scroll of Honour of the World Peace Council, the Decoration of the Hungarian Peace Movement, and the *Wielki Proletariat* from Poland.

Yusuf Dadoo (Mota or Doc as he was popularly known), died in 1983. On his deathbed he said to the comrades gathered around him: 'You must never give up. You must fight to the end'. In his funeral oration ANC President Tambo said: 'At this moment, when the regime seeks to divide our people with its ploy of a tripartite parliament, it is fitting to recall Comrade Dadoo's precious legacy in his own words: "The lesson of our history is that the key to freedom is a united people, fighting for a single common goal — people's power over every inch of indivisible South Africa. While deriving inspiration from the deeds and traditions of past resistance, we must deepen the unifying national consciousness of all our people ... which is a prerequisite for a nationwide uprising and victory along the lines of the Freedom Charter".'

Yusuf Dadoo lies buried just a few feet from the grave of Karl Marx in Highgate Cemetery, London.

THE PARTY IS BANNED

Whilst the black oppressed masses and their national liberation movements were being radicalised and preparing to engage the enemy in militant actions, the white electorate brought the Nationalist Party into power in 1948. This Party had fought the all-white elections on a blatantly fascist and viciously anti-communist platform. The communists were the first to come under fire, and by 1950 the all-white Parliament had passed the Suppression of Communism Act. This Act, which banned the CPSA, was aimed at all anti-

racist, democratic organisations and individuals.

From the beginning the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress and African People's Organisation understood that the Act was directed at the entire national liberation movement. On June 26th, 1950, a day of protest was organised by the ANC, SAIC, APO and ANC Youth League. Since that day June 26 has been celebrated as South African Freedom Day, and the unity of communists and non-communists was more deeply cemented.

MP NAICKER



MP Naicker, born in Natal in 1920, worked as a truck driver, a union organiser for sugar workers, and, for a period of time in the 1950s, was Durban editor of the *Guardian* newspaper, and its successors, *New Age* and *Spark*. He was a leading organiser for the Natal Indian Congress, and its vice president from 1945 until 1952 when he was ordered to resign from all political and other organisations. 'MP', as he was called, was appointed secretary of the Passive Resistance Council during the Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946, during which he was twice imprisoned.

In 1952 he was joint secretary in the Defiance Campaign (Natal region) and, although under banning orders, joint secretary of the Natal campaign for the Congress of the People. He was among the 156 people charged with high treason in 1956, but the charges against him were dropped in 1958. Detained during the 1960 state of emergency, and again in 1963 when he was charged with furthering the aims of the banned ANC, MP was placed under 90-day detention in 1964, but no charges were brought against him.

Forced to leave the country in 1965, MP became the ANC's Director of Publicity and Information and was awarded the Julius Fucik Medal in 1976 for outstanding services to journalism. MP Naicker died, aged 56, in 1977.

ALPHEUS MALIBA

Alpheus Maliba, leader of rural and peasant resistance, was born in 1901 in Nzhelele in the Northern Transvaal. He went to Johannesburg in 1935, became a factory worker and enrolled in classes at a Party-run night school. He joined the CPSA in 1936, and from 1939 to 1950 served on the Johannesburg District Committee. He was a founder member of the Zoutpansberg Cultural Association, and a leader of the associated Zoutpansberg Balemi Association in the Reserves. He also became the editor of *Mbofolowo*, the Venda language section of *Inkululeko*. In 1939 he became a leader of the Non-European United Front.

One of the main areas of Party work was in the northern Transvaal. Despite the banning of the Communist Party and the ANC, Alpheus Maliba stuck to his post and continued to mobilise and organise against the apartheid regime. He was banned in 1953 and in late August of 1967 he was detained by the security police under the Terrorism Act and taken to Pretoria Central Prison for interrogation.

Three weeks later, on September 19, 1967, he was reported to have committed suicide in his cell. The police chief, Colonel F van Niekerk, reported that he had died from asphyxia due to hanging. His comrades have no doubt that he was one of the many political prisoners tortured to death by the security police.

Condemning this Act, the Central Committee of the Party declared in June 1950:

'Communism and socialism have stood the test of time. For more than one hundred years, in one country after another, the enemies of the people have ruthlessly, inhumanly, sought to crush the movement for social justice and economic liberation, for the end of the class war, for peace and socialism.

All those attempts have failed. Communism lives on, gaining in strength and stature. Rooted in the history of the working class, expressing their deepest aspirations and needs, Communism cannot be destroyed as long as society is divided into two worlds: rich and poor, oppressor and oppressed'.

THE ILLEGAL PARTY

Not long after the Communist Party was dissolved, a majority of Party members resolved to reconstitute the Party in conditions of illegality. Their ideas and aspirations were realised when the South African Communist Party (SACP) was formed at an underground conference in 1953. Since then the SACP has upheld the glorious tradition of unremitting struggle

for national liberation, peace and socialism.

Communists worked tirelessly to develop the national liberation and trade union movement into an irresistible force. Under conditions of illegality Party units met regularly, documents and directives were issued, reports and analyses presented to conferences at which appropriate resolutions were adopted.

Whilst the racist regime was enacting more and more repressive laws, the national liberation alliance, headed by the ANC, was mobilising for sustained mass political and strike actions. Party members were actively involved in all these campaigns and actions. The mass struggles of the Fifties represent a turning point in our revolutionary history. During this period the ANC emerged as a powerful mass movement and the unchallenged leader of the national liberation struggle. The seeds of the immense and unprecedented popularity enjoyed by the ANC today were planted in the Fifties. The great upsurge of the oppressed and exploited masses was reflected in the Defiance Campaign of 1952-53 in which 10 000 volunteers courted imprisonment

FLORENCE MATOMELA

'Never mind the wind and the rain, we'll fight', was the comment of Florence Matomela when served with banning orders. And indeed her life was one of spirited struggle. Born in 1910, Florence lost four of her nine children in infancy. President of the ANC Women's League in the Eastern Cape, and one of the four vice presidents of the Federation of South African Women, an organiser of the 1952 Defiance Campaign, she was among 35 leaders arrested and charged under the Suppression of Communism Act, spending six weeks in prison for civil disobedience. Working with other outstanding women leaders such as Frances Baard and Ray Alexander, Florence sought to focus attention on the part women could play in the national liberation struggle.

Florence was among the original 156 defendants in the Treason Trial of 1956, but the charges against her were withdrawn one year later. Arrested again in 1959, banned in 1962 and restricted to Port Elizabeth, she was detained in solitary confinement under the 90-day law. In 1964 she was among 161 Port Elizabeth residents sent to prison for belonging to the ANC. While serving her sentence, she and fifty of the other original defendants were brought to court on further charges of promoting the banned ANC, and sentenced to further terms of imprisonment.

While in prison and detention her health had deteriorated badly. As a sufferer from diabetes, she needed constant medical attention yet she had sometimes even been deprived of insulin. Her husband died in 1965. Cruelly, this information was withheld from her by the prison authorities, and it was only on her release that she learnt of his death.

Florence was banned for five years immediately upon her release from prison in 1968. She died in 1969.



by defying apartheid laws; the resistance of the Indians and Coloureds to the Group Areas Act; resistance to Bantu Education and forced removals; the historic Congress of the People in 1955 at which the Freedom Charter was adopted; the formation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) in 1955; the revolt of the rural masses in the Transvaal, Natal and Transkei; the various political strikes; bus and potato boycotts and the tremendous resistance of African women to the extension of the Pass Laws to them. A large number of these varied campaigns were conducted whilst the people's leaders were charged with High Treason from 1956 to 1961. In the course of these battles outstanding communist fighters such as Vuyisile Mini — executed in 1964 — Moses Mabhida,

Dora Tamana, Joe Gqabi, and political prisoners Govan Mbeki and Ahmed Kathrada, were elected to leading positions in the national liberation and working class movement.

During these years of stirring battles the alliance between the Congress movement and the Communist Party was immeasurably strengthened. This alliance was forged in the fires of our own revolutionary experience and the accumulated experience of the world revolutionary movement. It was this mutually reinforcing alliance that enabled both the ANC and the SACP to withstand the fascist onslaught and take the struggle to new and higher levels. After the Sharpeville Massacre of March 21, 1961, the arrest of over 20 000 people, the banning of the ANC, the use of troops

VUYISILE MINI

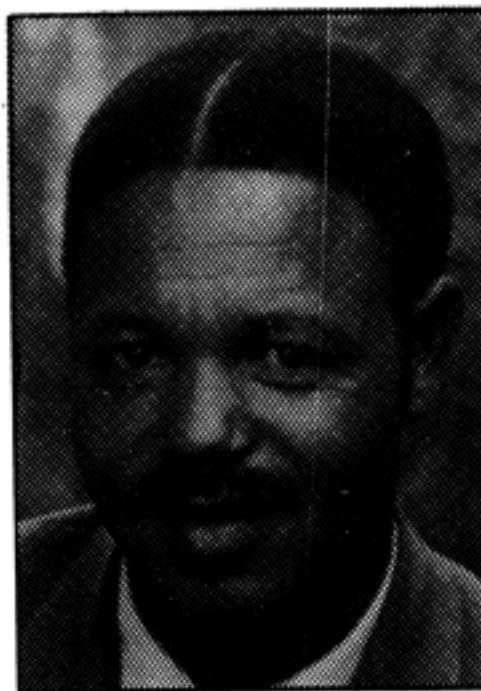
Vuyisile Mini was born in the Cape in 1920. After completing elementary school he worked as a labourer and trade union organiser. In 1951 he joined the ANC, and in 1952 was jailed for three months in the Defiance Campaign. A defendant in the Treason Trial of 1956, he was discharged in 1958. He became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

to break the three-day strike of May 29-31, 1960, and the unbridled use of fascist violence, the revolutionary movements had to find additional and alternative methods of struggle. The potentiality of non-violent mass resistance alone to change the situation had exhausted itself. The time had come: submit or fight!

Under the changed conditions armed revolutionary struggle had to form an inalienable component of our revolutionary strategy and tactics. Thus Umkhonto we Sizwe, our people's army, was formed in December 1961. In the High Command of Umkhonto were leaders of the ANC and Party. Many of the initial recruits were communists. Equally, many of those arrested, tortured or killed were communists. The immense contribution of the Party to the political and armed struggle was highlighted by the President of the ANC, OR Tambo, in his speech at a meeting marking the 60th anniversary of the SACP.

President Tambo said:

'We applaud your achievements, for the SACP has not only survived, but is today stronger, and increasingly makes more significant contributions to the liberation struggle of our people ...

To be true to history, we must concede that there have been difficulties as well as triumphs along our path, as, traversing many decades, our two organisations have converged towards a shared strategy of struggle. Ours is not merely a paper alliance, created at conference tables and formalised through the sign-

ing of documents and representing only an agreement by leaders. Our alliance is a living organism that has grown out of struggle. We have built it out of our separate and common experiences. It has been nurtured by our endeavours to counter the total offensive mounted by the National Party in particular against all opposition and against the very concept of democracy. It has been strengthened through resistance to the vicious onslaught against both the ANC and the SACP by the Pretoria regime; it has been fertilised by the blood of countless heroes, many of them unnamed and unsung. It has been reinforced by a common determination to destroy the enemy and by our shared belief in the certainty of victory'.

At the same meeting, the late Comrade Moses Mabhida, general secretary of the SACP, said:

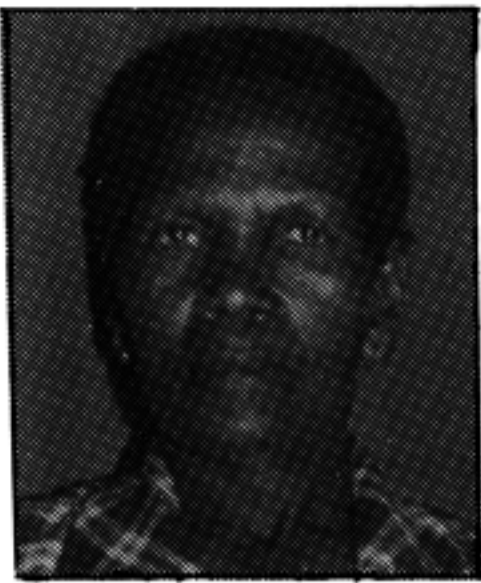
'Our Party's stand as far as national liberation goes in South Africa is quite clear. It fully supports the same programme of liberation as the African National Congress, for the seizure of power and black majority rule. The National Liberation Movement, to quote Lenin, "is a necessary ally of the proletarian revolution" ... Our Party's relationship with the ANC is based on mutual trust, reciprocity, comradeship in battle and a common strategy for national liberation. Our unity of aims and methods of struggle are a rare instance of positive alignment between the forces of class struggle and national liberation'. ■

DORA TAMANA

Dora Tamana was a woman of remarkable strength and dignity. She was born in 1901 in Hlobo, Transkei. Her childhood centred around the many tasks demanded of a young girl growing up in rural South Africa. When she was twenty, her father and two of her uncles were among the 163 people shot dead by police in the Bulhoek Massacre. She moved to Queenstown where she tried to eke out a living by collecting thatching grass in the surrounding hills to sell in the location.

During this period three of her nine children died. Later she joined her husband in Cape Town. Experiences in the squatter community of Blouville aroused her political awareness. She became a member of the Communist Party of South Africa in 1942. She joined the ANC Women's League and in 1954 became a member of the first national executive committee. She was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act and, to the end of her life, suffered constant police harassment.

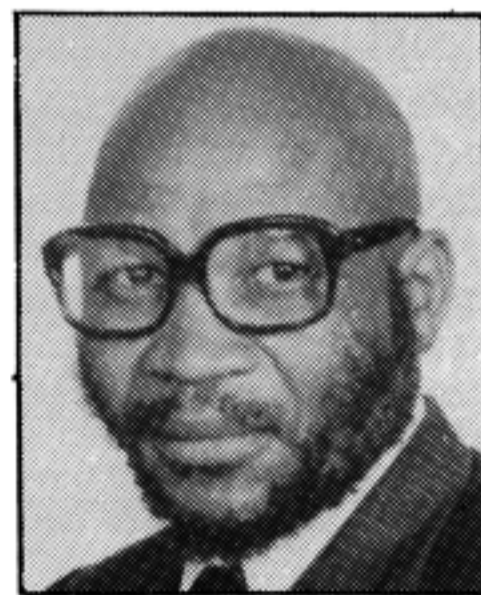
One of her sons, Bothwell, was captured during the Wankie guerrilla campaigns of 1967 in a skirmish with South African and Rhodesian soldiers. Dora visited him in Khami jail. After 1976 she was told she had to use a Transkei passport. As a disciplined communist, she refused to accept this decision and therefore did not see him on his release after Zimbabwe's independence. She died at the age of 83, an example to all who knew her as a communist, a women's leader and a tireless fighter for liberation.



DORA TAMANA



JACK HODGSON



JOE GQABI



RUTH FIRST

JACK HODGSON

A founder member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Jack Hodgson, born in South Africa in 1910, started work as a miner at an early age. He participated in the 1938 strike of white miners, and was involved in the white labour movement. He joined the then legal Communist Party, where he came to realise that the liberation of the working class in South Africa is tied to the struggle for national liberation of the African people.

During the anti-Hitler war, Jack Hodgson served in the famous Desert Rats army unit, which stopped the advance of the Nazi forces into Africa. After demobilisation, he was elected secretary of the ex-servicemen's organisation, the Springbok Legion, which did a great deal to mobilise the people in the fight against the Nationalist Party.

House arrested and banned, he was eventually forced to leave South Africa in 1963, and remained in Britain until his death on December 3rd, 1977. At the memorial service held in London, ANC President Oliver Tambo, in a message delivered by ANC Treasurer General Thomas Nkobi, said in part:

'... Jack Hodgson was a man with a deep appreciation of oppression, as a result of which he became a great teacher contributing to the nucleus around which Umkhonto we Sizwe units were established. He was among the first with technical know-how of explosives who was fully prepared to impart this knowledge so that the aims of liberation could be achieved. He ensured that the black man was no longer unarmed in his struggle, but would fully understand the military aspects of warfare ... He was amongst those whites who refused to enjoy the bribery and privilege that is part and parcel of the way of life for whites in South Africa. Instead he chose a life full of hardship and self-sacrifice, totally dedicated to the cause of liberation, human justice and dignity ...'

JOE GQABI

Joe Gqabi, photographer and outstanding investigative journalist, veteran of many ANC campaigns of the Fifties, was among the first to answer the call of Umkhonto we Sizwe. In 1961 he left the country for military training. After returning to South Africa he was captured and sentenced to two years imprisonment for leaving the country illegally. Upon completion of this sentence, he was charged under the Sabotage Act and served ten years on Robben Island. Released in 1975, he immediately set about working to strengthen the ANC underground apparatus, paying particular attention to mobilising the youth and students. After the Soweto Uprising of 1976, Joe was Number One accused in the lengthy 'Pretoria 12' treason trial. After his acquittal he escaped and joined the external mission of the ANC, becoming a member of the National Executive Committee. Joe was appointed the ANC's first representative to Zimbabwe after independence. It was in Harare, on the night of July 31st, 1981, that he was assassinated by Pretoria's death squads.

Born in Aliwal North in 1929, a leader, a man of the people, Joe Gqabi's life of struggle and dedication is an inspiration to us all. We are proud of this gallant son of our soil, who symbolises our people's indomitable spirit of resistance.

RUTH FIRST

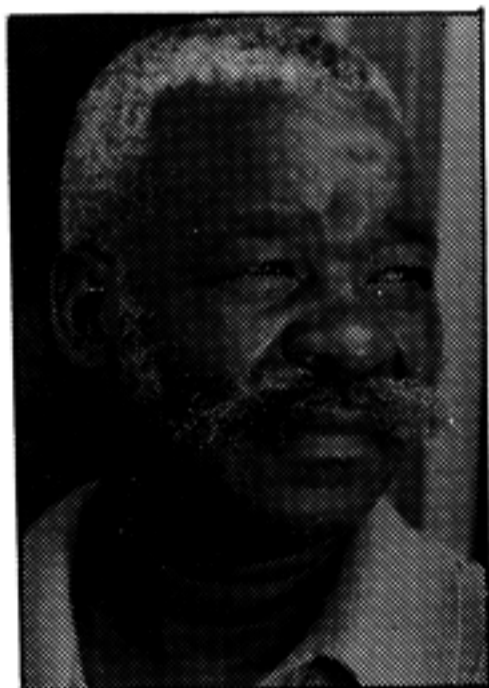
Ruth First, born in Johannesburg in 1925, was a lifelong Communist and a formidable foe of the apartheid regime. Her parents were founder members of the Communist Party. Ruth joined the Young Communist League in her teens and soon proved to be a dynamic speaker and organiser. She carried on the underground work of the Party after its banning in 1950, became a prominent figure in the ANC-led liberation alliance, and made an outstanding contribution as a journalist, writer and theorist. She served on all the movement's newspapers from *The Guardian* to *New Age*, was instrumental in exposing the farm labour scandal and edited *Fighting Talk*.

Together with her husband, Joe Slovo, she was a Treason Trialist (1956-61). After a period of solitary confinement under the 90 day legislation, she was forced into exile in 1964. She wrote and edited several books, including *117 Days*, an account of her detention. Ruth First became an international authority on South Africa, a leading campaigner for the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the ANC. In 1979 she was appointed Director of Research in the Centre for African Studies in Maputo, Mozambique.

Loved and respected by our people, she was feared by the Pretoria regime who assassinated her in Maputo on August 17th, 1982. Heroine of our Party and liberation movement, her life serves as an inspiration for all.

MOSES MABHIDA

Moses Mbheki Mncane Mabhida was born on October 14th, 1923, at Thornhill, Pietermaritzburg. Greatly influenced by his father's keen interest in politics, Moses began work as a herd boy, started going to school in 1932, but after one term had to go back to herding goats. He intermittently continued with his schooling, and came under the influence of Harry Gwala — sentenced to life imprisonment in 1977.



Moses Mabhida joined the Communist Party in 1942, becoming a full time Party worker in the trade union movement. His work and influence spread from Pietermaritzburg to Durban and many other parts of Natal. After the Sharpeville massacre, Baba Mabhida was ordered by Sactu to leave the country. In exile he worked ceaselessly to further the aims of the South African liberation movement.

Moses Mabhida died on March 8th, 1986, in Maputo. At his funeral, President Machel said: 'The Mozambican soil which he also loved and of which the struggle made him a brother will en-

fold him with love and respect ... His immense personality rests in the heart of all Africans, in the heart of all revolutionaries and lovers of peace'.

Chairman of the SACP, Joe Slovo, said: '... Comrade Mabhida could see no conflict between his leadership of the Communist Party and his role as a top leader of the ANC. Those who worked with him from Luthuli to Tambo recognised in him the qualities of a most devoted and disciplined national figure who fought unswervingly to build the ANC, to protect its integrity and its independence and to ensure complete loyalty by its members, at whatever level, to its internal democratic processes. And it is this pattern, born and developed in our own South African conditions, which laid the indestructible foundation of the alliance between the ANC and the SACP ...'

The Frelimo Party gave him a state funeral with full military honours. In his funeral oration ANC President Oliver Tambo said: 'In the ANC Moses Mabhida became a national leader who served on the NEC of the ANC, as commander and commissar of the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, secretary to the Revolutionary Council, one of the chairpersons of the Political Military Council, as an international representative and as an underground organiser. He became the General Secretary of the SACP. He also served as Vice President of SACTU ... This combination of functions in one leader of our people upset our adversaries because it reflected the permanence and acceptability among our people of the idea and the practice of the unity of the revolutionary democratic, the socialist and the trade union movements in the South African struggle for liberation ...'

The deep well from which he drew strength and courage enabled him to teach a whole generation not to fear the tyrants, however powerful they might seem'.

MICHAEL HARMEL

Born in Johannesburg on 7 February, 1915, Michael grew up in the social environment of the white herrenvolkism and racial prejudice which surrounds every white child in South Africa. He went to Rhodes University to complete his education, where he had a brilliant academic career. He joined the Communist Party in 1939 and soon after was elected secretary of the Johannesburg District Committee and in 1941 became a member of the Central Committee. He devoted the rest of his life to the cause of communism and national liberation.

A prolific writer, he contributed many valuable articles to such progressive and democratic journals as *Liberation*, *Fighting Talk*, *The Guardian*, as well as playing a leading role as a member of the editorial board of *Inkululeko*, the organ of the Communist Party. The most lasting monument to Harmel's role as a writer and publicist is the *African Communist*, which he helped to launch in conditions of illegality in South Africa and which he edited continuously until a year before his death, when he was appointed the Party's representative on the *World Marxist Review* in Prague.

He played a leading part in the preparation of the Communist Party's programme, the *Road to South African Freedom*. Comrade Harmel's courage and loyalty never failed him, as he was to prove in the difficult and trying days after the Communist Party was banned in 1950. In the period following the outlawing of the Party, he was among a group of dedicated Party members who set about the task of rebuilding the Party in conditions of illegality. In 1963, on the instructions of the movement, he left South Africa while facing court charges of infringing orders served on him under the Suppression of Communism Act. He made his way to London where he assumed responsibility for the publication of the *African Communist*.

As a convinced internationalist, Michael Harmel worked tirelessly for the cause of the unity of the socialist countries, the international working class and the national liberation movement as the most vital force in the struggle against imperialism, racism, neo-colonialism and for the independence of all peoples. Michael Harmel died on June 18, 1974



AHMED KATHRADA

Born in 1929 at Schweizer Reineke in the Transvaal, Ahmed Kathrada came to Johannesburg for schooling in 1938. He came under the political influence of Yusuf Dadoo and, at the age of 12, began active political work. In 1946, at the age of 17, Kathrada gave up schooling to do full time work in the office of the Passive Resistance Council, which conducted the resistance movement in Natal and Transvaal against unjust laws affecting Indians. Among over 2 000 Indians who were imprisoned, he served his first prison sentence of one month in December 1946 as a passive resister. Chosen by the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress to go to the World Youth Festival in Berlin, he was elected leader of the delegation of 65 South Africans of all races. After the Festival he represented the Students' Liberation Association (Wits University) at the Congress of the International Union of Students in Warsaw, going on to work in Budapest for the World Federation of Democratic Youth for nine months.

'During my stay in Europe', he said, 'I visited the Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland which left a strong and lasting impression on my mind. It forcefully demonstrated the effects of racialism and made me more convinced than ever of the urgent need to eradicate the poison of racial supremacy which was already growing to alarming proportions in my own country'.

Returning to South Africa in 1952, Kathrada became involved in the Defiance Campaign and held positions in the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the South African Peace Council — from which he had to resign after he was banned in 1954. In 1956 he was arrested on a charge of High Treason, and only discharged in 1961. In 1962 he was placed under house arrest, went underground the following year and was among those arrested at Rivonia. In 1964 he was sentenced to life imprisonment, and still remains incarcerated in Pretoria's dungeons.



AIMS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

A profound understanding of the nature and character of the South African revolution is expressed in the Party Programme, *The Road to South African Freedom*, adopted at an underground conference in 1962. Before its adoption the draft programme was extensively discussed and debated within the ranks of the Party. This document is a contribution to the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the dialectical inter-connection of the national and class

question in the revolutionary process.

The Party Programme characterises South Africa as 'colonialism of a special type' in which black South Africa is the colony of white South Africa itself and where the coloniser and colonised occupy the same territory and live side by side. It is therefore inconceivable to construct a socialist society without first consummating the national democratic revolution.

The aims of the SACP are stated in the new Constitution which was adopted at the Sixth Congress in 1984. These are:

GOVAN ARCHIBALD MBEKI



The son of a farmer, Govan Mbeki was born at Ngqamakwe in the Transkei in 1910. He was educated at Healdtown secondary school and Fort Hare College, becoming a teacher. Working extensively in the Transkei, he represented Idutywa, where he had established a co-operative store, in the 'Bunga' or Transkeian Territories General Council, a quasi-parliamentary body later abolished by the Nationalist government. He became Chief Organiser of the Transkei Organised Bodies, a co-ordinating body of African organisations in the Transkei, disbanded in the Forties. Here he developed the genius for organisation which helped the ANC Eastern Cape Region become one of the most effective in the country.

In 1954 he took up a teaching post in Ladysmith. Dismissed for his political activities, he returned to the Eastern Cape to become Port Elizabeth's editor of *New Age* and to continue his organisational work in the region. Detained during the 1960 state of emergency after Sharpeville, he was arrested two years later

following initial sabotage operations of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the Eastern Cape. The charges against him were withdrawn. Placed under house arrest, he chose instead to go underground to continue the struggle.

Govan Mbeki published numerous articles, essays and books, including the world-renowned *Peasants' Revolt*. In a preface to the book, the late Ruth First said: 'This book has had a painful birth. Govan Mbeki is recognised widely in South Africa as an expert on the Transkei and on rural and agrarian problems. This manuscript was written in fits and starts ... Its progress was frequently interrupted by police raids. A great slice of this book was written on rolls of toilet paper when Mbeki served a two-month spell of solitary confinement, awaiting trial on a charge of making explosives. Acquitted after those court proceedings, the manuscript was smuggled out of the cell ... Some final portions of the book were written from Govan's last hiding place in Johannesburg, where he had moved from Port Elizabeth after he was drafted by the ANC National Executive Committee to direct ANC campaigns from underground ... As the book went to press Govan Mbeki sat in the dock of the Rivonia trial ...'

In 1964 Govan Mbeki was sentenced to life imprisonment, together with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and the other Rivonia trialists. He remains in Pretoria's dungeons, but prison bars have not silenced him. In 1978 the University of Amsterdam awarded Govan Mbeki an honorary doctorate, and established the Govan Mbeki fellowship in his honour.

On March 21st, 1981, the International Organisation of Journalists awarded Govan Mbeki the prestigious Julius Fucik medal — two examples of progressive mankind's tribute to the man of courage who has spent so many years breaking rocks on Robben Island.

'The Communist Party is the leading political force of the South African working class and is the vanguard in the struggle for national liberation, socialism and peace in our time. The ultimate aim of the Party is the building of a communist society, towards which it is guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The establishment of a socialist republic in South Africa requires that political and economic power be firmly placed in the hands of the working class in alliance with the rural masses.

To this end the Communist Party aims:

A) To end the system of capitalist exploitation and establish a socialist republic based on the common ownership of the means of production;

B) To organise, educate and lead the working class in pursuit of this strategic aim and the more immediate aim of winning the objectives of the national democratic revolution which is inseparably linked to it. The main content of the national democratic revolution is the national liberation of the African people in particular, and the black people in general, the destruction of the economic and political power of the racist ruling class, and the establishment of one united state of People's power in which the working class will be the dominant force and which will move uninterruptedly towards social emancipation and the total abolition of exploitation of man by man;

C) To participate in and strengthen the liberation alliance of all classes and strata whose interests are served by the immediate aims of the national democratic revolution. This alliance is expressed through the liberation front headed by the African National Congress;

D) To spread the widest possible understanding of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and its application to South African conditions;

E) To combat racism, tribalism, sex discrimination, regionalism, chauvinism and all forms of narrow nationalism;

F) To promote the ideas of proletarian internationalism and the unity of the workers of South Africa and the world, and to participate in and strengthen the World Communist Movement.'

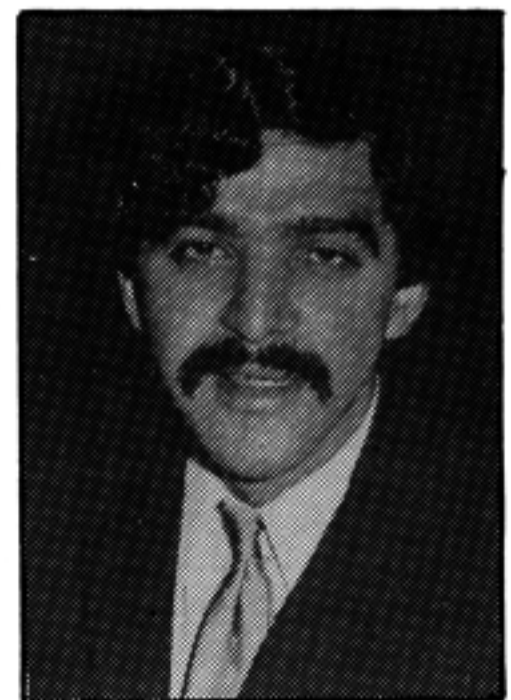
Without this correct understanding and characterisation of our concrete situation, the political impact of the national liberation and working class movement would be considerably weaker. For practice without theory is blind. Each stage of the struggle for socialism has its own characteristics, demanding the application of specific strategy, tactics, policies and class alliances. But there is no Chinese Wall between one stage and another. They complement each other since elements of the old will appear in the new and dominant elements of the new can be traced to the womb of the old. ■

AHMED TIMOL

Ahmed Timol, born in 1941, had from an early age shown an interest in politics. His father, Haji Timil, 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 and was a model student at the Lenin School in Moscow.

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.



PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

From its inception the Party has remained true to the noble ideals of proletarian internationalism. Even before the Party was formed, stalwarts such as D Ivon Jones and SP Bunting welcomed with great insight and enthusiasm the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, which changed the course of human history.

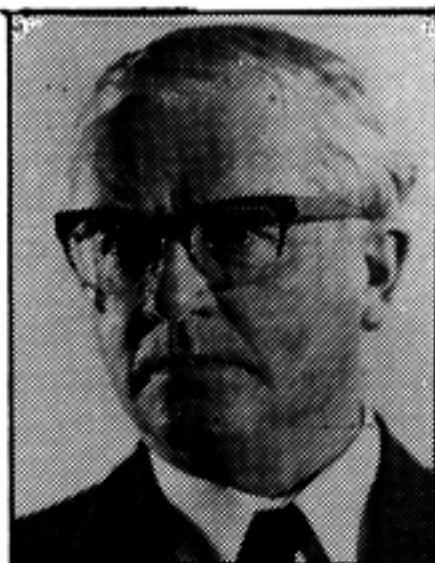
When the fascist Mussolini invaded Abyssinia in 1935, the Party called on the dock workers of Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London to show solidarity with their Abyssinian brothers by refusing to load food destined for the Italian army, demand 'that the food be kept here to feed the starving people of South Africa' and, above all, 'as workers it is our duty to fight against all forms of war and fascism and actively to oppose all preparations for war ... By defending Abyssinia you will be striking a blow against all the white robber imperialists of Africa and bringing nearer the day when the black man in South Africa shall be free'.

Communists were deeply involved in raising the political, ideological and inter-

nationalist consciousness of our people. The Congress Movement supported the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist struggles the world over, organised the people against imperialism's war-mongering policies and postures and was neither cowed nor seduced by the hysterical anti-communist, anti-Soviet cold war propaganda barrage.

The Party Programme clearly spells out our commitment to proletarian internationalism. The SACP continues to work for the consolidation and strengthening of the unity of the world communist movement, participates in international and regional conferences of the communist movement, is an implacable foe of any form and manifestation of anti-Sovietism, supports the anti-imperialist and peace-loving policies of the socialist countries, and the worldwide struggle against imperialism for peace, democracy and socialism. The SACP will continue to do all it can to strengthen the independence of Africa. We are in touch with communists throughout Africa, who are our staunchest allies. Acting together with them, we can and shall change the face of our continent. ■

BRAM FISCHER



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 practise as a barrister in Johannesburg.

The South African colour bar and Hitler's racist barbarism combined 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.

THE PARTY LIVES ON AND FIGHTS

After the arrests of our leaders in 1963 and 1964, and the near total decimation of the underground structures of the ANC, SACP, SACTU and Umkhonto we Sizwe at that time, the revolutionary forces were compelled to retreat, take stock and devise new ways of continuing the struggle. Party leaders and members made a notable contribution to keeping alive the flames of resistance. Communists fought and died with their comrades in Umkhonto we Sizwe on the battlefields of South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). In the Sixties and early Seventies communists never flinched from their national and class duties, and many of them were arrested, tortured, imprisoned. Some were killed. In the people's scroll of heroes and martyrs are inscribed, together with thousands of Congressmen and women, the names of communist freedom fighters.

But no revolutionary movement can

grow only on the basis of its history, however heroic it may be. To grow it has to be in the midst of the struggles taking place in the factories, mines, industries, residential areas and on the battlefield. Moreover, it has to constantly renew its membership and leadership. This the SACP has done. Over the past few years a number of communists have paid the supreme sacrifice. To mention only a few: Petros Linda Jobane (Gordon Dikebu), William Khanyile, Motso Mokgabudi, Mduduzi Guma ('Nkululeko) and Nkululo Njongwe. With comrades such as these in the front ranks the Party can only grow and become an even more formidable force.

At the present time the mass resistance of our people, the underground work of the ANC and the Party, and the combat actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe have reached hitherto unscaled heights. The cold-blooded murder of thousands of our people, including school children and babies; the declaration of a state of



SP BUNTING

An Oxford graduate, SP Bunting came to the Transvaal as a lieutenant in the British army to fight the Boer republics. Rejecting his class background and the rewards offered within colonial society, he joined the Labour Party, heading its Rural Committee, and was commissioned to recruit Afrikaners into the Party. In 1914 he won the Bezuidenhout provincial council seat for Labour on a manifesto that attacked the ruling class for suppressing the unions. He joined the War-on-War Movement and subsequently the International Socialist League. At the League's first congress in 1916, he moved the adoption of a Petition of Rights, which called for the abolition of pass laws, indentured labour and mine compounds, and demanded equal rights for Africans.

A founding member of the Communist Party, he attended the unity conference which formed it in July 1921, and continued to edit *The*

International. SP Bunting played a leading role in concentrating the attention of the Party on the African working class. The Party became predominantly African, including outstanding figures such as Moses Kotane, Josie Mpama, Edwin Mofutsanyana, JB Marks, Johannes Nkosi and Gana Makabeni.

In 1928 Bunting led a delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, which adopted the 'Black Republic' resolution. This has since gained widespread acceptance in all sections of the liberation movement. The annual conference in December 1928 approved a programme drafted by Bunting which included the demand for majority African rule, and elected a new executive committee which had Bunting as chairman and Albert Nzula as organiser, who, in 1929, became the first African Assistant General Secretary of the Party.

The years that followed were difficult years, with many leading activists expelled from the Party on the grounds that they were 'right wing deviationists'. Bunting, amongst those unjustly accused and expelled, failed to recover from the effects of the vendetta against him. He died on May 25, 1936, remembered by thousands of exploited and oppressed South Africans as a staunch fighter, and one of the first to recognise the importance of Africans in the struggle against imperialism, racism and capitalism.

emergency; the widespread arrests and brutal torture of thousands; the intolerable levels of unemployment and the genocidal policy of forced removals have failed to cow the people into submission. In daily confrontations the youth and students are defying the racist regime's indiscriminate use of tear gas, rubber bullets, rifle and machine gun fire and armoured personnel carriers.

In response to the call of the ANC our country is becoming increasingly ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. The setting up of 'no-go areas' for the enemy troops in the townships, the development of alternative structures of people's power, the mushrooming of street committees and the consumer

boycotts clearly demonstrate the immeasurable strengthening of the revolutionary forces. We must now move from ungovernability to people's power.

The demand of the youth and students, their parents and teachers, for a radically different, dynamic new education system linked to the struggle for national liberation is a powerful mobilising force. By their actions the students have turned the schools, colleges and universities into important and powerful sites of struggle. Now is the time to intensify the fight to render impotent racist control of our townships, to destroy the apartheid education system and the tri-cameral parliament, to drive out local community councillors and police informers.

PETROS LINDA JOBANE ('GORDON DIKEBU')

The story of the 'Lion of Chiawelo' has inspired our people at home as well as the comrades who trained and worked with him. Born in Soweto, Gordon Dikebu's father died while he was very young. His mother could only afford to keep him at school until Standard Five, after which he worked to help his mother sustain the family. His working class experience and the 1976 Soweto Uprisings led Gordon into the revolutionary movement.

He died on November 21st, 1980, in a shoot-out with the police in the Soweto suburb of Chiawelo. He died on active service for Umkhonto we Sizwe. In the early morning the enemy besieged the house he was hiding in and called on Gordon to surrender. He fought to his last bullet. Witnesses say he 'fought like a lion' and that the police — and there was a huge force present — had to keep a respectful distance. Some were seen to be hit. He died in a 'grenade' explosion — determined not to be taken alive. What emerged from his combat unit, after his death, was that they called him 'ikommunisi' because of his dedication and determination.



WILLIAM KHANYILE

William Khanyile's whole life was devoted to the struggle. Keenly interested in Marxism, as a young worker he was one of the dedicated cadres found selling *New Age*, participating in discussions in study circles, and actively working in all movement campaigns.

William was imprisoned on Robben Island for eight years for ANC activities; was served with a banning order on his release; arrested again in 1975 and held in solitary confinement for one year without trial; tried again, unsuccessfully, in 1977, and then brought out of the country to strengthen the work of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

Stationed in Maputo, William valued the opportunity to experience at first hand the building of a new society so close to South Africa. He died on January 30th, 1981, in a Sactu residence in Matola when racist killers from South Africa fired a rocket at point blank range through the wall of the room in which he was sleeping.

In his early forties, he was a virtual father to the youth who worked with him. He knew from his own experience and from the life of his mentor, Harry Gwala — serving life imprisonment — that the struggle required sacrifice. He was prepared for this, and concerned to do his duty. He was always anxious that the working class must lead the struggle — the reason he gave for joining the Party.



The trade union movement has a crucial role to play in the coming battles. During many strikes the working class has demonstrated its power and capacity to lead the struggle for national liberation and class emancipation. The experience of these strikes has underlined the vital necessity of linking the trade union movement with the other mass organisations like the United Democratic Front. Since its formation in 1985 the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has shown that it has the potential to unite the working class, defend its immediate and long-term interests and defeat the reactionary counter-offensive of monopoly capital and imperialism.

Our people, in particular the youth and students, inspired by the heroic actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe and responding to the call for all-out resistance, are ready to make the supreme sacrifice. As Marx once said, 'when an idea grabs the masses

it becomes a material force'.

The racist regime has no solutions to the deepest ever economic, political and ideological crisis affecting the country. It just lurches from one set of repressive measures to another, wreaks death and destruction on neighbouring states, and seeks to deceive the world by its false promises of reforms and of abandoning apartheid. The only just solution lies in the total dismantling of apartheid and the transfer of power to the people.

Internationally, Pretoria and its imperialist allies, in particular Reagan, Thatcher and Kohl, are more and more isolated. The demands for disinvestment and the imposition of mandatory sanctions have now been taken up by millions throughout the world. Our struggle enjoys the support of the socialist world, the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and progressive and democratic forces in the capitalist world.

NKULULO NJONGWE — (‘BRYCE MOTSAMAI’)

Nkululo Njongwe was the son of the late Dr Njongwe, leader of the ANC in the Eastern Cape, and lies buried alongside him at Qumbu in the Transkei.

Nkululo, a true soldier of Umkhonto we Sizwe, together with his comrade in arms Eldridge Yakithi, died in a ferocious gun battle when they refused to surrender to enemy forces when ambushed near East London. Also known as Bryce Motsamai and Joe Congo, he was a fighter, a poet and a teacher.

To say *Hamba Kahle, Xhego*, we can do no better than quote from his article in *Dawn*, the journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe, entitled *Open Wounds of Memory*:

'Let us accompany you to the peace valley of the fallen. Allow us to intrude upon your world of silent summers with a message from the living. Take us, for we believe there are messages you left unsaid. Accept us in your midst for we believe we have done you no wrong. Give us messages to carry to those still making the world and in turn pass our word to those that went before. Perhaps there is still something we do not understand, a piece of knowledge that could make things all the easier, a comforting handshake that shall make less pain of your sudden departure ... What becomes of us without you? ... Make us believe that even in your absence the journey is still ours'.



MOTSO MOKGABUDI

Motso Mokgabudi, born in Orlando in 1952, was popularly known as 'Obadi'. A member of the 'Soweto generation', he studied law at Turfloop but dropped out as a result of student unrest. He became involved in ANC activity and left the country six months before the 1976 uprising to join MK. After undergoing military training, he became a commander in our army.

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

MDUDUZI GUMA (‘NKULULEKO’)



Mduzi Guma studied law at Ngoye and practiced as an attorney in Durban. He had joined the ANC and was steadily building up an underground network. No one suspected him even though by 1976 he was defending students caught up in protests and rebellion. He was an excellent underground worker, working with, amongst others, Lancelot Hadebe and the extraordinary Reverend Mandla Msibi (Blackman).

Mduzi Guma went to Swaziland as a political refugee. An avid reader of political tracts, he paid great attention to the Marxist classics and helped translate the Party programme into Zulu. He wrote for the MK journal, *Dawn*, under the name of ‘Conqueror Ntswana’ — choosing the pseudonym because of his implacable belief in victory. In the barbarous raid on Matola, in January 1981, Mduzi Guma, together with Lancelot Hadebe, died when their bedroom was hit by a rocket.



JOE SLOVO

Joe Slovo was elected Chairman of the South African Communist Party at its Sixth Congress. He was born in Lithuania, now part of the USSR, and came to South Africa when he was nine years old.

He entered politics as a youth of 16 while working as a warehouse assistant in a chemical wholesalers. He was elected a shop steward of the National Union of Distributive Workers and was part of the leadership of a successful strike in 1943. He was then victimised and sacked. Serving with the South African army in Italy, he saw something of the heroic anti-fascist struggles of Italian partisans inspired by an underground Communist Party. The significance of that struggle made a deep impression on his political understanding.

A demobilisation grant enabled him to enrol

in the Law Faculty at Wits University. During his student years he was active in both student and general activities, as a member of the Young Communist League and later of the Party. A member of the Johannesburg District Committee at the time of the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, Joe Slovo was amongst those who set about reconstituting the Party. He became a foundation member of the new SACP, which took over the tasks and banners of the former CPSA.

As a barrister, he undertook the defence of many political activists, while working in the now underground SACP. He was among the 156 accused in the 1956 Treason Trial, and was detained without trial for five months in 1960. Among the founder members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, in 1963 he was sent abroad by the Party. He was in Umkhonto’s leading echelons from its formation, and has remained there ever since.

Slovo’s writings and speeches on the theme of revolution have not only served the Party but have helped to shape the attitudes and thinking of a whole generation of non-communist freedom fighters, members of Umkhonto and township revolutionaries. Profound though his written contributions have been to our country’s contemporary practice, they have been matched by his practical part in the actual organising tasks of the Party and Umkhonto, and by his involvement in the day-to-day actions of revolutionaries in the field. Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, member of the Central Committee of the SACP since 1954, and a member of the ANC’s Revolutionary Council, Joe Slovo was elected to the National Executive Committee of the ANC in 1985 — the first white South African to be so honoured.

THE DECISIVE PHASE

The last and decisive phase of our struggle for national liberation will be extremely difficult and bloody. As in the past, the South African Communist Party will make its contribution to all future battles. Communists will play their part in escalating attacks on enemy personnel, bases and institutions.

Throughout our history we communists have never hidden our aims and objectives and we continue to inspire our people with a vision of a South Africa free from national oppression, racism and class exploitation.

In a recent issue *Umsebenzi*, the voice of the South African Communist Party, declared:

'We remain committed to the immediate struggle for the achievement of the aims of the national democratic revolution which are popularly defined in the Freedom Charter. We believe that the achievement of these aims is not only in the best interests of all classes and groups among the oppressed but will also create conditions for a democratic transformation towards a socialist South Africa. That is why we work to assure a dominant role for the working people in the class alliances which are demanded by the struggle for a democratic republic.'

We reject the idea that there can be democracy and liberation without a radical redistribution of the nation's wealth. Any "solution" which departs from this gives permanent legitimacy to continued minority control.

We stand four-square in support of a united South Africa which is run — economically, politically and socially — by the will of the majority exercised on the basis of one person one vote. All schemes based on ethnic parity or

"minority protection" are schemes to perpetuate minority domination or to break up the cohesion of the South African nation.

We have never turned our backs on the possibility of principled negotiation and compromise with other forces in the course of a struggle. This could arise at a time of a major revolutionary climax involving the transfer of power based on the strength of the people's offensive. But clearly the main thrust of our present strategy remains a revolutionary seizure of power and not negotiation. Our ruling class has no intention whatsoever of dismantling its state apparatus and its instruments of force whose existence will only make a sham of the exercise of democracy.

We are encouraged by the growing number of defections from the white apartheid laager as shown by the readiness of some groupings to defy government pressure and to exchange views with the ANC. But the real test is whether these groupings are ready to accept genuine majority rule. There must be vigilance against qualifications intended to prevent a radical transformation.

We stand in full support of the ANC as head of our liberation alliance and believe that it is only under its umbrella that all the forces which stand for real change can move forward.'

We communists in South Africa are part and parcel of the world communist movement and the liberation struggle in South Africa. After 65 years of fighting in the frontline, we remain steeled in our determination to relentlessly pursue the struggle, no matter what the cost, until we have liberated our motherland from the yoke of racism, apartheid, colonialism and imperialism. ■

Long Live the ANC/SACP/SACTU Alliance!

Long Live Umkhonto we Sizwe!

Every Patriot a Combatant! Every Combatant a Patriot!

From Ungovernability to People's Power!

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!

Long Live World Peace! Long Live Socialism!

Amandla Ngawethu! Matla Ke A Rona! Power to the People!

**PUBLISHED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY,
c/o Inkululeko Publications, 39 Goodge Street, London W1P 1FD**
