

**SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY
CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

Statements and Resolutions

THE PRESENT SITUATION

THE AGGRESSIVE PLANS of imperialism have taken shape more clearly. A planned, world-wide offensive is in progress against independent governments in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It uses a great variety of means—military intervention, economic pressure and penetration, encouragement of subversion and reactionary coups.

America's colonial intervention in South Vietnam has been escalated to the dimensions of a major war, employing a million troops—half of them U.S. regular forces, the rest local levies and satellite troops. It is backed up by every modern device for indiscriminate mass slaughter, in a vain effort to enslave the people and break their spirit of independence. The Americans have launched an undeclared war of aggression in the North, bombing and shelling towns and population centres from the air, land and sea. The invincible, fighting resistance of Vietnam inspires all oppressed and freedom-loving people.

The South African Communist Party joins the world-wide protest at the barbarous crimes of the United States aggressors in Vietnam. We demand the Americans and all foreign troops quit Vietnam, and allow the Vietnamese to determine their own future in terms of the Geneva Agreements and the four- and five-point declarations of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front in the South respectively.

U.S. aggression in Vietnam has aggravated international tension, increased the danger of general war, and encouraged the forces of fascism, racism and reaction everywhere. It has undermined the authority and usefulness of the United Nations to the detriment of all people, including the oppressed of Southern Africa; for while the greatest imperialist power, a member of the Security Council, openly flouts the United Nations Charter, no one believes that the United Nations will take realistic measures to implement its resolutions against apartheid in South Africa, or the Smith regime in Salisbury, or South Africa's annexation of South-West Africa.

The imperialist counter-offensive has had serious repercussions in Africa. A number of colonialist-backed military take-overs have occurred, most ominous of which was the coup by army officers in Ghana, which overthrew the progressive Convention People's Party government. In a number of African countries, neo-colonialist intrigues and bribery of various kinds have resulted in the emergence, in leading positions, of corrupt elements seeking their own advancement and prepared to sell their countries' independence and the cause of Africa's unity and liberation.

It is not by chance that this period of the world-wide counter-revolutionary offensive of imperialism coincides with a relative weakening of the unity of the forces for peace and progress, especially of the unity of the socialist countries. The disruptive, anti-Soviet policy and tactics of the Mao group controlling the Communist Party of China has caused grave damage both to China and to the world anti-imperialist front.

The S.A.C.P. strongly favours a new meeting of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world at the earliest possible time to rally and unite the anti-imperialist forces and to face urgent problems posed by the present international situation.

A BLEAK FUTURE FOR IMPERIALISM

While a realistic assessment requires that such temporary setbacks and weaknesses be taken into account, by themselves they do not by any means provide a correct or balanced picture of the world or of the African situation as a whole. Despite reverses in some areas, the forces of revolution, the economic, military and moral strength of the socialist countries, the working class and national liberation movements, continue to grow. Though treachery and terror enable the imperialists to claim 'victories' in this or that area of the world, they are fundamentally incapable of solving the problems of the masses, or of satisfying their aspirations.

The overall world perspective presents a bleak future for the imperialists. Their arrogant and savage acts of aggression are meeting with anger and resistance everywhere, including sections of the people of the imperialist countries themselves. Put down in one area by ruthless intervention and bloody massacres—as in Indonesia or Ghana—the tide of struggle for freedom and independence arises again in another. The main capitalist countries encounter severe economic difficulties, characterised by increasing monopolisation and rising unemployment, despite the massive military expenditure which has become a permanent feature. Inter-imperialist rivalries and conflicts reassert themselves in new forms.

Imperialism and its supporters display complete ideological and moral bankruptcy. Among the working people and the youth everywhere there is disillusionment with the corrupt bourgeois parties and their unprincipled right-wing 'labour' hangers-on, and a search for radical solutions. Attention is being directed more forcefully than ever to that great contrast and problem of our times—on the one hand, striking advances of technology opening up prospects of unprecedented abundance; on the other, the shocking backwardness of the areas whose economic development has been stifled by imperialism, where vast populations live in grinding poverty, perpetually on the verge of starvation.

In the colonies and former colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America, high levels of revolutionary activity and consciousness are being attained by the people and their liberation movements. The Tri-Continental Conference at Havana gave organisational expression to the unity of the national liberation movements of the 'Third World' as a major component of the world struggle against imperialism, poverty and war, together with the socialist countries and the international working class movement.

Despite the blows struck by imperialism and reaction and racialism in Ghana, Rhodesia and elsewhere, the African Revolution generally, in its overall development, continues to gain in momentum, depth and clarity of purpose.

The armed freedom fighters of Angola, Mozambique and 'Portuguese' Guinea have reconquered some important areas from the invaders and are advancing towards the full liberation of their countries. The revolutionary governments of the United Arab Republic, Tanzania and other African countries have scored striking successes on the road to socialism. African leaders and freedom-fighters have learnt valuable lessons from the experience of Ghana, where negative features—the failure to build an ideologically united and disciplined party; the failure to effect revolutionary changes in the countryside, or to conduct a consistent class struggle against bourgeois and feudal elements; undue reliance on imperialist 'aid'—coupled with the unenlightened cult of an individual leader—resulted in the inability of the C.P.P., the working class and other progressive forces to resist the counter-revolutionary army coup.

These lessons were brought out clearly at the October Seminar in Cairo, where many progressive African leaders, liberation movements and national-revolutionary parties, meeting for the first time together with a number of African Marxist-Leninist Parties, conducted a valuable and original review of many of the outstanding problems of

our continent and the African Revolution. The Seminar marked a most significant development towards unity of the most advanced and revolutionary forces of Africa.

SOUTHERN AFRICA—AN AREA OF INSTABILITY

The independent African states and the progressive forces of our continent have recognised that the liberation of the Portuguese colonies, and above all of the apartheid-dominated South, is a critical task before the whole continent. This is the key to the development and consummation of the African Revolution.

Whatever its surface appearance, this entire region is an area of instability and revolutionary potentialities.

In South Africa the Nationalist government has consolidated its position. It has gained increased electoral support among the white population, and the United Party, having surrendered on all important policy questions, is at its lowest ebb. Though there is still some courageous expression of anti-fascist opposition among the white minority—notably in the universities and the English press—it is neither of major significance nor effective in curbing the reactionary career of the government.

Economically and militarily, largely as a result of massive foreign investment and military aid in defiance of the Security Council's recommendation, the apartheid state has gained in strength. It has virtually destroyed the publicly-functioning organisations of the Congress Alliance. With thousands of members jailed and all known officials subjected to bans, house arrest and surveillance, the formal 'legality' of the S.A. Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of Trade Unions has been reduced to a farce.

The years of suppression of the democratic press and meetings, of the national liberation movements and the Communist Party, together with constant indoctrination through the mass media and the schools, are having an effect. There are signs of the growth of communalism, tribal chauvinism and of collaboration with the oppressors, especially among certain corruptible and backward elements of the non-white middle class.

All these factors lend support to the Vorster government's propaganda picture of itself as a powerful, unassailable fortress of white supremacy—propaganda intended to still doubts among wavering supporters and to discourage the revolutionary and radical opposition.

But a deeper analysis reveals fatal sources of weakness and instability in the position of the racist dictatorship. The fundamental

contradiction between the exploiting minority and the oppressed masses has in no way been resolved; rather it has been intensified. The national and economic oppression of the African and other non-white groups remains as harsh as ever.

Though the expression of antagonism to apartheid is suppressed by force, conditions in the country preclude the people from submission or reconciliation to the regime. There is no reason to doubt that the masses are still strongly against the government, against white domination, in favour of democratic revolution.

Important contradictions and conflicts have also developed within the ruling class and the government. Faced with serious labour problems caused by rigid application of the industrial colour bar, a section of the bourgeoisie is pressing for certain categories of semi-skilled work to be opened up to non-whites. Aspiring to a neo-colonialist role in Africa, certain financial circles, including such pillars of the Nationalist Party as the Rupert-Rembrandt group, oppose blatant declarations of crude 'baasskap' policy and advocate the opening of the Reserves to penetration by 'white' capital. Against these tendencies an ultra-right grouping has emerged within the Nationalist Party, the Hertzog-Beyers faction, which has strong support among the white miners and other sections of the white supervisory working class and widespread support among the urban and rural white petty bourgeoisie. It demands even more rigid 'baasskap' policies.

These conflicts are brought more and more into the open with the development of the inner crisis in the country and the unsettled and unpredictable conditions in South Africa's border regions which are causing grave anxiety to the ruling circles.

Not far away, guerilla fighters in Angola and Mozambique engage 100,000 Portuguese soldiers, while the national liberation movements sustain their activities and hold considerable areas of territory.

Immediately to the north, there is the still unresolved crisis precipitated by the illegal declaration of independence by the Smith regime. Though its policy is dominated by fear of a victory for the Zimbabwe liberation movement, the British Government has been forced to impose sanctions against the Smith regime and to seek United Nations support for limited international sanctions. Clearly the matter will not be allowed to rest at the present stalemate, either by the African states or by the masses in Zimbabwe. Political pressure for more effective British action continues. Popular armed resistance, though still on a limited scale, has begun. This continuing crisis, with its unpredictable long-term consequences, is seriously disturbing to

South Africa's ruling circles, as evidenced by the significant advice of *Die Burger* that Smith should come to terms with the British.

The Vorster government reacted defiantly to the United Nations decision declaring the South-West African mandate at an end, and proclaimed confidently that the territory will be defended, come what may. This confidence is based on the belief that the imperialist backers of the apartheid regime will once again come to its rescue. But this belief is not necessarily correct. World opinion against apartheid—especially African and Asian opinion—is deep-rooted and cannot be ignored. Nor can public opinion in the imperialist countries themselves be ignored, if it is adequately mobilised by such bodies as the Anti-Apartheid Movement. This was shown by the Negro and progressive movement in the U.S. which recently compelled Johnson to cancel shore-leave for an American aircraft carrier visiting Cape Town. The same opinion, aroused to greater heights, can compel the enforcement of the United Nations decision on South-West Africa. Here, too, there have been the beginnings of armed resistance against apartheid, inspired by the liberation movement of the territory.

Britain's ceding of formal independence to Botswana and Lesotho also creates potential dangers for the apartheid regime. To Vorster's gratification the minority Leabua Jonathan government of Lesotho has accepted a position of subservience to South Africa; but this role is by no means accepted by the Basotho people, with their long tradition of fighting for independence and hatred of apartheid. Thus a critical situation has been created in Lesotho, which can erupt at any time. A similar situation exists in Botswana. The Seretse Khama government is economically dependent on its powerful and aggressive neighbour, but the interests of all sections of the population demand a greater measure of economic independence, as well as the protection of the interests and the human rights and dignity of the thousands of Botswana kinsfolk living in the Republic. These are new States whose attitudes and policies are in the process of formation, and are powerfully influenced by external events. The association of Botswana and Lesotho with the O.A.U. for instance, cannot but broaden their outlook, strengthen their will for real independence—and move them in more progressive directions.

Within the Republic itself the continuous extension of repressive laws and measures, amounting virtually to a permanent 'state of emergency' is one indication of the powerful resentment and rebelliousness seething below the surface of the 'peace and quiet' enforced by terror. New measures for total conscription, massive increases in military and police expenditure, more vicious laws—all these betray

the deep sense of insecurity which the confident government propaganda is designed to conceal.

Every section of the non-white population is suffering from ever more fierce applications of colour discrimination, race classification and other aspects of so-called 'separate development'. The Transkei—ruled by emergency regulations since 1960—is still without a shred of genuine self-rule despite all Verwoerd's false promises. Here, too, in attempting to divert the course of African liberation, the Nationalist government has created an area of instability for itself. The other rural areas are in a similar position; in the towns the workers face acute economic problems, with steadily rising living costs, unaccompanied by anything like commensurate increases in wages.

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The revolutionary spirit of the national liberation movement, whose core is the African National Congress, remains undaunted. Its leaders and members have shown resilience and determination following the heavy blows suffered in the period since the widespread arrests of 1963.

To find successful methods of underground organisation in the face of the terror methods of the government and its special branch; to take effective steps to respond to systematic violent suppression by armed resistance; to find new forms of organisation of the fighting unity of all sections of our people—these are the tasks which face the liberation movement in the present stage of the South African Revolution. We are confident that their steeled and capable leaders are finding the means to accomplish them.

The present phase of the South African struggle inevitably involves the opening up of a new front of struggle: the beginning of guerilla actions by armed and trained freedom-fighters, backed by revolutionary struggles of the masses of workers and peasants, against the white supremacy state. The opening of such a new front in itself will have the most powerful effect and evoke a powerful response among the masses, increasing their confidence, spirit and militancy.

But it is not enough to await such happenings. Preparatory work to bring about the new phase includes ceaseless efforts, whatever the difficulties and risks, to counter the lying propaganda of the government, to arouse the resistance and spirit of the people.

The central task before us is the building and strengthening, within South Africa, of the main organisation of the African majority, the A.N.C., and its allies among the Indian and Coloured people. It is necessary to carry out the essential tasks of education and organisation in the Congress spirit, the spirit of the Freedom Charter, even though

the Congresses have been virtually put out of action by arbitrary bans and victimisation. It is necessary to sustain the spirit of militant trade unionism asserted by S.A.C.T.U.; so that both industrially and politically the working class can be mobilised to play its leading role in the liberation struggle. It is necessary to arouse and mobilise progressive whites to support the national liberation movement, a task which was carried out by the C.O.D. before it was suppressed. The need exists as never before to mobilise the peasantry, and the womenfolk and youth of our country. And all these tasks need to be co-ordinated, in accordance with a common perspective and plan.

The A.N.C. has recently taken important measures to establish such unity of direction and purpose. This marks a great step forward and is a tribute to the seriousness with which it upholds the spirit of the Charter and the Congress Alliance. These efforts call for the whole-hearted support of everyone who is devoted to the liberation of our country.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The present period of unrestrained reaction, the darkest in our country's history, has faced our Party with the severest trials of its forty-five years of existence. Hundreds of our members, faced with jail, torture and death, have conducted themselves in a manner which has added honour to our people, our Party and the international Communist movement. As our Comrade Bram Fischer—himself an outstanding example of revolutionary devotion—said in his fine Court statement:

'It was always the members of the Communist Party who were prepared, regardless of cost, to sacrifice most; to give of their best, to face the greatest dangers in the struggle . . .'

The South African Communist Party is an inseparable and indispensable part of the national liberation movement of our country in the democratic revolution. It has proved an unfailing source of strength and inspiration to the movement as a whole, whose members have recognised through their own experience the sincerity and loyalty of the Communists to the common cause, and that they have no interests separate from those of the workers and oppressed people.

The Central Committee reiterates its firm adherence to the cardinal and programmatic principle of our Party—strengthening the united front of national liberation; unity of Communists and non-Communists in the fight against the enemy: imperialism and white supremacy.

We reaffirm our support for the Freedom Charter, the common programme of the Congress Alliance, and our unqualified readiness

to co-operate in measures of united and co-ordinated action for the achievement of the aims of the Charter.

We call upon all our members to work tirelessly as a primary duty to build and strengthen the revolutionary mass organisations of the workers and oppressed people of South Africa.

At the same time, the C.C. points out that the strengthening of the independent organisation of the Party itself is a vital and indispensable task of every member. There can be no conflict between these two tasks, for experience has fully demonstrated that the stronger our Party is and the higher the level of consciousness and activity of its members, the greater the contribution we shall be able to make to the common cause.

The sources of strength of the Communist Party are its closeness to the masses of workers and peasants and the creative application of the universally-valid science of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of South Africa, and to our work at all levels. It is only by drawing afresh on these sources that we shall achieve the high standards of discipline and devotion, the understanding and confidence in our people and our future, which are called for in the arduous struggles and complex problems we now face.

These conditions demand that every member and supporter of the Party should make the most strenuous efforts to become a more effective leader, educator and student, organiser and fighter for the liberation of our country. The very fact that so many of our finest members have been jailed and otherwise incapacitated by the enemy places on all of us the duty to work all the harder and more effectively for the victory to which they sacrificed so much.

The conditions also demand that the Party renew its ranks and draw in the best elements of the revolutionary youth and working people of our country; that it exercise constant vigilance against spies and informers; that systematic training and study by all members should be carried on to maintain a high standard of political consciousness and ability to tackle the many difficulties before us.

The Party's theoretical journal *The African Communist* must be developed to an increasing extent as a focus of organisation and political consciousness. Its circulation, both in South Africa and elsewhere, should be substantially broadened, and A.C. study-circles established, both to strengthen the journal and to act as centres of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

The most persistent efforts must be made, in spite of all the dangers and difficulties, to bring the message and the organisation of the Party to the masses of workers and oppressed people of South Africa.

This year, 1967, marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October

Socialist Revolution, which struck a shattering blow at imperialism, racialism and capitalism, and opened a new era in human history. This great turning-point, and all the epoch-making achievements which have followed it, ensure the triumph of the cause of freedom for our people and the downfall of their oppressors.

Let this year also mark a great advance in the cause of the liberation of the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa—which is also the cause of the African Revolution as a whole.

Workers and oppressed people, unite in resistance to apartheid and tyranny!

Power to the people!

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the South African Communist Party declares that all communists everywhere are faced with a most urgent need to come together and collectively evaluate the serious new problems facing our movement, such as:

- (a) the U.S. aggression in Vietnam;**
- (b) the counter-revolutionary offensive of imperialism on a world scale, particularly the attempts to recolonise Africa;**
- (c) the need for unity of all anti-imperialist forces and in the first place of the Communist vanguard.**

We appeal to all fraternal parties to support the convening of an international meeting for this purpose. This historic year, 1967, which commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, should be the occasion to strengthen more than ever the unity of the International Communist Movement, the working class and national liberation movements—the united front against imperialism and war.

EVENTS IN CHINA

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT in South Africa has long been inspired by the Chinese Revolution and the achievements of the Communist Party of China. In the face of the fascist police terror and anti-Communist legislation in our country, we ceaselessly expressed the solidarity of the workers and oppressed people of South Africa with their Chinese brothers and sisters in their long and heroic struggles—against Japanese imperialism; against the Chiang Kai-shek regime of reaction and subservience to imperialism. We rejoiced at their victories, especially the establishment of the People's Republic of China and the laying of the foundations for the advance to socialism in this vast, economically underdeveloped country.

It is with deeper regret, therefore, and the gravest anxiety, that we have witnessed the ever-widening departure of the Mao Tse-tung leadership from the principles of scientific communism. Ever since the dominant group in the Chinese Communist Party repudiated the correct and unanimously agreed policies adopted at the world meeting of eighty-one Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960, it has step by step moved towards policies and actions whose consequences have proved damaging to the cause of peace, freedom and socialism, and to the interests of the Chinese people themselves.

In their external policy, the Chinese leaders have undermined and jeopardised the unity of the anti-imperialist front, of the communist movement and of the socialist countries. Their factional and disruptive activities in the trade union, national liberation, peace and many other international organisations, have diverted these movements from their tasks and impeded their progress. South African representatives at African, Afro-Asian and other solidarity and progressive meetings and conferences have time and again experienced the disruption, unprincipled manoeuvres and even racist appeals instigated by delegations from China.

What causes the gravest concern is the mounting campaign of vilification directed against the leaders of other socialist countries and especially against the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union. Claiming to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism from the danger of 'revisionism', the Chinese Government is in practice conducting a venomous and unscrupulous anti-Soviet campaign. It has even gone to the extent of staging a series of provocations obviously designed to bring about a breach of state relations with the U.S.S.R.

Inside China, the anti-Marxist practice of adulation and irrational glorification of a single person has grown to absurd proportions. The theoretical and practical work of Mao Tse-tung and the Central

Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the problems of the Chinese revolution has always been held in general esteem. But to hold up Mao's 'thoughts' as the source of all wisdom, and of universal validity, as is now being done in China, is to attempt to convert communism into a sectarian cult. There is no indication that the youth of China are being encouraged to study directly and to absorb the classical writings of scientific socialism, the works of genius of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Instead they are trained mechanically to parrot formulae by rote, to memorise selected passages from the works of a single person. Ignoring the bitter lessons of the period of the personality cult, with its stultifying effects and other harmful consequences, the Chinese leaders have resorted to a similar practice today.

Clearly widespread opposition to the Mao group's policies has developed in China, extending to all levels of the Communist Party, the Young Communist League and the trade union movement. It is to be regretted that this opposition has not been met, nor differences of policy resolved, within the framework of socialist legality provided by the constitution of the People's Republic of China, nor on the basis of democratic centralism within the Communist Party of China. Instead the Mao group is acting in a factional manner. It has set up, outside the Party and especially among the teenage youth, a new organisation of so-called 'Red Guards' which, in conjunction with the dominant army leadership, takes it upon itself to oust Party and State leaders. It is now eleven years since the Party held a National Congress. It has been reported that the Young Communist League and the trade unions have been dissolved. It is astonishing to read in the official Chinese publications that what is supposed to be occurring is no longer only a 'cultural revolution' but a 'rebellion' aiming to 'seize power' from 'those in authority'. Until now, 'those in authority' in China, have been the elected leaders of the Communist Party. It is hard to avoid fears that under the cover of 'revolutionary' slogans such tactics and methods are leading to the undermining of the Communist Party, the sacrifice of its leading role, and the eventual replacement of the democratic rule of the workers and peasants by an arbitrary dictatorship.

These tragic distortions of Communist theory and practice, are far from being of mere academic interest or the exclusive concern of China. The wrong policies within China endanger the gains of the Chinese Revolution and weaken the world anti-imperialist front. The anti-Soviet external policies of China today benefit no one but the imperialists. To a large extent these wrong policies have already been responsible for unnecessary setbacks and reverses. The imperialists have been emboldened and encouraged by the division within the

socialist camp to intensify their counter-revolutionary offensive from Vietnam and Indonesia to the Congo and Ghana.

The oppressed people of our country and the whole of Southern Africa are vitally concerned with the strengthening and consolidation of the progressive, anti-imperialist forces of the world. We, the victims of a vicious anti-African regime of white minority domination backed by and dependent upon the big imperialist powers, are sharply conscious that the splitting of the international forces of freedom and socialism are against our interests, prolonging our suffering and humiliation. The oppressed people of our country and all honest revolutionaries are indignant at the unprincipled backing given by the Chinese Government to certain discredited splinter groups of Southern Africa. These groups are known to all, including the Chinese Government, for their racialism, anti-communism and disruption of the liberation struggle. By associating with them, the Chinese leaders only expose their own opportunism and lack of principle.

The Central Committee calls upon all members and supporters of the Party and upon all the revolutionary democrats of our country, to expose the anti-Marxist policies put forward in the name of the Communist Party of China which have already done a great deal of harm to the working class and liberation movement. We call upon all our members to fight energetically for the unity of the world communist movement as the heart and soul of the world-wide anti-imperialist fighting front against colonialism and aggression, for peace, national freedom, democracy and socialism.