

UMSEBENZI

VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

WORKERS MUST LEAD!

There have been some encouraging signs in the last few years for those who believe in a socialist future in our country.

- ★ Socialist ideas are being widely discussed and are spreading rapidly among advanced workers and revolutionary intellectuals.
- ★ There has been a dramatic growth of black industrial organisation. Most trade union leaders reject 'non-political unionism'. They understand the link between the struggle on the factory floor and the struggle for national liberation and economic emancipation.
- ★ The popularity and strength of our South African Communist Party has grown considerably both as an independent organisation and as an inseparable part of the liberation alliance headed by the ANC.

This surge in workers organisation and socialist thinking has highlighted some important questions on the role of the working class. We hear a lot of talk about working class leadership. **What does this really mean in practice? How do workers lead? Do workers take a back seat when the struggle is for national liberation and not yet directly for socialism? What are the roles of the different organisations which claim to represent the workers?**

Our answer to these questions will depend on how we understand the main content of our immediate and longer term revolutionary objectives and the connection between them.

SACP View

Real liberation will only be complete in all its aspects when we achieve a socialist transformation. But the main immediate content of our struggle is to win the aims of the national democratic revolution; a **revolution of the whole oppressed people.**

There is a continuing and inseparable link between the struggle for democracy and socialism in our country. To strengthen this link and to make sure that the revolution will continue towards socialism, **the working class must also assert its role as the dominant class force in the present democratic phase.** It cannot play such a role by **merely leading itself.** It must be seen to be acting in the interests of all the oppressed classes and strata.



Continued on page two ...

Our youth, women, intellectuals, small traders, peasants, the rural poor, and — yes — even the racially-dominated black bourgeoisie, are a necessary part of a broad front of struggle. The working class must not only act independently to advance its interests as a class, but must also play a key role in this front as a champion of the democratic aspirations of all racially oppressed groups.

The philosophy and practice of POQO — 'we alone' — means a surrender by the working class of its leading role in the democratic revolution. The result of such isolation would be to dilute the content of this revolution, to hand over its direction to the other class forces and to endanger future socialist advance.

The Instruments of Workers Leadership

What we have already said leads us to the next important question: What are the main organisational instruments through which the working class plays a role both for itself and as a leading force in an unfolding revolutionary line-up?

In general, workers must be active wherever people come together in struggle, whether at national, regional or local levels. The UDF, youth organisations, women's organisations, Civics, Street Committees, students, church-goers, etc., must all feel the influence of workers' militancy and dedication.

But the role of workers as a class and the way this class relates to other classes in our society, rests on the three main organised sectors of our struggle — the National Movement, the Trade Union Movement and — not least — the political Party of the working class. Let us say a few words about each.



The National Movement and the Working Class

As head of the liberation alliance and prime representative of all the oppressed, the ANC welcomes within its ranks all — from whatever class they come — who support and are ready to fight for the aims of the Freedom Charter.

It is a revolutionary nationalist organisation with popular roots. It is not, however, 'populist'. The ANC's Strategy and Tactics recognises that there are different classes among the people, with different long-term aspirations.

The overwhelming majority of the people are workers. **The ANC's composition and policies therefore shows a strong bias towards the working class.** It also considers it both proper and necessary for socialist ideology to be discussed and understood in its ranks.

The ANC is not a workers political vanguard. But worker participation in its ranks is one of the important ways in which our working class plays its role in the democratic revolution. Another is the trade union movement.



The Trade Unions and the Working Class

A trade union is the prime mass legal organisation of the working class. To fulfill its purpose, it must be as broad as possible and must fight to maintain its legal public status. It must unite, on an industrial basis, all workers (at whatever level of political consciousness) who understand the elementary need to come together to defend and advance their economic conditions. **But a trade union cannot live without politics. Why?**

The capitalist state everywhere acts in defence of the bosses. It uses its power (police, army, courts, etc.) against the workers and their trade unions. It does everything to defend the capitalist system. It makes and enforces laws to help increase the exploitation of the workers. This reality has taught workers in every part of the world that it is impossible for their trade unions to keep out of the broader political conflict.

In our country where racism and capitalism are two sides of the same coin, it is even more crystal-clear that a trade union cannot stand aside from the liberation struggle. **But the very fact that conditions demand that workers engaged in economic struggle must also involve themselves with broader political questions has helped to blur the border-line between trade unionism and the political leadership of the working class as a whole.** This has helped some half-baked 'revolutionaries' to spread confusion about the role of trade unions and the workers political vanguard; a confusion often motivated by virulent anti-Communist Party and anti-Soviet prejudices.

BUILD A MIGHTY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT!

The trade union movement is the most important **mass contingent** of the working class. Its organised involvement in the revolutionary struggle will help reinforce the dominant role of workers as a class. But everything we have said about the basic character of a trade union means that it **cannot act as the working class political vanguard**. If it attempted to do so, it would risk committing organisational suicide as a mass force.

We must therefore take guard against premature attempts to formally incorporate the objective of socialism into programmes of trade unions and the federation to which they belong. A trade union cannot demand such a high level of political consciousness from its members or affiliates as a condition for joining.

It is true that trade unions (and workers experience of struggle in them) provide socialist revolutionaries with the most fertile field in which to school masses of workers in socialist understanding and political consciousness. But this is not achieved by proclaiming aims from the top which do not yet reflect the level of political awareness of the bulk of the membership. Such an approach would narrow the mass character of the trade union movement and, in addition, give the enemy the very excuse it needs to deal with one of its most formidable foes.

Let us not sacrifice the possibilities of spreading socialist consciousness within the trade union movement by short cuts which will in fact slow down its advance! **The adoption by the recent NUM conference of the Freedom Charter correctly reflects the mass popular mood and understanding.** It is a pointer to the trade union movement of a more realistic linkage between the economic and political struggle in the present phase.



The SACP and the Working Class

Workers political leadership must, as Lenin said, represent the working class not just in economic struggle against the bosses but in its relation to all classes of society and to the state as an organised force. A trade union cannot carry out this role. Only a political vanguard of the working class can do so.

A vanguard party, representing the historic aspirations of the working class, cannot (like a trade union) have a mass character. It must attract only the most advanced representatives of the working class; mainly professional revolutionaries with an understanding of Marxist theory and practice, an unconditional dedication to the workers' cause, and a readiness, if need be, to sacrifice their very lives in the cause of freedom and socialism. Our SACP is such a Party.

We have made a unique contribution to the ideological and organisational strengthening of the national and trade union movements. Today our Party is one of the main pillars of the liberation alliance led by the ANC. **But as an independent Party we have also acted unendingly to strengthen workers organisations, to spread socialist awareness and to provide working class political leadership.**

Victory in the democratic revolution must find a working class equipped organisationally and ideologically to assert its historic role. A strong trade union movement and a workers political vanguard are essential preconditions for such an outcome. There is both a harmony and a distinction in the character and roles of these two vital sectors. A failure to understand this will inevitably weaken the cause of working class leadership.

The history of our struggle has proven over and over again that our SACP is the bedrock on which our working class asserts its historic role in all phases of our revolution.

That is why the place of all committed socialist revolutionaries is in our ranks!





1962 - 1987

25 YEARS OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME

Extracts from the
**Road to
South African
Freedom**

On African Socialism

... Recognising the tremendous attraction of socialist ideas in Africa, various leaders have advanced the concept of a special kind of 'African Socialism' different from Marxism-Leninism. These concepts are mistaken. It is true that the precise paths of the African peoples towards socialism will differ from those of peoples of other continents, due to differences of national tradition and history ... But the whole of international experience has proved beyond any shadow of doubt, that the main truths of Marxism-Leninism are fully applicable to countries in every stage of social development. The only road towards a socialist and communist future is that indicated by Marxism.

On Internal Colonialism

... On one level, that of 'White South Africa', there are all the features of an advanced capitalist state ... But on another level, that of 'Non-White South Africa', there are all the features of a colony. The indigenous population is subjected to extreme national oppression, poverty and exploitation, lack of all democratic rights and political domination by a group which does everything it can to emphasise and perpetuate its alien 'European' character...

It is this combination of the worst features both of imperialism and colonialism, within a single national frontier, which determines the special nature of the South African system, and has brought its rulers the justified hatred and contempt of progressive and democratic people throughout the world.

On the Black Working Class

... this (Black working) class, the most numerous and experienced working class on the African continent, has time and again shown that it is the vanguard of the African people. It has built up a number of stable and effective trade unions, devoted to the cause of African liberation and of workers' unity on our continent and throughout the world. African workers constitute the core of the African National Congress and the Communist Party ... Disciplined and taught the lessons of organisation and unity in the harsh school of capitalist production, driven by their conditions of life into united struggle for survival, this class alone is capable, in alliance with the masses of rural people, of leading a victorious struggle to end White domination and exploitation.

On White Workers

... On the whole, the White workers represent an 'aristocracy of labour'. The monopolists have extended numerous concessions to them. They receive relatively high wages ... The relatively high standards of life and wages enjoyed by White workers represent, in reality, a share in the super profits made by the capitalists out of the gross exploitation of the Non-Whites. Systematically indoctrinated with the creed of White superiority, the White worker imagines himself to be part of the ruling class and willingly acts as a tool and an accomplice in the maintenance of colonialism and capitalism ...

(But) the fundamental interests of all South African workers, like those of workers everywhere, lie in unity: unity in the struggle for the day-to-day interests of the working class, for the ending of race discrimination and division, for a free, democratic South Africa, as the only possible basis for the winning of socialism, the overthrow of the capitalist class and the ending of human exploitation.

On the National Democratic Revolution

... The main content of this revolution is the national liberation of the African people. Its fulfilment is, at the same time, in the deepest interests of the other Non-White groups, for in achieving their liberty the African people will at the same time put an end to all forms of racial discrimination. It is in the interests of the White workers, middle class and professional groups to whom the establishment of genuine democracy and the elimination of fascism and monopoly rule offers the only prospect of a decent and stable future.

On the Freedom Charter

... The main aims and lines of the South African democratic revolution have been defined in the Freedom Charter, which has been endorsed by the African National Congress and the other partners in the national liberation alliance. The Freedom Charter is not a programme for socialism. It is a common programme for a free, democratic South Africa, agreed on by socialists and non-socialists. At the same time, in order to guarantee the abolition of racial oppression and white minority domination, the Freedom Charter necessarily and realistically calls for profound economic changes ...

The Communist Party pledges its unqualified support for the Freedom Charter. It considers that the achievement of its aims will answer the pressing and immediate needs of the people and lay the basis for the advance of our country along non-capitalist lines to a communist and socialist future.

**THE PLACE OF A SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARY
IS IN THE SACP!**

THE SIYALALA LA MOVEMENT

The political significance of a workers' strike is measured in the main by the content of the demands and their relation to the goal of national democracy and socialism. However, forms of strike action could have far-reaching strategic implications. One such example is the sit-in or sleep-in — popularly known as the *siyalala la movement*. Over the past two years many such strikes have taken place: for example, about ten in the first four months of 1986. They reflect the level of struggle in general, and themselves add an important element to it.

In the townships, the main thrust of the revolt has been to rid these areas of the rule of the regime and introduce people's control. On the education front, the 'people's education movement' aims at wresting control from the racists and running the schools. General strikes such as on May Day and June 16 have imposed public holidays whatever Botha says or does. On all fronts, the mass revolt is addressing the basic question of implementing popular demands by revolutionary means.

How do sleep-in strikes relate to these developments? Let us briefly examine some of them:

Kellogs, Springs: Workers strike over dismissal of a colleague. Management and foremen are chased out. Workers keep the machines running as negotiations continue. The bosses switch off electricity fearing that the strikers might damage the machines.

Bakery workers, Johannesburg: A strike for higher wages. The bosses close canteens but workers' families and other supporters bring food to the strikers. Workers at Clover Dairies bring milk, mahewu and yoghurt to their comrades. The bakery workers decide to produce a given quota of loaves for distribution to charity organisations.

GB Engineering & Pan African Shopfitters, East Rand: A strike over retrenchment. A few workers who continue working are sent packing. The strikers switch off the machines and occupy the factory.

Experience has shown that this form of strike action has many tactical advantages. With the strikes in the factory, scabs cannot enter, and those who go against the collective can be disciplined. Pressure is kept on the bosses all the time, and the police and army cannot intervene at will because the machines can be damaged. The focus of action is in the city and in the factory itself,



Sit-in strike at Pick 'n Pay

rather than the far-off townships. At the same time workers' families, colleagues in nearby enterprises and the community at large are drawn into supportive actions.

But the strategic significance of sleep-ins lies in the fact that, during the course of the strike, workers are in control of the factory. They run the enterprise according to their rules, without bosses and foremen. They gain self-confidence as **the** force that is at the centre of the production process. The workers are reinforced by the realisation that, after all, they do not have to be slaves of a few exploiters for them to bake bread for society, to produce printing paper or to dig out and process minerals.

The issue of ownership and control of enterprises stands at the heart of the demands of the national democratic revolution. In many ways, sleep-in strikes are one form of gaining experience for the future. For, in the final analysis, the demands of the Freedom Charter will be realised mainly by the people themselves. This is what gives the national democratic revolution its popular character. This is what distinguishes it from bourgeois revolutions and guarantees that it will progress towards socialism.

Naturally, the exact nature of management and control, and the mechanism of transfer of the land and the country's wealth will ultimately take a variety of forms. But these will be determined, above everything else, by popular actions today. And the message of today's 'sleep-in movement' is that:

When it is the bosses who switch off electricity to prevent production; when the workers decide on quota of produce and its distribution; the seeds of the future have been planted. They can only bear fruit!

THE WORKERS HANDS HOLD THE FUTURE!

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.



PEN PICTURES OF SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS

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.

FIGHT FOR A LIVING WAGE!

OUR GENERAL SECRETARY AND THE ARMY

In the light of mischievous speculation in the Western mass media, we print an exchange of letters between the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

*The President
Comrade Oliver Tambo
African National Congress (SA)
Lusaka
12th February, 1987*

Dear comrade Tambo,

As you have already been informed, comrade Joe Slovo has been elected General Secretary of our Party. The tasks and duties which now rest on his shoulders have multiplied immensely. As the leading public officer of our Party and its chief spokesman, he is called upon increasingly to devote himself to elaborating and projecting its policies and perspectives, and to participate in numerous exchanges with both internal and international groups. In addition, he must play an important part in ensuring that our leading collective vigorously pursues its task of ensuring that our Party carries out its duties as part of our great liberation alliance and as a force representing the historic aspirations of our working class.

In the light of the above we make a fraternal request for the release of comrade Slovo from his functions as Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe. His association with our People's Army began on the very day of its foundation and our Party is proud of the contribution he has made to the growth of MK and to its massive impact in the political struggle.

It is however obvious that his new responsibilities will make it increasingly difficult for him to give the kind of full-time attention to the vital tasks which his army post demands. Conversely, by dividing his energies between the two tasks, he will be prevented from doing justice to his position as General Secretary.

We reiterate that our Party remains firmly committed to the strengthening of the revolutionary alliance headed by the ANC and to its strategy of People's War.

*Long Live MK!
Long Live the Alliance!
Long Live the ANC!*

*Dan Tloome,
Chairman, SACP*

*The Chairman
Comrade Dan Tloome
South African Communist Party,
Lusaka
2 March, 1987*

Dear comrade Dan,

Thank you very much for your letter in which you inform us that comrade Joe Slovo has been elected General Secretary of the South African Communist Party.

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate both you and comrade Joe on your election to the respective positions of Chairman and General Secretary of the SACP. I look forward to our continued cooperation in pursuit of the common objective of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Our National Executive Committee has considered and agreed to your request that we release comrade Joe Slovo from his responsibilities as Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe. We appreciate your concern that comrade Joe should concentrate on his tasks as the General Secretary of the SACP.

As you know, comrade Joe has been associated with Umkhonto we Sizwe from its very foundation. For a good part of the last 25 years, he has played an important role as a member of its command structures. The NEC is happy with the invaluable work he has done as part of this collective to strengthen the people's army, to activate it and to entrench its traditions of loyalty to the ANC and the perspectives contained in the Freedom Charter. History has assured him his place as one of the senior military leaders of our centuries-old struggle to assert our right to self-determination.

For these reasons, it was not easy for the NEC to accede to your request because we knew that his departure from our military headquarters would deprive us of his experience and talent. However, we had to bow to the inevitable. We are pleased that as a member of the NEC and the PMC, comrade Joe will continue to make a direct input into the process of the escalation of the armed struggle for the victory of the democratic revolution.

*Amandla! Matla!
OR Tambo, President, ANC*

LONG LIVE THE ALLIANCE!

BLACK MERCENARIES



The vigilantes in South Africa are the deliberate creations of the racist ruling class. Their express purpose is to destabilise and derail the process of national liberation.

At the moment in many parts of our land the vigilante groups have been unleashed to sow carnage and to spill the blood of patriots and even of moderate opponents of the regime. They have openly declared war against the struggle for national liberation and democracy.

The *Weekly Mail* of 29 January 1987 quotes a witness to one such rampage as saying: 'They were shouting "We will clean up Port Elizabeth. There were be no more Charterists! No more UDF!'".' They left several corpses strewn in the streets. 'Security forces' give them effective nods all the time. The vigilantes of late are not only armed, they even wear two-piece blue overalls like those worn by the Kits-konstabels (instant cops, so called because of the speed at which they are trained to take up duty in the townships).

History

History teaches us that whenever ruling classes are confronted by a solid mass of the downtrodden they always resort to the most devious of tactics. They seek to undermine people's sense of belonging and unity by the ancient device of divide and rule. In the meanwhile the oppressors will be rubbing their hands, watching the people of the same kind and destiny do one another to death.

The South African racists have used this tactic well. From as far back as the Wars of Resistance they have played clan against clan, and tribe against tribe. In later years they went further by setting loose black policemen to put down, with violence, peaceful demonstrations by our people. The modern version of this outrage has been to recruit blacks into apartheid battalions of the SADF which are deployed against their brethren in the townships and the borders, most notably in Namibia. Whether these manipulated blacks get themselves involved wittingly or unwittingly is not the question. However, there is

ample reason to believe that the big brass of today's Witdoeke go into each foray with distorted political motives.

The question arises: Do these perverted individuals carry the potential of becoming our version of tomorrow's Contras, MNR and Unita types in our country? (NB: Long before the triumph of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Central and Southern Africa, the founders of Unita began attacking the MPLA, and lambasting Zambia and the OAU). Whatever the answer to this question, it is quite obvious that the issue must be tackled now. These elements must be speedily checked. They should not even be allowed to develop into a future bandit movement.

The Source of the Problem Exposed

The bulk of the vigilante groups are recruited from the ranks of the desperate unemployed and from among the lumpen proletariat. In addition opportunists, renegades, and turncoats have also been roped in. Another important addition to the group is a pocket of vacillators who, when the enemy appears stronger, opt to follow him through hell and high water. And tomorrow, when we emerge strongest, they come along to celebrate and bask in the glory of the people's sacrifice.

The Solution

Against this backdrop the intervention of the liberation alliance and our Party becomes urgent. Party political work, more than ever before, must be directed towards thwarting the schemes of the racist enemy. Through vigilance and discipline and an organised programme of education, we must create a solid bedrock which will not be penetrated by the attempts of the ruling class to throw us into self-destruction. We must systematically pursue these agents and expose them for what they are. And the punishing arm of MK must be used to bring them to book. The entire masses of our people must be rallied into appropriate action under the slogan:

Black must stop killing black!

Stop the Vigilantes!

Death to the Cut-throats!

ORGANISE TO DEFEND YOURSELVES!



FROM OUR READERS

CULTURE IS ALSO OUR WEAPON

Dear Editor,

I want to remind *Umsebenzi* about the importance of cultural work. Our people shall seize and make history, and a people's culture will emerge and bloom. It is with this in mind that the issues related to cultural workers must be raised and looked into.

Cultural workers must be organised. They must seize the time by emulating the masses and especially our workers. They must organise themselves into associations at local, regional and national level. And these structures must be linked with the fighting contingents of our people. The association will address the people's aspirations and needs directly. Cultural workers are part and parcel of the unfolding story of a people poised to seize power, and to build a nation. It is through the different and rich art forms that cultural workers can manifest the aspirations of the people of South Africa as part and parcel of progressive humankind.

The strength of the cultural structures will grow with their experience of struggle. In co-operation with the political structures, they should steadily isolate apartheid and the minority ruling class culture. In other words, the 1959 call to the international community by our movement to isolate apartheid was even then a call to our people to create a people's culture.

Let the cultural workers of our country use their knowledge, talent and resources to undermine the power of the apartheid ruling class with revolutionary songs, political novels, documentary films, etc.

A people's culture must emerge. It must be nourished, and it must bring our people closer to the people of the world so that they can learn from us and us from them. The strength of the political structures will also bloom through the different cultural manifestations.

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WORKERS NEGOTIATE FOR THEIR RIGHTS...



THE BOSSES AND THE STATE RESPOND!!



WORKERS IN! - BOSSES OUT!!

OPEN THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE!

REVOLUTIONARIES AND MO

We very much liked your recent article on *Work in the Mass Democratic Movement*. Such discussion on how communists and revolutionaries should conduct themselves is most welcome and we hope it will continue. For our part, we would like more discussion on two points:

1. What does it mean for political conduct if we are to play a vanguard role in the struggle?
2. What do we mean by progressive political morality in the struggle?

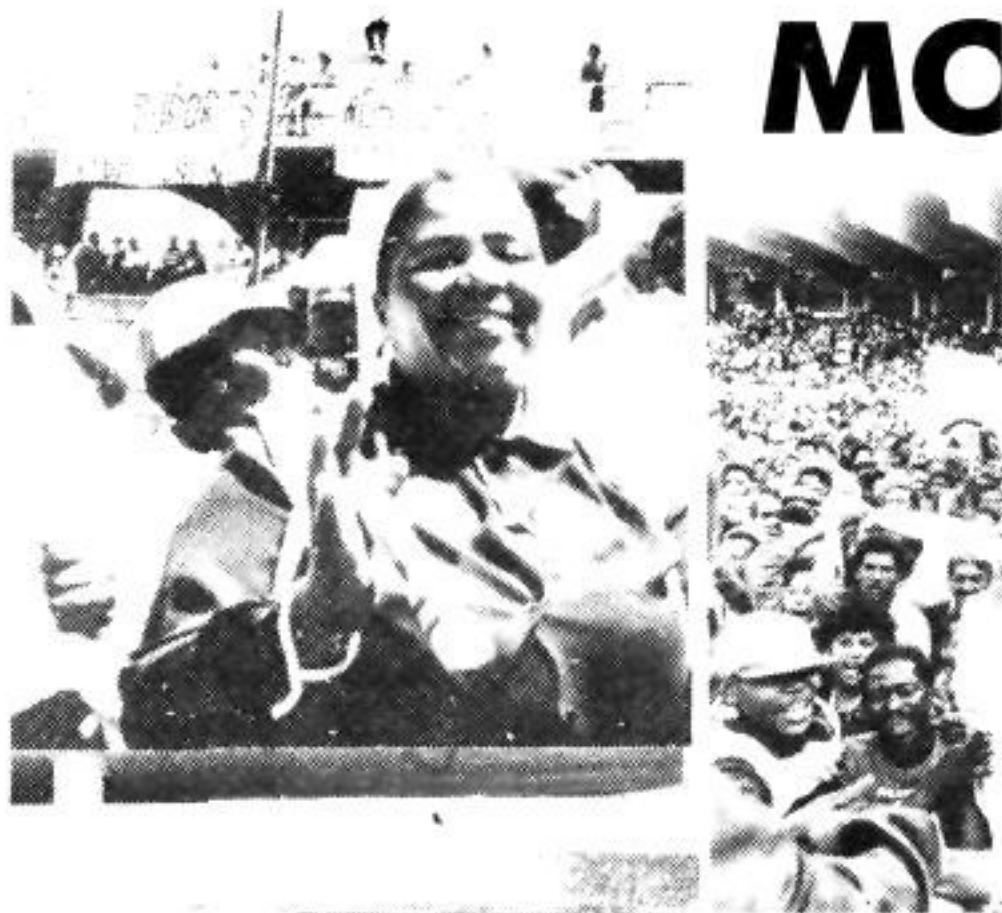
Vanguard Role and Mass Political Work

To be a progressive activist taking part in our struggle means that we have a duty to try continually to improve our calibre as activists and enhance our contribution to the struggle. It is this fact that demands of us that we also take the lead, striving always to be in the front line of struggle, and offer leadership and example to others.

To carry out this task, it often becomes necessary for more advanced cadres and activists to work together as a collective and to meet together regularly. In these groupings, they are able to brief each other and share political information, strategise their work, plan the way ahead and engage in advanced training. In addition, they are also able to ensure a level of security, discipline and accountability among participants.

Can any struggle do without this form of vanguard political work, particularly one facing repression as ours? We doubt it, yet at the same time — and with considerations for security — there is clearly a need for guidelines as to how such structures should work. Especially, how they should work in the mass democratic movement, and how they relate both to the movement and Party.

For example, **how do such groups work effectively while at the same time respecting democracy and accountability with the constituency they are based in?** And what guidelines can be given when our underground cadres work directly under mandate and discipline of our organisations, but also within the bodies of our mass



democratic movement. How do they relate to both the advanced and the rank-and-file sections of the mass movement, and vice versa? **How can caucusses avoid the pitfalls of sectarianism and factionalism?**

These are all burning questions, and we hope both *Umsebenzi* and your readers will take up some of the issues in future editions.

Political Conduct — Moral Issues

Guidelines for political work and political conduct are not new in the history of our struggle; indeed, comrade Mandela was accused in court of studying how Chinese communists saw the issue. At the same time, it is clear why such guidelines are important for us. As representatives of a higher moral order, and bearers of a new humanity, each and every one of us has a duty to behave as befits our progressive ideals. The world is looking at us, the future awaits us, and we have an example to set, a progressive culture to build.

STRENGTHEN THE A

THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT



However, we are a people grown up under the corrupt, disorganising and evil system of apartheid capitalism. Therefore, it is vital that we continually be vigilant and struggle against old reactionary attitudes — both in ourselves and in others. For this, we need definite clear guidelines for progressive conduct.

We all know that such guidelines require us to reject tribalism, racism, sexism and class prejudices wherever we find them. We also know of the need to fight anti-social behaviour — such as individualism, dogmatism, the use of violence against comrades and the masses, corruption, drunkenness, drug abuse, and security lapses.

In the Soviet Union, comrade Gorbachev has been campaigning against negative practices that are alien to socialism — and there is much we can learn there. For example, he has re-emphasised the need for equality between comrades, and has at-

tacked individuals who consider themselves beyond control or criticism. It would be strange if we too, like many other struggles, had no such elements in our ranks — individuals with swollen heads who relish hierarchy and authoritarianism, who behave arrogantly, treating both comrades and the masses with disrespect.

It would also be strange if we too, like many other struggles, did not have some elements among us who have forgotten their ideals, who have grown cynical and obstructionist over the difficult years. Likewise, with comrades who retain reactionary attitudes to women, for example, and others who have yet to fully accept and abide by the principles of democratic centralism.

Clearly it is our duty to identify and combat such attitudes, to examine ourselves and to educate our comrades and the masses about the errors of such conduct. Without this, we lose the right to call ourselves progressives.

Conclusion

The issue of political work and political conduct in our movement is of paramount importance. Despite the energetic efforts of imperialism, we are today able to point to the strength and unity of our movement. This is a unity to be guarded most jealously, and a unity that reflects the health and maturity of our political movement.

It is also a unity which each and every patriot is bound to uphold, and one which calls on us all to overcome personal antagonisms where they exist, to reject game-playing, to counter gossip-circles and rumour-mongering, and to deliver and accept criticism constructively and directly.

We remain confident that ours is a unity which will continue to forge, in the furnace of struggle, a breed of new South Africans, compatriots able to conquer the forces of reaction, and armed to take forward our history — forward to an age where hope is real and humanity unfettered.

ORGANISATIONS!

WHITE WORKERS AT THE CROSSROADS



A white scab in the black transport strike only the boss can benefit.

White workers have never been forced to choose between white domination on the one hand and social, economic well-being on the other. They had both. But apartheid can no longer claim the old type of economic and social prosperity for the white workers. It can no longer guarantee the survival of the apartheid colonial regime. White workers are already being hit in their pockets. Their jobs can no longer be fully guaranteed. Their whole future as an appendage of the ruling class is beginning to look dismal.

Costs for defence of the regime are a large drain on the economy. Borders and townships have become permanent battle zones. More and more sections of the oppressed are taking up arms. They are increasingly rising up as an armed people. Local markets are shrinking because of consumer boycotts and the falling buying power of the working people. The growing isolation of the regime is cutting off the economy from foreign markets. **Even skilled white labour is beginning to be affected by redundancy.** Their trade unions are losing their labour power.

Black workers are becoming more successful in waging their trade union struggle, while Tucsas, the historic watchdog of white workers' privilege, has collapsed. This is a clear indication of the previous dependence of the white worker's economic prosperity on the super-exploitation of black workers. The watchdog has lost its fangs, mainly as a result of the growing influence of black unions.

Development of capitalism in South Africa has already created conditions in which workers of all colours are involved in common production in single enterprises. The alliance between white workers and conservative Afrikaner landowners has of course existed for a long time. But the white worker of today is a third generation city dweller. This has created greater possibilities of undermining white worker allegiance to Afrikaner chauvinism.

The mass offensive of the black oppressed has reached the white areas. It is for the white worker to join with that offensive and further isolate the ruling capitalist clique. The general insecurity affecting white workers is going to increase. It will help open their eyes to the reality that apartheid and capitalism can no longer secure their interests in the old way. There must be more work in the area of educating white workers that their interests lie with the black working class.

White workers must begin to understand that, in the long run, they cannot be free as long as the black working class is not free. The insecurity facing the white working class should bring back memories of their own history of struggle against the owners of mines and big business. It should make them aware that the real enemy is the big bourgeoisie.

White workers should be pulled into mass democratic organisations like Jodac, ECC, Cosatu, UDF etc. It is in that way that they can forge unity in action with the oppressed working people. We have already seen more and more white people joining democratic organisations and making the democratic voice heard in church organisations. Quite a number of those who evade conscription join the People's Army. Some have already performed heroic tasks in the ranks of MK.

White workers have a long-term objective interest in contributing to the liberation of the oppressed. The white workers should be brought close to the struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

WORKERS OF ALL COLOURS UNITE!

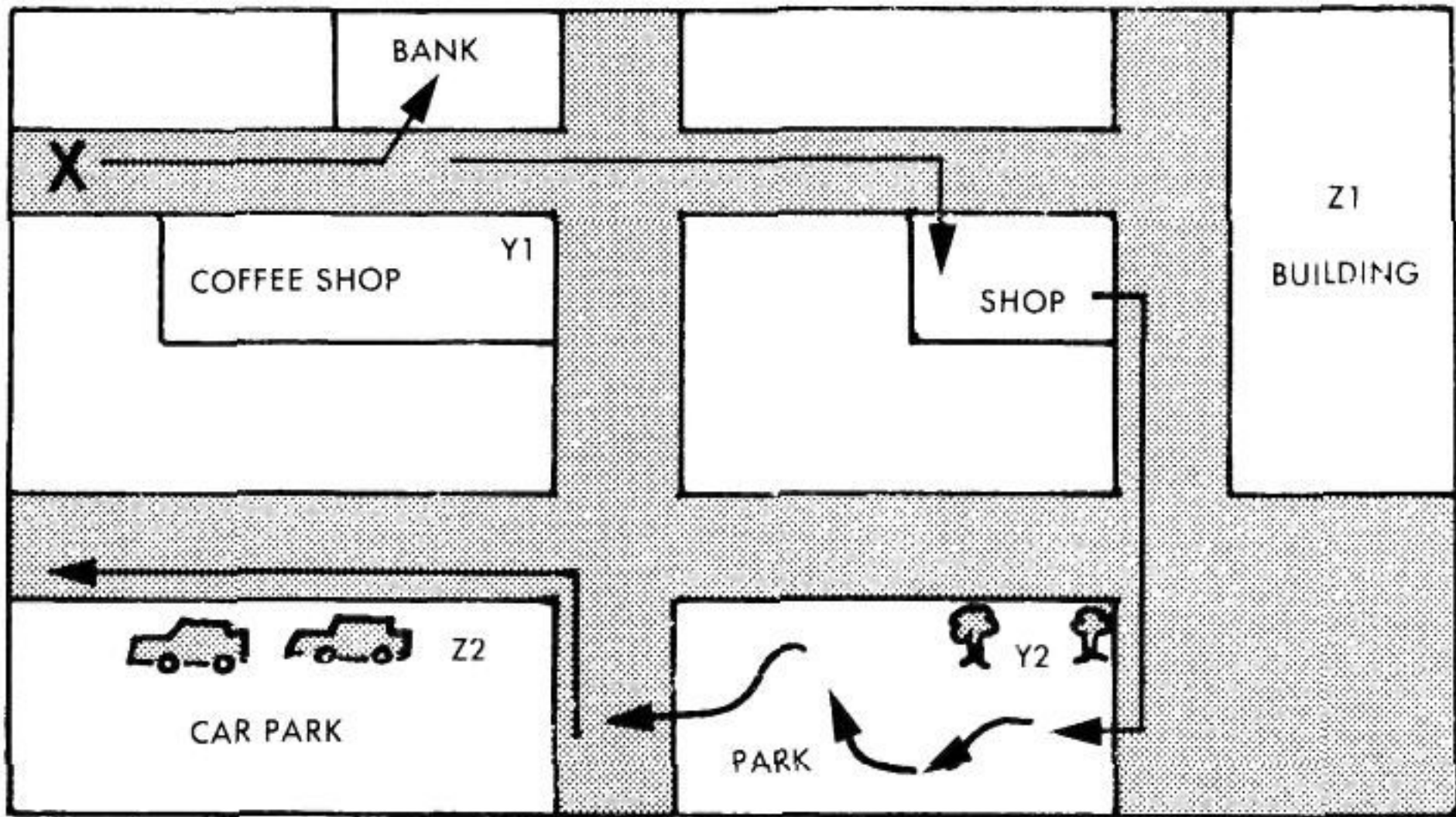
HOW TO MASTER SECRET WORK



9. CHECK ROUTE — WITH ASSISTANCE AND BY VEHICLE

Check Route is a planned journey, the object of which is to check whether you are being followed. Last issue's example was a **check route** on foot, by a person acting alone.

With assistance from comrades the exercise becomes more effective. The exercise follows similar lines as previously outlined except that a comrade is stationed at each **check point** and observes whether anyone is following you as you pass by. It is essential that your behaviour appears normal and does not look as though 'checking' is taking place.



Let us suppose that you are X. Comrades Y and Z position themselves at **check points** Y1 and Z1 respectively. These observation points must give a good view of your movements, but keep the comrades hidden from enemy agents who might be tailing you. After X passes each **check point** the comrades move to new positions, in this case Y2 and Z2. They may in fact cover four to five positions each and the whole operation could take one to two hours over an area of three or four kilometres. Comrades must take up each position in good time.

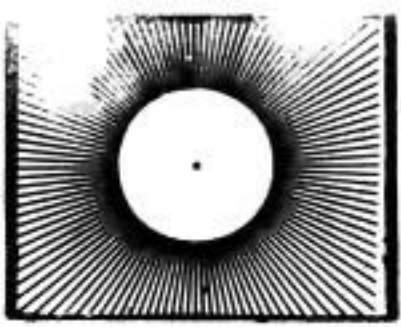
Such **check points** could be:

- Y1 From inside a coffee shop Y gets a good view of X entering the bank opposite.
 - Z1 Z is in a building (roof garden, balcony or upper floor window) watching X's progress down the street and into the bookshop.
 - Y2 Y has moved into park and observes X's wanderings from park bench among the trees.
 - Z2 Z has time to occupy parked car in car park, with good view of all movement.
- After the exercise Y and Z meet to compare notes. What suspicious individuals have they observed? Were such people noticed in X's vicinity on more than just one or two occasions? Was their behaviour strange and were they showing unusual interest in X? Did they take up observation positions when X entered bank and bookshop? Did they go in to check what he was up to? Was a vehicle following them in support and were persons from the vehicle taking it in turns to follow X? Such persons are more easily noticed and remembered in quiet rather than busy areas!

Remember: In order to carry out secret work you must know whether you are under surveillance or are clear!

Next Issue: Checking when driving.

BUILD A SECURE UNDERGROUND!



HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

8. CONSOLIDATION IN THE UNDERGROUND

After the Party was reformed in underground conditions, the great majority of the communists of South Africa threw themselves with dedication and courage into the taxing task of rebuilding, in conditions of illegality and mounting terror, the South African Communist Party. It continued the great Party tradition of struggle in the front ranks of the South African revolution for national liberation and democracy.

Throughout the Fifties the Party and its members added new lustre to the glorious principles of Marxism-Leninism by their devotion and sacrifices in the common cause. Communist and non-Communist, revolutionaries of all national groups, stood united against the blood-stained racist regime. In the words of comrade Abram Fischer:

'... in the movement for freedom and equal human rights for all ...it was always members of the Communist Party who seemed prepared, regardless of cost, to sacrifice most, to give of their best, to face the greatest dangers in the struggle ...'

The Communists — Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo, JB Marks and others — were among the first to volunteer and the foremost to lead in the great campaigns of Defiance of Unjust Laws, of national general strikes, of workers', rural peoples', women's and youth struggles which characterised the Fifties. They participated in the epic movements for the mass Congress of the People, culminating in the adopting of the Freedom Charter, common programme of the united liberation movement. Revolutionaries of different ideological tendencies participated in the moulding and building of that united movement and its programme in which an outstanding contribution was made by South Africa's Communists.

The unity of Communist and non-Communist revolutionaries and democrats was welded yet more firmly during the marathon Treason Trial of 1956-61 of 156 men and women of all national groups, charged for their participation in the movement and support for the Charter. Mass

support at home and abroad resulted in the freeing of all those accused before the courts.

The reaction of the fascist government was to discard legal procedures in favour of lawless police terrorism. The African National Congress was declared illegal and every known member or supporter of the liberation movement subjected to systematic persecution.

The militant mass struggles of the Fifties, although they stopped short of violence on the part of the people, shook the ruling class and colonialist apartheid structure of South Africa. Unable to continue their rule in the old way, they abandoned all pretences at bourgeois legality and took the road of naked terrorist dictatorship against the oppressed people.

It became clear to the masses and to all honest patriots that no other choice remained between submission to slavery and armed resistance and revolution.

Leaders of the African National Congress and the Communist Party set themselves to recruit and train fighting cadres who entered the field of action on 16 December, 1961, with the opening of a campaign of planned sabotage throughout the country. The process was begun of preparing for armed combat.



SOCIALISM MEANS FREEDOM!



PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD

2. WHAT IS A MIXED ECONOMY?

When apartheid is overthrown we will urgently have to begin to reconstruct the economy. The promise in the Freedom Charter that *'the national wealth of our country ... shall be restored to the people'* must begin to be fulfilled.

What could this mean in practice? Which types of firms should be private and which state owned? How should the private ones be controlled to prevent the exploitation that exists now? And how should the state- and socially-owned enterprises be run? Once we begin to talk of the co-existence of socially-owned and private enterprises, we are talking of a mixed economy.

One version of a mixed economy would leave retailing and wholesale trade in the hands of private traders together with a wide range of consumer services. Private factories and workshops would be permitted and even encouraged, but the state would take over the banks and the giant monopolies like Anglo American.

The idea behind that is that private traders and workshops can provide the range of goods and services to meet the people's changing needs more flexibly than a vast network of small state-owned units, while the banks and big monopolies so strongly dominate the economy that their enormous power has to be in the hands of the state. Gold and coal mining, in particular, have such an important influence over the whole economy.

In agriculture, a mixed economy could mean state ownership of the big estates of commercial crops while private production is supported and encouraged on medium and small farms and individual plots. And co-operatives in agriculture and industry would be encouraged.

The key to ensuring that a mixed economy of this type moves in a socialist direction is the control the state has over the whole. Its national plan would ensure that basic inputs are allocated to the different sectors and enterprises in proportions determined by the priorities of the new society. To make it effective, the state would have control of basic inputs like oil,

foreign exchange and land.

Some Marxists criticise the idea of a mixed economy on the grounds that private firms and enterprises should be abolished. Through the state the working class and its allies should run all economic activities. But that is not a Communist attitude towards a transition phase or steps towards the building of socialism. It takes no account of the contradictions that run through the economy. The complexity of these contradictions have to be faced in different ways at different levels; in a mixed economy private shops, factories and farms would have a crucial role in meeting people's needs, while the state would implement the people's aspirations through its control at other levels.

Lenin himself argued for a mixed economy as a major step towards building a fully socialist economy in the Soviet Union. The New Economic Policy started under his leadership in 1921 was a mixed economy which laid the foundations for the development of a more fully planned economy. Other socialist countries have retained a large private sector in a mixed economy on a more permanent basis. **In the GDR (East Germany), for example, two thirds (66%) of the service sector's output is produced by 82 000 private enterprises (and some co-operatives).**

On the other hand, we can never forget that imperialists and South Africa's present ruling class will do everything to prevent conditions being created for an advance to socialism.

From their point of view a mixed economy can be destabilised and turned into a framework for private capital to profit and grow. This shows the importance of the struggle that will have to be waged by the working class and its allies to put the people's interests at the centre of the mixed economy, to struggle against exploitation in the private sector, and to strengthen the hand of the state in its policy towards private capital.

PEOPLE MUST OWN OUR RICHES!



MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

4. Historical Materialism

In the course of this series, we have seen that Marxist Philosophy or Dialectical Materialism is a weapon of practical struggle in the fight for freedom, peace and socialism. A key element in this theory is Marx's explanation of how great historical changes occur and what makes revolutions happen. This we call **Historical Materialism**.

Historical Materialism is the scientific study of real social processes and forces which lead to qualitative changes in the lives of men and women. These forces and processes are governed by objective laws which are in contradiction with one another at certain times and in certain conditions. What does this mean? It does not mean that historical forces contradict one another in a logical sense. A logical contradiction is a sentence in language in which something is said to be the case and not the case at the same time. If someone says: 'It both was and wasn't raining in Cape Town on July 26th, 1986' that is a logical contradiction, and such contradictions are always false.

A historical contradiction is a conflict in society which can only be resolved by the victory of some class or alliance of classes and which brings about great economic and political changes. It is important to get this distinction straight, because, although Marx understood it perfectly, some idealist philosophers, like Hegel, sometimes confused these two types of contradiction.

In the 1859 *Preface* to his *Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy*, Marx set out the first fully developed version of his theory of how historical contradictions produce social revolutions. He pictured society as a structure, like a building standing on deep foundations. The parts of the structure resting on the foundations he called the *superstructure*. This was made up of legal systems, systems of political relations, religious beliefs and other things that go to make up the conscious life of a society. The hidden economic foundations of the socie-

ty, Marx called its *base*. This consisted of *relations of production* and *productive forces*.

Productive relations are relations of ownership and control which a class or classes exercise over the means or forces of production. Under feudalism, for example, kings, barons and other feudal lords controlled the means of production, until a series of revolutions transferred control to the capitalist class or bourgeoisie. Production forces include such things as land, metals, tools and — most importantly — the strength, skill, intelligence and imagination which we call *labour power*.

Now, these productive forces are constantly growing as people and their needs develop. When they reach a certain stage of development, they come into contradiction with the productive relations which contain or fetter them. In other words the existing political set-up begins to prevent the further effective growth of the productive forces.

These contradictions in the base result in further political contradictions in the superstructure. This is the time when major social revolutions usually happen.



Hegel

COMBINE PRACTICE WITH THEORY!



POLITICAL ECONOMY

8. SOCIALISM

As it has matured and grown old, 'private enterprise' capitalism has grown into monopoly capitalism. Great faceless multinational corporations straddle the world, dividing it into 'areas of influence'; directing the lives of millions of people everywhere, dominating their governments, and directing state policies into what is profitable for themselves regardless of the needs and feelings of the people; dictating 'austerity' in place of better social conditions, armaments in place of food. This is the age we call 'imperialism'. It is the age when capitalism no longer widens the choices of people or raises their living standards, but restricts, impoverishes and threatens.

Can there be any alternative? Sometimes it seems — and it is often so said by the spokesmen of imperialism — that this order of things is not something we can control. It is a 'fact of life' which we must accept, dumbly and patiently.

Yet our own history tells us it is not so. For as we have shown before, imperialism has been built by man on the foundations of private ownership of the means of production. And that private ownership started by men's actions in seizing the land, changing it from a resource for all to use into 'private property'. It was the common inheritance of the whole community, it was there to be used in common by all men — to graze their cattle, to raise crops. No one 'owned' the land. And yet it produced the food and clothing, the raw materials of housing and comforts which men needed.

Why can we not return to such a system, in place of the privately owned world of imperialism?

There is no reason. Of course, today life is more complex and varied than in older times when all production was by hand, done virtually without machines; and virtually all goods produced were agricultural. Today our daily needs are mainly machine and factory produced; and their variety is too great for any individual alone or any single family to produce all that is needed for the life we now live. Such complex ways of production cannot be left to arrange themselves; resources need to be allocated, skills to be taught; experts must

be assigned where they are most needed; and above all, the needs of our whole complex and varied society must be determined, and the 'means of production' assured to meet those needs.

What we need then is an organised, planned society, making its own decisions about what will be produced, where and by whom. What we do not need any longer is private ownership of the means of production — of land, factories, machines and mines. Because private ownership means that these resources are used only to provide the highest profit for their owners — not to provide best what the millions need for a decent and happy life. A society, where private ownership of the means of production has been abolished, and all means of production have become the property of the people, is socialism.

It is easy enough to imagine society without private owners and employers. But how, then, would production be organised, without their power of command over the workers?

In olden times, when land in our country was the common property of the whole community, it was necessary to see to the fair allocation of it; and to see that it was not either wasted or destroyed, but was used sensibly. That power was exercised by the whole community; authority and decision-making was by mass gathering — a pitso — of the community; or perhaps vested in a council of the elders to act, not in their own personal interests, but as trustees for the community.

These were suitable forms of democratic, self-governing authority and leadership. Such forms could serve well once again, as they did in the past; not, perhaps, in precisely the same way of pitsos and councils of elders, but in new forms which leave the whole community free to express its wishes, and through which democratically appointed committees or councils have the task of realising those wishes. Such councils would need to plan, allocate, supervise; they would need constantly to report back to the people, consult with them, listen to their views and take new instructions.

This theme to be continued in next issue.

SOCIALISM IS THE FUTURE!



UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY ECONOMICS

4. FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS

The profits produced by our labour do not only go to South African bosses. Foreign investors also take profits from our factories, mines and farms.

What are the different types of foreign investment? And how important is this investment for the apartheid regime?

For many years an important type of foreign investment in South Africa was *direct investment*. That meant that firms in Britain, other European countries, and the USA opened their own factories in South Africa or expanded ones they already owned. These are run as branches of the foreign company. Or else they are run by South African companies which are subsidiaries or associates of the main firm and owned or controlled by it. In some cases foreign firms invest in joint ventures. These are plants owned jointly with the state.

The foreign companies carrying out direct investment in a country are called *multinational corporations (MNCs)*. Sometimes they are called transnational corporations (TNCs). They have their headquarters in London, New York or Frankfurt, for example, but employ people in plants all over the world including South Africa.

Direct investments give the MNCs profits either directly (when run as a branch) or as dividends (in the case of subsidiaries). They are either sent out of the country to headquarters or kept there. Often there are government restrictions on how much can be sent out. Even when there are not, MNCs do not usually take all their profits out of the country. Instead they use them to expand their operations in the country and that is also counted as direct foreign investment. So much foreign investment by MNCs is financed by the profits produced by the workers themselves in their overseas subsidiaries.

Indirect investment, or *portfolio investment*, is the second type of foreign investment. It means that foreign banks, companies and individuals lend money to firms

or banks in South Africa or to the apartheid state. Instead of actually owning companies or plant in the country, they make loans or buy bonds and shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (or in London or New York). (The previous edition of *Umsebenzi* explained how the stock exchange works).

Although foreign investment exists in almost all capitalist countries and many socialist countries, it is particularly important in South Africa. One estimate is that the subsidiaries, branches and associates of foreign MNCs employ up to one fifth of South Africa's workers and produce up to one quarter of the country's output (although this has declined recently). Such direct investment was largely in manufacturing and (until recently) in banking. Foreign investment in mining has been mainly through portfolio investment in the shares and bonds of mining companies.

This foreign investment is of vital importance to apartheid. Solidarity movements supporting the liberation struggle have mounted big campaigns against it, calling for disinvestment, and in recent years this has produced some results.

One effect has been that some US and British MNCs have sold their *direct investments*. The biggest example is that Barclays, based in Britain, reduced its shares in South Africa's Barclays National Bank and has now sold them to South African capitalists. And many US multinationals have now sold their South African factories to local interests. Now there is a struggle to make sure that those disinvestments are real and not simply a cover for continued links.

In the early 1980s *portfolio investment* in South Africa became more important as foreign banks increasingly financed the apartheid economy through loans. From 1985 that expansion, too, has stopped, but only political struggles here and abroad will prevent it starting again.

ISOLATE APARTHEID!

NEW PASSES FOR OLD

The racist labour regulations that dominated the South African labour market for decades (such as the Pass Laws and Urban Areas Act) have been exchanged for other laws, riddled with hidden instrument to control workers' rights to live where they like, with their families, and work in jobs of their own choosing. As much as apartheid changes, it remains the same!

The entire history of the pass laws demonstrates the way they always served Capital. They were drafted in their 'modern' form by the Chamber of Mines at the turn of the century. Their purpose was to lower wages and control the movement of migrants who frequently fled from the appalling wage and work conditions on the mines.

Since then the Pass Laws and Urban Areas Act have been the main measures to control mobility, divide families and guarantee the labour supply to the triple alliance of farmers, mineowners and industrialists. Workers (classified as 'illegals') who had no official permission to work and live in an urban centre, were subject to the full force of the criminal law. Over the decades millions were jailed or 'endorsed out' of an area for contravening the apartheid labour structure.

The formal repeal of influx control was meaningless. The direct and indirect controls, such as the labour bureaux, the forced resettlement, housing and land allocation etc, all act as instruments to maintain influx control. These controls confine the 'right' to work to only a fraction of the country's population. In addition, the battery of racist controls such as the Aliens Act, the laws against squatting and slums, as well as health and municipal regulations give sufficient coercive powers to the authorities to enforce the informal system of influx control which is even more rigorous than the previous one.

Faithful to the multinationals, the state aims to distribute workers to areas outside the major towns of Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban. In these areas wages are lower, unions weaker or non-existent, and workers not necessarily covered by the Labour Regulations Act.



WALTER SISULU BURNING HIS PASS

The regime hopes to rely on financial bribes to industry to locate factories outside the cities. Its 'new' urban policy, dressed up as reform, is aimed to reduce the coercive policing of the labour force by the state, remove the hated pass laws and rely on less obvious controls which it can pass off as 'orderly urbanisation'.

Jobs and housing are linked together. Without a house there is no job. A worker has to acquire an approved site or accommodation. Those who cannot find accommodation and fail to report to the authorities can be fined a maximum of R1 000 or spend six months in gaol for 'squatting'. Criminally, the state has switched meagre housing funds away from the main cities to bantustans and border areas. In some centres housing construction has ceased altogether.

The purpose is to establish a small, skilled, settled urban workforce to serve the multinationals and to divert the unskilled and rural workers to the bantustans and outside the cities. By using the Aliens Act there will be a permanent reservoir of labour for capital to draw on. The Act makes it even more difficult for at least seven million workers in the bantustans to live and work in the cities. All will need houses and jobs before they can enter and work in the major cities. Employers are required to police the workforce by reporting workers who do not have the necessary Identity Document and employers contract.

In short, the provision of housing for the workers, employer co-operation, a formidable array of racist laws and the security apparatus will ensure an even tighter system of influx control. 'Reform' is merely a plot against the working class!

MAKE THE COUNTRY UNGOVERNABLE!

TWINS OF RACE DOMINATION — ZIONISM AND APARTHEID



Chattilla! Bourg-el-Barajneh! The wretched, bombed-out, ruined villages — now heaps of stones — stand as a testimony to another chapter of Palestinian endurance, courage and indestructability.

What magnificent people! To live — again— through a siege which brought them all to the very edge of death through starvation; to maintain home and life and community in the waterless insanitary rubble and ruin; to maintain against all the odds a basic health and hospital service with supplies smuggled in by heroic children through the gauntlet of sniper fire from high-power rifles.

And to survive. Not just survive, but to emerge as a community — shaken, battered, yet determined that Palestinians shall be free! Still part of that heroic struggle to which there can be no end without their freedom, in their own home territory, under their own chosen flag. What people they are!

And how close their history and experience to ours. Think of the more than three centuries of our people's conquest, oppression and impoverishment by invading settler-imperialists. Compress those centuries into some seventy years, and you have the experience and historic agony of the Palestinians.

It is all there — in our history and in theirs; the dispossession of the people from the land, and the steady military driving of them further and further into the outer reaches of the least fertile, most barren 'reserves'; the small and the great wars of dispossession, in which superior invading armaments and technology smashed stable traditional societies and removed traditional leaders in favour of 'administrators' and puppets; the conversion of free people, through conquest, into the displaced, the refugees, and the cheap, low-paid migrant workers in the service of the new rulers; the legal edifice to control — and abolish — the right to work, move, speech, prosper or choose a government.

But then there is the other side too — of their history and ours — of an unbroken thread of resistance, at first feeble and easily beaten down, but building gradually to full

confrontation between a united people and the class which rules by armed force alone, bolstered by prison bars and security guards; of the slow rebuilding of the shattered links of the community in a new form — in a single crusade for national liberation, under a single banner of national unity — for them, the PLO, for us the ANC.

We are like two people with a parallel history, separated by time, geography and fatherland; but joined together by a common experience, and by a common hatred of racism and national oppression. Two peoples, with separate and distinct national organisations, held together like twins by a single ambition — the smashing of the old oppressive order, and the bringing to life of a new order of brotherhood, equal democratic rights, and peace. Two peoples who have fought back against all the odds of weaponry, power and financial might, until today we both confront the old order from positions of confidence and mass strength.

The old order — the enemy order — has two separate and distinct faces. There Zionism, here apartheid. And yet their basic creeds of racism, armed strength and national subjection of the native peoples are as one. On the basis of this singleness of state creed, Israel has become South Africa's foremost aide and military collaborator; and South Africa Israel's consistent apologist and fellow traveller.

But here too, there is another side. Out of our uniquely similar historical experience and present struggle, we have built a deep and true fraternity between Palestinians and South Africans, a solidarity which sustains and strengthens us against our enemies, as it must them against theirs. In the truest sense, our enemies have become their enemies, and theirs ours.

We South African freedom fighters are proud to proclaim our fraternity and solidarity with these magnificent people, whose courage and persistence ring like a clarion wherever people are nationally oppressed. Greetings to our brothers of the PLO! Greetings to the heroes of Chatilla and Bourg-al-Barajneh! For people such as these final victory — the liberation of Palestine — is certain!

FIGHT RACISM EVERYWHERE!