

UMSEBENZI



VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

This is the time to hold the line.

It is the time to keep the mass base firm and strong.

It is the time to step up pressure against the racists on all fronts of struggle — political and military.

It is the time to rally the whole world community to intensify sanctions.

This is no time to talk to Botha and his gang of racists!

NO TIME TO TALK!

No Way Out For Racists

However thick the blanket of darkness and silence which Botha throws over events in our country, the post-1984 momentum just won't go away. And it is plain to our people and to the whole world that the racists cannot find a way out of their crisis.

They, of course, continue to have the military and police muscle to impose their rule. But they have lost their power to govern the black majority. They can still occupy the black ghettos. But they cannot manage or administer the people.

Every attempt by Botha to gain acceptance for his version of civil administration, from the tri-cameral parliament to the community councils, has ended in a fiasco. His 'final solution', the bantustans, stand as naked failures. He dishonestly tries to hide the hurt of growing economic isolation, but he



cannot silence the squeals of the racist boss-class who are feeling the painful bite of even the limited sanctions.

Now they are offering us the so-called National Council. This is a 'negotiating instrument' of a very special kind. **It is another toy telephone which is programmed to transmit only two words — 'Ja Baas'.**

Continued on page two ...

Nothing to Talk About

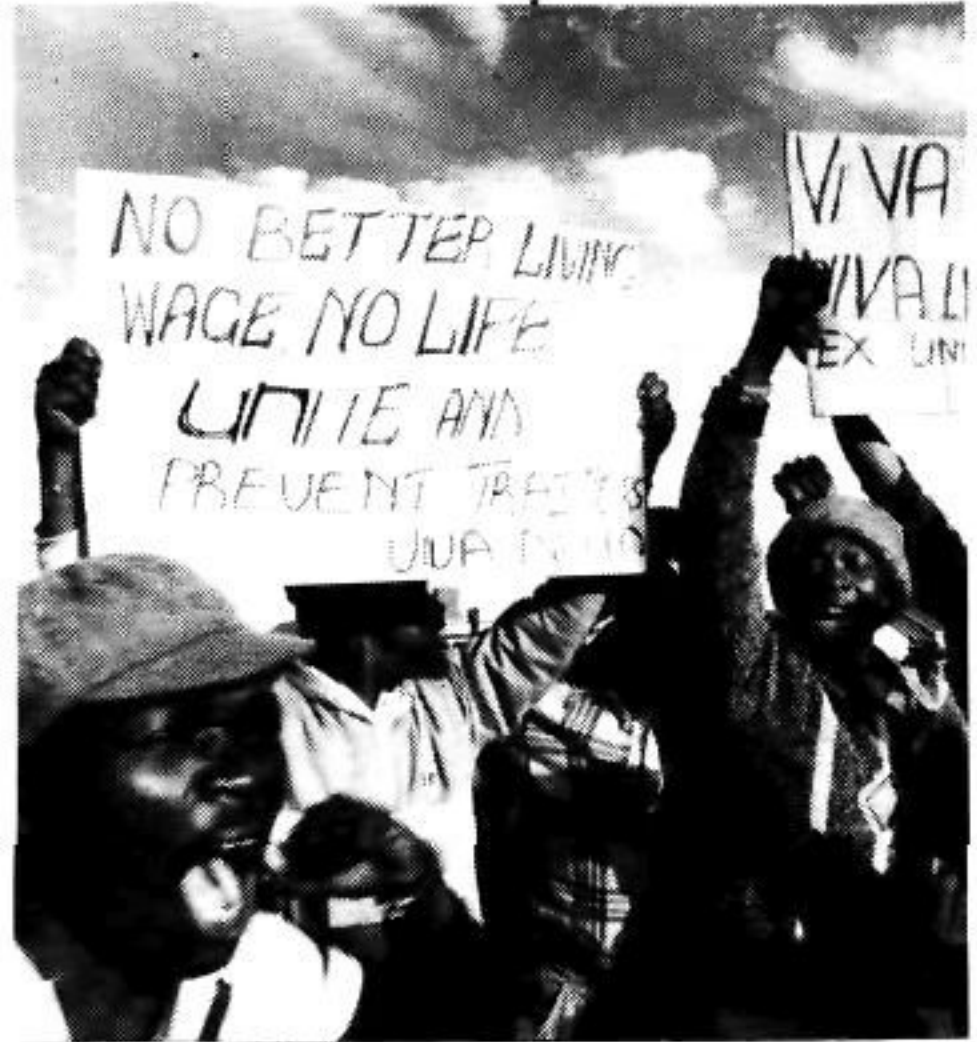
We say this is not the time to talk. We say this not because we are opposed in principle to a revolutionary movement ever talking or negotiating with an enemy. Nor are we blind to the human cost of escalating conflict which remains the only alternative. **But if, as we approach the 21st century, they reject the very principle of majority rule within a democratic framework, what is there to talk about?**

The Trap

The racists and some of their Western allies have continuously tried to trap us into talks about this kind of 'power-sharing' which retains control for the white minority. And to prepare us for this surrender they insist that we unilaterally lay down our arms. Our Liberation Alliance is unanimous that we will not be sucked into these kinds of negotiations. Nor will we stop meeting their violence with ours. The October statement of the National Executive Committee of the ANC on the *Question of Negotiations* correctly expresses the united viewpoint of the whole Liberation Alliance.

The regime has long ago decided on a policy of trying to crush the resistance rather than looking for ways of meeting its just demands. They are not interested in real negotiation. All they want is that we nod in agreement. That time is past and they know it. Why, then, have they been so busy lately sending signals to the ANC suggesting top-level dialogue? It is clear what is really behind the signals.

- Emergencies and brute force have failed to destroy the people's will to defy. **They now hope that the carrot of 'negotiations' will deflect the mass mood of resistance.**
- They have failed to stem the growing strength and following of the Liberation Alliance and the democratic movement. **They would now like to divert the energies of these organisations away from an internal organisational, political and military offensive and towards time-wasting speculations connected with negotiation manoeuvres.**
- They are aware that broad democratic unity, especially among the black oppressed, poses the biggest threat to the survival of race rule. **By posing as supporters of 'power-sharing', they hope to narrow the base of this unity by sowing confusion in**



the minds of the more 'moderate' social forces among the dominated majority.

- They know that mandatory comprehensive sanctions would spell the collapse of the apartheid economy and seriously undermine the cohesion of its political power bloc. **By pretending to be committed to 'negotiations' with the black opposition, the Thatchers and the Reagans (Botha's closest comrades-in-arms) are given much-needed ammunition to sabotage concerted international action against Pretoria.**

All this explains why it would be more accurate to describe the signals for 'negotiation' coming from the racist regime as little more than a smokescreen.

It is a smokescreen to help hide its continued commitment to the maintenance of white domination by all means, including naked force and blatant fraud.

FIGHT FOR MAJORITY RULE!

THE MILITARY IS TAKING OVER



Over the past few years a sinister conspiracy has effectively put the military and security forces in power in South Africa.

The State Security Council (SSC) was originally created in 1972 to **advise** the regime 'on the **formulation of national policy and strategy in relation to the security of the country**'. By shadowy manoeuvres it has been transformed by PW Botha and his military and security establishment into a parallel state apparatus. Industry and commerce have moved into partnership with the military.

The Broederbond established a tradition of an authoritarian, anti-democratic and conspiratorial secret society which worked to capture state power. The same tradition is now being carried on in order to hold on to power. The Broederbond was brought into being by and operated under the cloak of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK). In the same way this state inside a state (SSC) was also created under the cloak that it had become necessary to ensure the co-ordination of all departments in order to combat the revolutionary forces. Using this cover, the SSC, which was supposed to be only an advisory body, was turned into the main instrument for security policy-making. Gradually it has become a fully-fledged state apparatus made up of a catacomb of committees.

Under the patronage of PW Botha the key figures for bringing about this transformation have been General Magnus Malan and General Constand Viljoen. The lynch-pin of the system is the secretary of the SSC, Lt. Gen. Pieter van der Westhuizen, former head of the SADF's intelligence arm, the Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI). South Africa has now become the most militarised state in the world in relation to its population size. The military budget has risen from R60m to R6 670m in the last 25 years.

The main structural parts of the National Security Management System (NSMS) are the SSC, the SSC Work Committee, the Secretariat, inter-departmental committees and the Joint Management Centres.

This complex apparatus has silently taken over the functions of the local councils. It has

steadily and decisively shifted the seat of power out of the hands of the racist parliament as well as of the Nationalist Party itself.

How do Botha and his cohorts hope to defeat our people? While the Botha regime juggles around with useless constitutional formulas in the racist parliamentary arena, repression, coercion and co-optation are the key elements of the NSMS strategy. In effect the NSMS answer to the rising tide of revolt is to smash the organs of revolutionary and democratic struggle and to bludgeon the people into submission. This is combined with an attempt to buy off the revolution with projects concerning housing, sewerage, electricity etc.

Key elements for achieving this task are:

- Maintenance of the state of emergency so that troops remain in our townships and repression is intensified.
- Silencing the press and the media so that our people are cut off from each other and forced to live in total ignorance about what is happening in our country.
- Changing the image of the SADF in the hope that our people will begin to see them as a 'helping hand'.
- Re-establishing and expanding the network of informers and *impimpi* which ungovernability and the developing rudimentary organs of people's power had virtually destroyed.
- Promoting black councillors and collaborators by giving the impression that they are responsible for material improvements in selected townships.

Botha ousted Vorster at a time when he was the hawk who led the SADF's invasion of Angola. But he was suddenly hailed by the media and in the major Western capitals as the dove of South Africa. He now dreams of staging a similar propaganda coup on a grand scale. Only this time he hopes to fool the very people who suffer daily under apartheid.

Such has been the dream of all tyrants — especially those whose might is passing!

NEW METHODS ARE NEEDED

The Nationalists, expert students of Hitler, now use anti-communist scare tactics to smear the UDF and COSATU as agents of Moscow. In this way, they are preparing to further harass and ban these legitimate and popular organisations. This fascist propaganda should be exposed and fought against tooth and nail.

Methods which served so well in the past are no longer good enough. While we use whatever chances there are to continue with mass work of education and organisation, we must recognise that new conditions need new methods and approaches. In our mass organisations, we must find ways to make semi-clandestine activity more effective, more efficient and more successful in reaching the masses of our people and in evading police repression. In these times, carelessness and recklessness become serious crimes against our people.

All activists and militants in our organisations must begin to develop the vigilance and skills of clandestine work. Correctly applied rules of secret work do not undermine democracy. To protect our organisation and leaders from the fascist police and their agents, here are important points to consider:

Organising Meetings:

Never discuss sensitive details about meetings, times and venues on the telephone, in offices that might be bugged or with people who do not need to know. Arrange details for the next meeting before you leave the previous meeting. Establish alternative arrangements for contact. Keep the size and length of meetings to the minimum. Make every meeting count — prepare thoroughly beforehand and do not waste time. We must learn to work in smaller, disciplined groups while observing democracy within our organisation.

Roadblocks:

Pass the word about the location of roadblocks to all comrades you meet. If you are carrying sensitive material be most vigilant and try to check the route shortly before travelling it. Plan action well in advance, especially around major dates on our political calendar. This can cut down on the amount of unnecessary travelling back and forth at times when the enemy is most active.

Gossip and Rumours:

These are major sources of the enemy's information. Too many comrades like to brag about what they know. It's easy for such people to spread things of which they have no proof, like rumours. We must immediately stop anyone we catch doing these things. It is the duty of the leadership of our main democratic organisations to discipline those involved in gossip and rumour-mongering and in leaking information about other people's clandestine activities.

Enemy Infiltration:

We can be sure that the enemy will redouble its efforts to infiltrate our organisations. How do we guard against infiltration? Quietly check on the background of new members. Are they known in the area? Have they got gaps in their life story? Be particularly careful of people coming from distant places who speak in ultra-militant and ill-disciplined ways. People with serious political and personal problems and people who always undermine the discipline of our democratic organisations may also be agents or targets to be used by enemy infiltrators. Obviously all this checking must be done carefully and with maximum discipline by a small group of trusted comrades. Wild and unfounded accusations and spook stories cause more problems and confusion and create more space for infiltration.

Factionalism:

Factionalism is not only politically dangerous, it is also a serious security problem. Factions produce disunity and confusion and it is during this chaos that infiltrators get to work undetected. We must always uphold democratic procedures and uproot factionalism from our organisations.

These are some of the basic security procedures that all militants in the mass democratic and trade union movements must observe. We need vigilance, but above all, we need militant vigilance.

ORGANISATION LEADS TO VICTORY!

WHAT TO DO IF ARRESTED

PART ONE

If the police arrest you, they will ask you questions. Everyone knows that. The comrades in our underground movement also know that they must try to tell the police nothing. Armed with their political knowledge, this belief in the cause and their pride in the movement, has enabled many comrades to keep silent through weeks of questioning. **They have been starved, beaten and tortured but they have said nothing.**

But this is not always possible. Even the strongest can crack when he finds himself alone, day after day, questioned over and over again. The enemy not only uses torture but also lies. They will tell one comrade that another has talked. They will pretend to know things they do not know. They will promise to release those who talk or to give them money. Faced with all these kinds of pressures, a comrade may find it impossible to keep silent.

Therefore we need to know why the enemy wants answers to his questions and what use he can make of the answers. We need to understand the legal system which the enemy operates. This will enable comrades to judge what to say and when and to whom, if they find it impossible to keep silent.

Why do they want to know?

The number one aim of the police in questioning a person under arrest is to find out more about the underground movement, so that they can arrest others. What are the names of your comrades? Where do they live? Where do you keep your arms or your printing press? What were you planning to do next? These are the things a comrade must never talk about, at any cost. If he has to say something, he must rather talk about himself and what he has done in the past. This is what the police want for their number two aim. That aim is to find evidence to use in a court case against the person they have arrested.

This is where the legal system comes in. There are rules about the use which the police can make in court of the statements made by a person under arrest or in detention.

One basic rule is that a statement can only be used against the person who made it. Suppose that John and James are both under arrest. John says to the police: 'Yes, James and I both printed ANC leaflets'. When John and James are charged in court, John's statement may be used to prove that he is guilty, but not to prove that James is guilty. It is only if John goes into the witness box and repeats his statement as a witness in court that he can cause James to be found guilty.

Therefore remember this: if you make the mistake of saying something about another comrade to the police, you still have another chance to correct your mistake. The police will have to call you as a witness. If they do, they cannot control what you say in the witness box. You can, and you must, refuse to repeat what you have said against your comrade. Then at least they will have to let him go, whatever happens to you.

The second basic rule is that in law you cannot be forced to answer questions, or to admit anything. When the police try to force you to speak, they are breaking the law. This can make difficulties for them in preparing a court case. In our next issue we shall look at some of the things that follow from this.



WOMEN AND YOUTH IN CONFERENCE

WOMEN



The Second National Women's Conference took place in Luanda on 1-6 September, 1987 under the theme *For Greater Unity and All-Round Mobilisation for the Seizure of Power*.

Comrade Dan Tloome, Chairman of the SACP, opened the Conference on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. Comrade Sam Nujoma, SWAPO President, also gave a rousing address to the Conference. Messages of greetings were delivered from the Angolan Women's Organisation (OMA), SWAPO Women's Council, the SACP and SACTU. Other messages came from the Women's International Democratic Federation, Soviet Women's Committee, UDF Women's League and many other women's organisations.

The Conference met on the day that our courageous cadres Moses Nyanda Jantjies and Mlami Wellington Mielies, both from Uitenhage, were hanged, and when 50 miners died at St Helena Welkom Goldmine in an explosion caused by methane gas. Conference unanimously condemned the executions and sent a message to the mothers of the heroes. Conference also sent a message of solidarity to the wives and mothers of the dead miners.

It was a Conference numerically dominated by young women cadres who showed great political awareness and maturity. They proved to be effective speakers, thinkers and writers.

It was stressed that the movement has to go out of its way to make space for women to express their capabilities and move into leadership positions.

There were six commissions, but most delegates chose to participate in the internal, MK and women's emancipation commissions. Conference congratulated the Soviet women and people on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Delegates reminded Conference of President Tambo's message to the women at their First Conference of September 1981, which said:

'The mobilisation of women is the task, not of women alone, or of men alone, but of all of us, men and women alike, comrades in the struggle. The mobilisation of the people into active resistance and struggle for liberation demands the energies of women no less than of men'.

And of Comrade Frances Baard, who stated: 'We women march forward with our men in the struggle for liberation and the defence of working people. As women there rests upon us also the burden of removing from our society all social differences developed in past times between men and women which have the effect of keeping our sex in a position of inferiority and subordination'.

YOUTH



The Second National ANC Youth Section Conference was held in August this year. Conference resolved to involve the youth in the following tasks:

- ★ To defend the democratic forces as the alternative power to apartheid rule. To join and strengthen people's defence units and Umkhonto we Sizwe. To learn better fighting techniques.
- ★ To unite the youth of our country into common struggles, and to pay special attention to the Indian, Coloured and white youth. To increase the involvement of young women in struggle. To neutralise and win over to the side of the revolution those young men and women still serving in the ranks of the enemy in whatever form.
- ★ To create and strengthen the children's organisation.
- ★ To learn not only ways of destroying the present apartheid society but to prepare for the building of a new, democratic South Africa.
- ★ To bring youth activity closer to the activity of the community and the working class and to strengthen the alliance with them.
- ★ To deepen regional and international relations with the progressive forces and to work for the all-round isolation of the apartheid regime. Many other resolutions emphasised the central role of the youth in our struggle as the **Young Lions** of that revolution. The Conference re-emphasised the correct vanguard role of the ANC and the leading role of the working class in our struggle. The participants received with great enthusiasm the message from the SACP. Special messages were sent to peoples and governments of the neighbouring states who have sacrificed for our liberation.

Conference elected a 17-man executive to see to the fulfilment of the Conference decisions. **Freedom in our Youth!**

LONG LIVE THE ANC!

ORGANISE BANTUSTAN WORKERS

The workers in the bantustans, including migrants and commuters, constitute the main driving force in the fight for the destruction of the bantustans as an integral part of the liberation struggle. This potential force should be mobilised to tilt the scale of power further in favour of the insurgent masses.

70% of the working population of the bantustans are migrants and commuters, a force of over two million, employed mainly in the mines and on boer farms. They are the main resource of the bantustans. As a result all the puppets are interested in the super-exploitation of these workers. As an organised force — in the trade unions, in special organisations like Hostel Committees and political organisations like the UDF, ANC, and SACP — they are vital in the struggle against the bantustans, migratory labour, hostels and so on. They form an important bridge of organisation and struggle in the bantustans. If they are organised, we can put an end to the corrupt puppets and vigilantes.

Another important force is the emerging working class employed inside the bantustans by puppet 'administrations', a force of close to 300 000 in public works, cropping, in small-scale secondary industry, in services and as soldiers and police of low rank.

All these workers are treated like scum. They are inhumanly super-exploited with no legal protection or political rights. They are terrorised both by the puppets and the monopolies. In Isithebe, for example, R3 is paid for ten hours of work. The general condition of life is one

of absolute poverty, disease and chronic unemployment. These are the dumping grounds, the real 'backwaters' of South Africa.



As a democratically organised force these workers would constitute a serious political threat to the system and its puppets. That is why the black platinum miners are not allowed a union of their choice, while racist white unions operate freely with the blessing of the 'anti-racist' Mangope. That is why Inkatha massacred the people of KwaMakuthu and why people are forced to join the Inkathas, the Tharis, Uwusa and others.

In addition, the bantustans serve to deny us political rights, to reinforce apartheid colonial oppression, and to divide us along tribal lines. These are the enemy's main strategies against our liberation.

Thus no amount of Buthelezi's 'economic teeth' or 'independence' or 'cultural liberation' will make us a free people.

The road to freedom lies through struggle for the total destruction of the bantustans as part and parcel of the liberation struggle. It is a road which must combine all forms of struggle;

economic, political, military and cultural. It calls for a struggle against the ideas of racism, tribalism and other ideas of the ruling class. The road to freedom requires a broad anti-apartheid and anti-bantustan united front inside and outside the bantustans.

The trade union movement, led by Cosatu, has an important role to play. Schemes such as decentralisation are aimed at defeating our organisational gains in the main metropolis. So-called land consolidation, forced removals and the imposition of numerous taxes and levies must be fought.

Our strategic approach, which has been proved correct by the KwaNdebele partial 'insurrection', is to make ourselves ungovernable and institutions like the bantustans unworkable. All these should be replaced by organs of people's power which should muster the united force of all people to destroy the citadel of our oppression, to finally resolve the burning question of who should rule our country. The problems of our country will be resolved only in a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa based on the Freedom Charter.

MAP OF SHAME



SMASH PUPPET RULE!

PEN PICTURES OF SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS

AHMED KATHRADA

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



GOVAN MBEKI

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

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

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

In 1954 he took up a teaching post in Ladysmith. Dismissed for his political activities, he returned to the Eastern Cape to become Port Elizabeth's editor of *New Age* and to continue his organisational work in the region. Detained during the 1960 state of emergency after Sharpeville, he was arrested two years later following initial sabotage operations of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the Eastern Cape. The charges against him were withdrawn. Placed under house arrest, he chose instead to go underground to continue the struggle.

Govan Mbeki published numerous articles, essays and books, including the world-renowned *Peasants' Revolt*. In a preface to the book, the late Ruth First said: 'This book has had a painful birth.

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

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

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

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

A COMRADE, A BROTHER AND A FRIEND

Dear Comrade O.R.,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, and in my personal capacity, we convey to you our warmest brotherly and comradely greetings on the occasion of your 70th birthday.

Your 'three-score years and ten' began in October 1917 at the very dawn of the Great October Socialist Revolution which undoubtedly left its imprint on the whole future of humanity. It is no exaggeration to assert, comrade President, that your life and leadership have also left their indelible stamp on the very future of our own people and, indeed, the whole of our sub-continent. You have matured as a giant of our struggle and, in turn, you have played a singular role in helping to mature its components and its whole course.

Especially from the time you were ordered by the ANC to go abroad as its chief spokesman and organiser, you have made the prime contribution in putting the ANC firmly on the map of struggle, respected by the whole international community. You have achieved this by virtue of your brilliant grasp of liberation politics, your astuteness and your meticulous approach to organisational questions.

You have unsparingly used your considerable

talents with an energy which disregards personal cost and with a devotion which is a shining example to every militant. Both in your lifestyle and in your work style, you have shown us what a professional revolutionary is all about.

But it is not only these qualities which have earned you the affection, trust and leadership-loyalty of both our militants and our people; it is also your warm and humane personality, your approachability, your sense of fairness, your unswerving democratic instincts and your devotion to collectivism.

As far as our Party is concerned, we have always valued your commitment to the Alliance between our organisations which you have described as the two pillars of the liberation struggle. You have stood like a rock against those who are so desperately trying to break our united resolve to move shoulder to shoulder towards real liberation.

Comrade President, we think of you not only as a leader but also as a comrade, a brother and a friend. We wish you long life and look forward to many more years of serving with you and under you in pursuit of our struggle and its inevitable victory.

Happy Birthday
Joe Slovo, General Secretary



NO COLLABORATION WITH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL!

THE GREATEST STRIKE OF ALL TIME

9th August 1987 was the first day of the biggest strike in South Africa's history. 340 000 mineworkers, responding to the call of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), downed tools in 52 gold and coal mines. The NUM had demanded higher pay, better and safer working conditions, and June 16 to be declared a paid holiday. 96% of the union's paid-up membership voted for strike action.

With the experience of 1946 behind it, the union leadership did all it could to avoid giving the government and mine owners any excuse to use violence against the strikers. The NUM also demonstrated that the miners were union-conscious and united, in spite of the ethnic, cultural and national divisions which the mine-bosses have exploited since the industry was established.

Migrant Labour System

The government and mine owners have consistently used the migrant labour system to play off one group of miners against the other. Of the 700 000 Africans working in the mines, as many as 35% come from foreign countries. The biggest group of foreigners come from Lesotho (116 000), followed by Mozambique (64 000), Malawi (24 000), Botswana (22 000) and Swaziland (17 000). 452 000 come from South Africa, including the bantustans — so-called independent states and those officially regarded as part of white South Africa.

The surplus of landless and land-starved workers readily available in the rural areas has been the most important weapon used by the mine owners to crush attempts to organise trade unions, and to undermine the strike weapon. But even though this 'surplus' is greater than ever before, the trade union has grown into a giant, capable of using the strike weapon with unprecedented strength.

The NUM went into action in an atmosphere of great worker militancy, which remains high despite an estimated 40% unemployment. There had already been successful workers' action on the railways and post office, as well as strikes in the food and chemical industries.

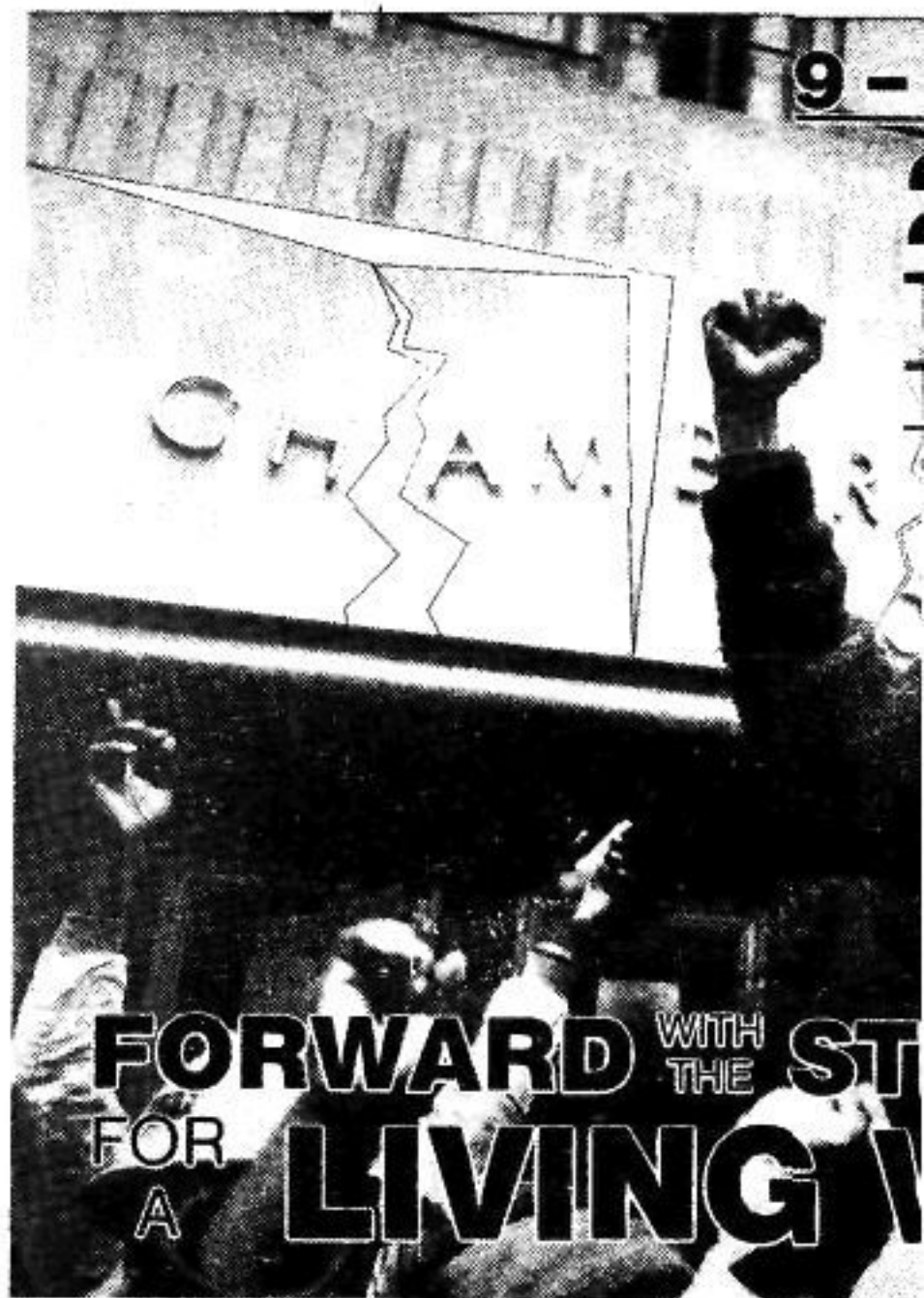
Democracy and Discipline

The Union took great care to follow democratic procedures. It set up Strike Committees, adopted a Code of Conduct for the strike, circulated pamphlets explaining issues and giving information to the membership on how to behave in the event of a strike, etc. This information was spread by the 20 000 Shaft Stewards who were instructed to explain the Code. It was also their task to help maintain discipline and to avoid police provocation.

A reporter, Mono Badela, writing in the *Weekly Mail* stated that he was 'struck by the high degree of internal discipline the miners displayed. There was no drinking of alcohol, no violence, no intimidation of others, no noise — except the occasional burst when they sang freedom songs and here and there chants of *Viva Comrade*, *Viva Mandela*, *Siyaya Nakanjani e-Jerusalem* and *Bakhala nge-Freedom Charter*.'

Once again the white miners stood on the side of the bosses against their black class brothers.

On the day the strike broke out, parliament repealed the last remaining racial clause in the Mines and Works Act. The clause in question had prevented Africans from obtaining blasting certificates — the hall mark of a professional miner — without which no miner could become a charge hand engineer or engage in any other operations over which the white workers had a monopoly. Arrie



**FORWARD WITH THE STRIKE
FOR A LIVING WAGE**

10 **LONG LIVE OUR GLORIOUS MINERS!**

10 AUGUST 1987

11 DAYS
THAT ROCKED
THE CHAMBER

STRUGGLE
FOR A
LIVING
WAGE



from miners and trade union federations. Even before the strike began, township area committees and women's organisations prepared food and accommodation for miners in the event of evictions.

The strike was legal in the formal sense. But without political power the miners, like the rest of the African working class, faced overwhelming odds — the state oppressive apparatus, the capitalist class and the white racists. And they held out for longer than anyone could have imagined. It is truly a measure of the potential of our working class.

When the strike was called off the NUM declared:

'The NUM salutes all the mineworkers who joined the struggle to make it one of the biggest strikes this century ... We made it clear through our struggle that no amount of violence, harassment and detentions will stop the mineworkers' struggle for a living wage and improvements in the mining industry ... All the progressive organisations rallied to the support of the mineworkers. This solidarity will always be treasured and has built a firm foundation for unity in action ... Let us consolidate our union at all levels to prepare for the future. This strike has laid a strong foundation for further victories'. **We wholeheartedly agree with this claim and we warmly acclaim the courage and tenacity of the magnificent mineworkers and their great leadership.**

The 1987 miners' strike turned out to be one of the most important working class training grounds in the struggle against domination and exploitation.

It will go down in history as a key milestone on the road to the inevitable and early destruction of racism — political and economic.

Paulus, the Secretary of the white Miners' Union and a Conservative Party member of parliament, swore to take his revenge and fight against this repeal. 'When the CP becomes the government, as it certainly will, these blasting tickets issued to blacks will be stripped away and the mines will go back to the position that existed in 1912', he declared.

The Apartheid State Intervenes

The police, together with the mine security guards, arrested NUM members, raided NUM offices, and wounded or killed 15 strikers attached to the President Steyn mine. Cyril Ramaphosa, General Secretary of the NUM, accused the police of 'taking part in a well-orchestrated campaign conducted by the chamber and the government to crush the strike'. Anglo American Corporation, by far the biggest employer, dismissed miners and relied on job-seekers in the bantustans to scab on their fellow African workers. It announced that it may call in the South African police to enforce a Supreme Court order evicting strikers from the East Rand Gold Mine and uranium plant. Against the background of the vicious offensive mounted by the *mining houses and its racist state apparatus*, the NUM, in consultation with its members, decided to settle the strike after three weeks.

But the miners taught the Chamber of Mines (representing six major companies) a lesson they will never forget. Loss of income was estimated at R30-million per day. The bosses anticipated that the strike would last only 48 hours and would involve a few tens of thousands. The fact that the NUM was able to bring out 340 000 miners in a strike lasting three weeks was an astonishing victory. The strikers received support from Cosatu's other 700 000 members, from UDF affiliates and international support

LONG LIVE THE NUM!

NELSON MANDELA

— SYMBOL OF FREEDOM



The Rivonia Trial was designed to curb forever the activities of the ANC and still the voices of its main leaders by destroying them through the gallows. In particular, it was aimed at Nelson Mandela who was already serving five years' imprisonment and was acclaimed by millions as their leader.

It was through a combination of the heroic stand taken by the accused and their supporters, together with the outrage of the outside world, that stayed the hand of Pretoria's executioners. In his long years of incarceration, Mandela's reputation has multiplied a thousandfold so that today he is the most famous political prisoner in the world.

This phenomenon is something that the apartheid racists cannot comprehend. Like fascists everywhere, they cannot appreciate that people throughout the world detest the likes of the Verwoerds, Vorsters and Bothas who side with the Nazis; that ordinary people basically desire peace and democracy.

The extreme white chauvinism of these racists prevent them from recognising that they themselves have been placed in the dock, and that our leaders have become the accusers and the righteous in the eyes of all people of goodwill. Black people everywhere react naturally against the apartheid regime and conversely hold up Mandela as their champion. Mandela evokes the admiration of the great majority of people of goodwill and the hatred of the racist minorities.

Perhaps his greatest virtue has been his capacity to adjust to the variety of extremely difficult circumstances which have been thrust upon him by his political activities.

He was born into the royal family of the Tembus at the little village of Qunu near Umtata in the Transkei on 18th July, 1918. His father, Henry Gadla Mandela, named him Nelson Rolihlahla — the first name influenced by the colonialists and the second, a prophetic Xhosa name meaning 'stirring up trouble'. Rapidly he moved from the peasant, rural life to that of the sophisticated, suave, busy urbanised lawyer in Johannesburg. Then to the dynamic political leader of the Fifties as the Volunteer-in-Chief of the Defiance Campaign, after earlier helping to form the ANC Youth League and participating in the formulation of the Programme of Action of 1949 for the ANC.

Mandela was an accused in the Treason Trial of 1956 and after his release and the temporary lifting of his banning orders, he dramatically appeared in Pietermaritzburg to be the chief spokesman against the white-imposed Republic. He then went underground to be sought by every policeman in

South Africa as the 'Black Pimpernel'. His two speeches from the dock after his capture stirred millions everywhere, especially the Rivonia speech where he laid his life on the line for the sake of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

His remarkable messages smuggled out from that isolated rock in the Atlantic Ocean have given courage to all political prisoners, especially the tortured and suffering children. They have stiffened the resistance of the many thousands suffering the bullets and batons in all the townships under siege by the police and army of the racists.

He has emerged as the spokesman for all prisoners everywhere; from the heroic martyrs in death row to the meanest little corrugated cells in every corner of the land. He is more determined than ever to destroy apartheid.

A fellow prisoner, now released, has described Mandela as 'articulate, confident, factual, assertive and persuasive'. And those who worked with him in the Fifties and early Sixties know that he is a great adherent of collective decision-making; that he is gregarious, dedicated and possessed of a whimsical sense of humour but a very short fuse against the extremities of the racists.

It has been said of many comrades that they are 'married' to the movement.

Mandela certainly falls into this category, but at the same time he is deeply and passionately devoted to his wife, Winnie, and all his children.

Nelson Mandela — or Comrade Madiba, as he is known to his fellow prisoners — is physically and mentally a natural leader. Handsome, with a great vitality and magnetic personality, Comrade Nelson is a charismatic leader completely capable of playing a unique part in implementing the Freedom Charter and bringing about a national, democratic South Africa.

These are some of the reasons why the racists are mortified by the world's acclamation of this great revolutionary leader and why governments, local councils, groups and individuals throughout the world use his name to christen their sons, name buildings, streets and squares after him and honour him lavishly with awards.

He is the symbol of excellence for our liberation movement and for freedom everywhere.

OPEN THE GAOL DOORS!

HOW TO MASTER SECRET WORK



11. CUTTING THE TAIL

The procedure of eluding those who are following you is called 'cutting the tail'. In order to do this effectively you must study the location or areas where this can be done in advance. When you find yourself in a situation where you need to break surveillance, you deliberately lead those who are following you to a favourable spot where 'cutting the tail' can be achieved.

1. Change of Clothing:

You urgently need to visit an underground contact. For several days your attempts have been frustrated because you have come to realise that you are being closely watched and followed by the police and their agents. You leave work as usual but carry a shopping bag with a change of clothes. After casually wandering around town you enter a cloakroom or such place where you can quickly change clothing without being seen. It should be a place where other people are constantly entering and leaving. You leave within minutes, casually dressed in a T-shirt and sports cap. Your shirt, jacket and tie are in your shopping bag. A bus area makes it easier to slip away unnoticed. A reversible jacket, pair of glasses and cap kept in a pocket are useful aids for a quick change on the move. Women in particular can make a swift change of clothing with ease, slipping on a wig and coat or even a man's hat and jacket over a pair of jeans to confuse the tail!

2. Jumping on and off a Bus:

You are being tailed but must get to a secret meeting at all costs. You could spend some time loitering around a busy shopping area giving the impression that you are in no hurry to get anywhere. Just as you notice a bus pulling away from a bus stop you run after it and jump aboard. Keeping a good lookout for your pursuers, you could jump off as it slows down at the next stop and disappear around a busy corner.

3. Crossing a Busy Street:

You need to be quick and alert for this one! You deliberately lead those following you down a busy street with heavy traffic. When you notice a momentary break in the traffic, you could suddenly sprint across the road as though your life

depended on it. By the time the tail has managed to find a break in the traffic and cross after you, you could have disappeared in any number of directions!

4. Take the Last Taxi in the Rank:

Occupy your time in a leisurely way near a taxi rank. You could be window shopping or drinking tea at a cafe. When you notice that there is only one taxi left at the rank, drop everything and sprint over to it. By the time those following you have summoned up their support cars you could have ordered the taxi to stop and slipped away.

5. Entering and Exiting a Building:

A large, busy department store with many entrances, stairways, lifts and floors is ideal for this one. After entering the building quickly slip out by another exit. Busy hotels, restaurants, recreation centres, railway stations, arcades, shopping centres etc are all useful locations for this trick.

6. Ruses when Driving:

It is more difficult to cut a tail when driving than when on foot because a number of vehicles may be following you in parallel streets. Fast and aggressive driving is necessary. Sudden changes of speed and direction, crossing at a traffic light just as it turns red, and a thorough knowledge of lanes, garages and places where a car may be quickly concealed are possible ways in which you may elude the tail.

7. Get Lost in a Crowd:

It is particularly difficult for the tail to keep up with you in crowded areas. Know the locality, be prepared, be quick-footed and quick-witted! Be ready to take advantage of large concentrations of people. Workers leaving a factory, spectators at a sports fixture, crowds at a market, cinema, railway station or rally offer all the opportunities you need.

Mix this with the above tactics and you will give those trying to tail you the headache and disappointment they so richly deserve.

NEXT ISSUE: We begin to look at Secret Communication

KNOW THE ENEMY — AND OUTWIT HIM!

VIGILANCE MEANS SURVIVAL!



PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD

4. AGRICULTURE (PART TWO)

As we stressed in our first article, the absence of a substantial peasantry in South Africa has a most important bearing on the question of land reform under a People's Government.

On the one hand it has been argued that a land reform which would give more land to individual families is, objectively speaking, a politically backward step. It would (so the argument runs) re-create a large social class (peasantry) which is traditionally conservative because of its stake in the accumulation of private property.

On the other hand there is the technocratic argument which is based on the fact that Africans living in the bantustans have become de-skilled. They no longer have the knowledge and experience which is required for modern cultivation. It is therefore argued that extensive land reform would be too 'expensive', involving elaborate training and support services.

Both these positions, if taken to extremes, overlook certain aspects of key political and economic realities in our country.

At the political level we cannot ignore the fact that land robbery and the virtual destruction of the South African peasantry are among the most basic and emotive national grievances. The destruction of our peasantry has not come about through the 'natural' process of industrial urbanisation but, primarily, through racist legislation which deprived Africans of their rural heritage.

How strong will the desire for land be among the millions moved from the 'black spots' in the last decade and among the over four million unemployed? Clearly, the aspirations of the social forces which participate in the struggle for national liberation will have to be taken into account. Pure economic considerations cannot be the sole determining factor.

At the economic level we must take into account the impact of land reform on the economy as a whole. The new People's Power will inherit a situation of massive unemployment and under-employment. It will not be easy to place those millions overnight into industrial jobs. The agricultural sector must clearly be looked to as a means of helping to engage such a workforce.

Hence land reform will have both political and economic implications of great importance. But the question remains: what kind of land reform?

Or put in another way, how do we return the land to the people in a way which benefits our whole nation and, more particularly, its working class?

In the first place let us stress once again that **dividing the land among 'those who work it' does not necessarily mean that we should parcel up the whole country into small peasant family holdings.** Allocations to participants in rural collectives and workers in democratically run state farms are, equally, a redivision of the land among those who work it. Of course a certain amount of individual family allocation will have to be made. But we know that state farms and co-operatives are forms of production which can begin to bring about changes in relations of production leading to an advance towards ending exploitation in the countryside.

But socialist relations of production in the countryside cannot be achieved by decree. To impose the form without the revolutionary content or to use force instead of persuasion can be a recipe for both political dissatisfaction and falling production. This much has been demonstrated by the history of agricultural reforms in quite a number of socialist countries.

A great deal will depend on the nature and experience of our rural working class. That is why the unionisation of our one million agricultural workers is a high priority. Effective workers' organisation will also be an important factor in preventing or containing attempts by commercial farmers to sabotage production and marketing. The continuation of production in firms which are abandoned or nationalised will also depend on the level of worker organisation.

In general, it is the actual ongoing political struggle which is daily creating the political, economic and social conditions in which post-apartheid transformation will occur.

The experience of the rural and urban proletariat in this phase will provide not only the basis but also the initial limitations for advance towards People's Power in the factories and on the farms. A 'correct' agricultural policy cannot be finalised now in all its details as a theoretical 'truly revolutionary' blueprint. As a vanguard, our task is to draw people towards the progressive options and to help create the conditions to make them viable.



UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY ECONOMICS

6. WHAT IS CREDIT

Credit is used everywhere and at all levels. Governments and giant firms receive credit and rely on it, and so do even poor people living in townships or farming in the so-called 'homelands'.

Although credit is useful, it can also create problems. Governments and big rich borrowers run into debt problems (credit problems) and poor individuals also face difficulties with debts. But the nature of credit and the impact of the debt problem it frequently creates is different for working people from its impact on governments, firms and the rich.

What is credit? It is any form of loan which has to be repaid. The borrower usually agrees to repay the money before a fixed date (so the money is borrowed for three months, six months, a year or another definite period). He or she always has to pay back more than the amount of the loan: they have to repay the loan *plus interest*. The borrower always faces some form of *penalty* if the loan and interest are not repaid at the agreed time.

For an individual worker or farmer or small business operator in most capitalist countries, credit can be obtained from *formal* lenders. In other words, a bank will lend him or her money to buy a car, a plough or a machine, or even to pay for a holiday. A building society (or a bank) will lend the money to buy a house or land. In South Africa this system works for whites, but relatively few black people obtain such formal credit.

With formal credit, the borrowers face penalties through the courts if they become unable to pay interest or repay the loan. For example, if they borrow through a mortgage to buy a house, then become unemployed and are unable to repay the loan or interest, the building society or bank will go to court to take the house away from them. Now many white farmers in South Africa face a similar problem as they are having difficulty in repaying their loans.

Informal credit is used by poor peasants and workers throughout the world. They borrow money from local moneylenders, merchants, landowners or rich farmers. Usually the interest rate is extremely high so that the total amount the borrower has to repay is twice as large as the original loan or more than twice as large, even if the loan is only borrowed for a short time. Often there is no written agreement, but the penalties for non-payment are high. Poor peasants have their land, crops or other wealth taken away by the moneylender.

At the other end of the scale, the banks lend huge amounts of credit to governments and large firms. Until five or six years ago the banks of the USA, Britain, Japan and other countries loaned hundreds of billions of dollars to the governments of Brazil, Mexico and other developing countries. A feature of this credit was that the interest the governments had to pay was not fixed in advance and the banks raised the interest rates after the governments had borrowed the money.

In the 1980s these governments were forced to pay higher interest than they had expected on their loans and, at the same time, the prices they received from their countries' exports had fallen. They were unable to meet their payments so the bankers (led by the International Monetary Fund) have forced these governments to cut the living standards of workers and the poor in an attempt to get the money for the banks.

**READ THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST
THE THEORETICAL QUARTERLY JOURNAL
OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY
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CAPITALISM = RACISM AND POVERTY!



MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

6. LENIN VERSUS THE MACHISTS

Great philosophical debates are always intensely relevant to current phases in revolutionary struggles. But it usually takes an exceptionally shrewd and far-sighted politician to see how and why they are relevant. So it was that when, between February and October 1908, Lenin immersed himself in the study and writing of philosophy, many seasoned revolutionaries could not understand it. The years 1905-1907 had been both momentous and tragic for the Bolsheviks. The revolutionary wave of 1905 was receding and the revolution itself was in danger of drowning in a sea of blood. Why then, at this crucial period, was the leader of the revolutionary forces concerning himself with abstract philosophical questions? To answer this question we need to examine a philosophical development which grew out of Empiricism, known as Logical Positivism.

We saw last time how Empiricism, although it is Materialist in so far as it teaches that all knowledge begins with sense-experience, is also Idealist because it deals with experience only from the subjective standpoint of individual consciousness and ignores the dialectical interaction between social and natural reality. We saw too, how, because of these Idealist features, Empiricism ends in confusion when it tries to explain the kind of knowledge we get from scientific theories. Important developments in this regard took place at the turn of the century among a group of philosophers and scientists in Vienna, which was, at that time, one of the cultural centres of Europe. This group was known as the Vienna Circle, and its leader was the great physicist and philosopher, Ernst Mach (1838-1916).

Mach believed that our senses and only our senses were the source of scientific facts. Because such experience reveals nothing more than a mass of unrelated sensations, he thought that the natural laws expressed in scientific theories were merely the result of

our need to feel at home in and to control nature. Scientific concepts and the systems they formed could only be justified in so far as they helped humans to predict and master their environment.

Scientific laws were not *objectively true*. Mach thought that what made one theory better than another was the simplicity with which it could be formulated, the range of things it could explain and the absence from it of logical contradictions. So the theory that the earth revolves around the sun is only better than the theory that the sun goes round the earth because it explains more things in a slicker way, without self-contradiction. This way of looking at science is sometimes called Conventionalism, although Mach was not a full-blooded Conventionalist.

Now Mach's ideas had a profound influence on Russian revolutionaries and intellectuals — including leading Bolsheviks. Led by AA Bogdanov, Lunacharsky and Bazarov, the group included Lenin's friend, the writer, Maxim Gorky. They called their version of Machism 'Empirio-Criticism', and sought to use it to 'renew' Marxist theory by ridding it of its dialectical features. Lenin saw clearly that, at a time when the Bolsheviks desperately needed to learn the lessons of 1905 and devise new strategies, a philosophy which denied the objectivity of the laws of history would be disastrous for the Revolution. Why should any sane worker follow a strategy based on a theory which nobody thought true?

So Lenin wrote *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* in which he showed that Materialism was tied to the belief that matter was a knowable objective reality, and that our knowledge of it was developed through an unending process of discovery in which 'incomplete, inexact knowledge becomes more complete and more exact'. It is through this active process of theory-building, Marxists hold, that scientific knowledge *reflects* reality.

THEORY LIBERATES THE MIND!



IN THIS ISSUE WE START A NEW SERIES:

PARTY LIFE

1. THE PRIMARY PARTY UNIT (THE CELL)

When asked to account for the successes of the Vietnamese revolutionary movement the late General Secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party said that it could be summed up in three words: 'Organisation! Organisation! Organisation!'

The success of revolutionary struggle depends on what Lenin called 'miracles of organisation' required by the working class and its allies — the bringing together of countless numbers of oppressed people into disciplined, co-ordinated and functional units of fighters capable of acting in conscious and united action for the seizure of state power. Revolutionary transformation requires the involvement and organisation of millions. But it also requires the participation of a vanguard movement to lead that struggle — a core of the most disciplined and organised cadres in each and every arena of struggle. In the struggle for national democracy and socialism a vanguard workers' party has a great responsibility to ensure that its level of organisation corresponds to the role it must play in the struggle.

A most important mechanism for effecting its organisational tasks is the Primary Party Unit or Cell. The cell is the foundation of a party — its operational arm — without which democratic centralism cannot function, without which it cannot grow and without which we cannot perform our ideological and organisational tasks. Our organisation must begin with our party cell.

How must we organise our cells?

Firstly, we must ensure that there is **delegation of tasks and duties**. Each and every member of the cell must have a job of work given to him/her by the collective. This might be a **party task** (distribution of *Umsebenzi*, recruitment, training etc), **and/or broader tasks** in the national liberation movement (work in the mass democratic movements, MK, etc). Thus each member must have

specific and assigned tasks carefully worked out according to each comrade's abilities and capabilities. A party unit does not need to invent artificial tasks — we know they are so numerous that they are too many to mention here.

Secondly, each member must report back on the fulfilment of these tasks. This brings us to the second principle which must guide our work in a cell — **accountability**. Accounting must be obligatory and regular and not only when a comrade must explain an act of misbehaviour, for instance. Accountability is the tool that the cell must use to ensure that it **sets itself and each individual member** concrete tasks and that these are actually carried out. A party unit must not be a talking shop to exchange ideas. If tasks have not been fulfilled either by the cell or the individual comrade, this failure must be discussed and corrective measures taken.

This leads us then to the third principle of our work at a unit level — that of **self-criticism**, which must be sober, collective, positive and corrective and not exaggerated, subjective, negative or destructive. Self-criticism must be a tool to appraise and improve our work.

Finally, the unit must be the vehicle for the **education** of our Party's membership. 'Without revolutionary theory', Lenin stated, 'there can be no revolutionary movement'. Knowledge of revolutionary theory cannot be confined to our leadership — we all have a duty to educate ourselves, to equip ourselves and our Party for revolutionary struggle. The party cell must then set itself a strict programme of ideological work — study and discussion of theory and the relating of this to the day-to-day struggle and the tasks of the moment.

We must build our Party!

We must build our Units!

Organisation is the key!



HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

10. THE RIVONIA SETBACK

A whole series of heavy blows was sustained by the Communist Party and the entire liberation movement during the first half of the Sixties, at the hands of the fascist government and its secret police, modelled on the Gestapo.

The government was determined to smash every vestige of the valiant resisters who had so skilfully utilised every possibility of legal protest in the previous decade. All the journalists who had produced *The Guardian* and its successors down the years, as well as *Fighting Talk*, *Liberation* and other democratic journals, were served with ministerial notices preventing them from engaging in any sort of journalistic activity.

Many leading cadres were placed under house arrest. Intensive efforts were made to infiltrate police spies and provocateurs into the ranks of the movement. A very substantial addition was made to the funds and activities of the special branch of the police.

Counter-measures were taken by the liberation movement. A number of leading members, including OR Tambo, Moses Kotane, JB Marks, Joe Slovo and Yusuf Dadoo were sent out of the country to conduct various aspects of the work of the movement in exile. Numbers of young militants were recruited and sent abroad for combat training as guerrillas of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Following the example of Nelson Mandela, a number of leaders of the Party and the Congress organisations were directed to leave their homes and assume new identities and disguises. Secret headquarters were set up at a farm in Rivonia, near Johannesburg and elsewhere.

Due to inexperience and, to some extent, under-estimation of the enemy, many of these measures proved inadequate. Following a successful tour of Africa and elsewhere on behalf of the ANC, Mandela returned to his underground work, but was captured by the police in Natal.

In July 1963 a serious reverse was suffered when police raided the Party headquarters at Rivonia. What followed is described in the resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Party on its Fiftieth anniversary:

'Following a raid on the underground Party headquarters at Rivonia a number of the most outstand-

ing revolutionary leaders, both communists and non-communists, were arrested and tried on charges of planning to overthrow the state by armed revolutionary struggle. Despite worldwide protests, including a 106-1 vote at the United Nations General Assembly, eight of the accused were sentenced to life imprisonment: Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Mhlaba, Goldberg, Kathrada, Motsoaledi and Mlangeni.

Hundreds of Congressites and communists were detained without trial, subjected to prolonged torture and some even murdered in the police cells.

The great majority of those detained refused to testify against their comrades, even to the point of death. But a few were broken by the police, resulting in yet further trials such as that of Mkwazi, Kitson and others, also resulting in life sentences, the execution of the trade unionists Mini, Khayingo and Mkaba in November 1964, and the rounding up of thousands of Party and Congress supporters, and trade unionists throughout the country.

A further heavy blow was sustained by the Party in 1965 with the arrest and sentence to life imprisonment of comrade Abram Fischer who had been living in hiding and leading the underground work of the Party at that time.'

Looksmart Ngudle, Babla Saloojee, Caleb Mayekiso and Alpheus Maliba are but a few of the many Congressites, trade unionists, communists and other political prisoners who died in the cells under torture and were alleged by the police to have taken their own lives.

It is impossible here to enumerate all our brave sons and daughters who have been killed, imprisoned, deported to remote areas and otherwise victimised by the fascists for fighting for the freedom of their country and their people.

At home the revolutionary workers patiently rebuilt the machinery of the Party, learning from past mistakes and creatively devising new methods and strategies to meet the terrorism of the police state. A number of Party leaflets, distributed in the country especially in the later Sixties, their widespread distribution and the inability of the police to make any arrests, attests to the courage and skill of the comrades responsible. A further tribute to the resilience and growing vitality of the Party was the successful holding of an augmented meeting of the Central Committee in 1970, which we shall deal with in the next issue.

LONG LIVE OUR VANGUARD PARTY!

PIONEERING A PATH FOR MANKIND



The building of socialism is not a simple mechanical task which will proceed as programmed, as long as fuel is added to the motor. It is a breathtaking human endeavour to create a world in accordance with human desires; in the end it depends on the will, expertise, wisdom and daring of the people who undertake it.

Builders of socialism, like people in every age and country, inherit not only their material world but also attitudes, beliefs and impulses from their past. That inheritance they carry with them, as mountain climbers carry their back-packs. Those back-packs are stocked with implements which assist in scaling the heights: but they also serve as a dead-load on the shoulders, slowing down the ascent, threatening to pull the climber back.

Dreamers of the socialist dream may have imagined that socialism would, by some mystic process, instantaneously rid the builders of the unwanted mental and behavioural hangovers from an outmoded past, and would produce an 'instant' new generation unburdened with any restraining back-pack. Experience, which has taught the socialist movement so much else, teaches us that such a dream is indeed fantasy, out of accord with what happens in the real world.

The working-class past has endowed the Soviet people with abundant revolutionary confidence, determination and passion, which helps them propel the Soviet Union forward to the building of a society which conforms closely to their ideals. But it has left them also with the remnants of a hampering inheritance from the past — the remains of bureaucracy and authoritarianism, the remains of sexism, the remains of selfishness, carelessness, indifference.

These dead-loads on the shoulders of the Soviet people grow less with time. Only now, seventy years on, two wars on, is a new generation, totally separated from that past, coming to the forefront of Soviet life.

It requires time, as Lenin said, to see right from wrong when engaged in something new. It requires also determination and will to change to right from wrong, when what is wrong is proved so; it is always easier, less demanding, to persist with past ways when the alternative is a step into an unknown, unmapped future.

Yet it is precisely such a step off into unmapped territory — where socialism pioneers a path for mankind — upon which the Soviet state and people are embarking. Once again, they break new ground towards the future, guided only by experience, by Marxist understanding, and an equipment of communist dedication and discipline.

Now, seventy years on from that first great revolutionary leap of November 7th, they are striking boldly forward again, under the new watch-words of 'glasnost' and 'perestroika', and the leading rein of the Communist Party and the Soviets. The people who made the great breakthrough to socialism for the first time are once again on a world-shaking exercise to blaze a path for all mankind, and make the passage to socialism easier, less hazardous, for all of us who will — in our own moment of history — follow.

ADVANCE THE GAINS OF SOCIALISM!

UNITA: ANGOLA'S CONTRAS



Botha and Savimbi

Unita was, from the start, a vehicle for the ambitions of its leader, Jonas Savimbi. In 1962 Savimbi was a member of the youth movement of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). He then joined Holden Roberto's CIA-backed National Front for the Liberation of Angola, FNLA, becoming its 'foreign minister'. In 1964 he left the FNLA, accusing it of tribalism and CIA links.

In 1966, Savimbi reappeared in eastern Angola, bordering on Zambia, where he formed the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita). Unita's collaboration with Portuguese military intelligence to oppose the advance of the MPLA has been conclusively documented in 'Operation Timber', a secret scheme launched by the colonial authorities.

With only about 300 armed men when the fascist regime in Portugal was overthrown in 1974, Unita was supported by the most reactionary sectors of the white settler population. It used tribalism to try to win over people in the Central Highland region of Savimbi's birth, where it murdered hundreds of MPLA supporters. It formed an anti-MPLA alliance with the FNLA, powerfully backed by a CIA air-lift and Zairean military forces.

The FNLA, whose attempt to seize power by force prevented planned elections, was pushed back. Savimbi appealed to South Africa, which launched a massive invasion in October 1975, co-ordinated with a CIA-backed push from the north, aimed at preventing the MPLA from proclaiming independence in November.

The Angolan forces, FAPLA, supported by Cuban troops after independence, defeated

the invaders and drove the SADF and its Unita protégés across the border into Namibia. There the SADF trained Unita elements at its bases and built them into a proxy force to launch against Angola. It concentrated on acts of terrorism and banditry against defenceless villagers. From 1981 onwards (aided by South Africa's occupation of a part of southern Angola) a large Unita force was sent north from Namibia in a strategic offensive aimed at seizing power. In 1983 Savimbi said he would take Luanda by Christmas, a threat which he repeated in 1984.

The strategic offensive was smashed and in late 1985 Savimbi called for Western aid to prevent FAPLA from taking Jamba, his base on the Namibian border. In January 1986 he was received by President Reagan in Washington. SADF logistical support, air cover and joint operations having failed to put Unita into power, Reagan promised 'effective' military assistance.

FAPLA's growing strength in countering South African aggression, both direct and through Unita, has led Washington/Pretoria/Unita to call for Angola to negotiate 'power-sharing' with Unita — a last resort manoeuvre.

The use of Unita by fascist Portugal, the apartheid regime and its backers is a classic example of the manner in which the enemies of African independence act.

They attempt to divide the people and undermine the historical process of creating one nation out of ethnic diversity. They promote tribalist and racist groups to subvert national liberation and reconstruction.

VICTORY OR DEATH!