

UMSEBENZI

VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

THE SECOND SIX MONTHS

The state of emergency and Botha's acts of external aggression are admissions of failure. They are desperate gambles by the enemy to find some way of holding back the people's advance.

This new counter-offensive can be defeated. The silence they are trying to impose on the whole country must and will be broken by the sounds of armed resistance and the spread of the mass offensive.



THE FORWARD MARCH

In Issue No. 1 of this year, *Umsebenzi* hailed 1986 as a year of decision; a year filled with promise for a major advance along the road leading to People's Power. The first six months which have passed have seen further giant steps along that road. In growing numbers our masses have followed the signposts illuminated by the ANC-led liberation alliance.

Continued on page 2 ...

1921-1986—65th Anniversary of the SACP

LET US CONSOLIDATE OUR GAINS AND ADVANCE



Popular grass-roots organisation — the second stage of ungovernability — has taken root in most of the black ghettos. The committees which are multiplying at the level of the community and the street are the seeds of future organs of People's Power.

Now, they must be spread to every corner of our land as grass-roots instruments of popular resistance and mobilisation. This is their primary purpose and all administrative tasks must be subordinate to this purpose.



The flames of urban resistance and defiance have spread to the hated Bantustans. Names like Bophuthatswana, Lebowa, Transkei, KwaNdebele are being added to the lists of nationwide flashpoints of upsurge.

Now, the urgent need is to intensify the offensive against all the sell-out administrations and those at the top who use their positions as out-and-out puppets of Pretoria. The Bantustans, and those who have sold their souls to their racist paymasters, must suffer the same fate as the community councils. It is also time to begin to clean out the countryside of the commando-organised racist farmers.



Para-military formations are sprouting in widespread areas as instruments of people's self-defence and as detachments which mount organised attacks on the enemy.

Now, these units must be spread to every community, to every town and village and to every part of our countryside. They must be armed with more and more weapons and they must also find ways of arming themselves. Led and trained by cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe, they will become most decisive contingents of our People's Army



Twice within a period of six weeks — May 1st and June 16th — our organised working class, in their millions, gave notice of their immense and growing power as the leading force of our revolution.

Now, the watch-words must be **March Forward in Unity!** Cosatu has provided the foundation for a trade union federation which can bind together all our workers into an unconquerable mass weapon of struggle. At this historic moment there can be no differences between genuine trade union leaders which are big enough to stand in the way of coming together into the one mighty federation.



The main organised contingents of our revolution — the workers, the communities and the youth — have begun to move in greater harmony. The handling of the education crisis by the NECC is an outstanding example of united decision-making involving all the mass organisations and our liberation alliance.

Now, more than ever, all the forces on the side of the people must act as one at local, regional and national level. There must be unity in action within and between all patriotic organisations. Secondary differences between militants must not be allowed to paralyse our common efforts against the enemy.

These are among the important tasks facing us in the second half of 1986. They will have to be carried out in a period in which the enemy has unleashed an unprecedented wave of armed and administrative terror including the creation of a network of vigilante death squads and Inkatha-inspired mercenaries.

Effective underground leadership at all levels has become more vital than at any other time in our history.

**IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1986 LET US
DEFEAT THE ENEMY'S COUNTER-OFFENSIVE!
LET US MOVE FROM UNGOVERNABILITY
TO PEOPLE'S POWER!**

65 YEARS OF STRUGGLE —

THE PARTY IS INDESTRUCTIBLE!

The 65th anniversary of our Party, formed on July 30th, 1921, takes place at a time of intense revolutionary activity and challenge. The Botha regime, which has been trying to quell the protest in blood, has taken draconian steps to stamp out all resistance. In its usual hysterical fashion it accuses the Party and ANC of all manner of evil. The apartheid state's diatribes against us and our ally are part of the arsenal of ruling class slanders we have had to face since our inception.

Now, in the 65th year of our existence, it is the illustrious fighting record of our Party that is the best answer to such attacks. Indeed, our people have always rejected the anti-communist nonsense of the enemy for obvious reasons. They have known the communists by our sacrifices and our deeds throughout these glorious years of struggle. They have known our Party as an organisation of outstanding patriots and fighters spanning decades: among them Bill Andrews, SP Bunting, Jimmy la Guma, Johannes Nkosi, Moses Kotane, JB Marks, Bram Fischer, Govan Mbeki, Ray Alexander, Yusuf Dadoo, Moses Mabhida, Joe Slovo, Dora Tamana, Ahmed Kathrada, Joe Gqabi and many others.

Our people know us as an organisation which represents workers from every section of our nation. Far from seeing communists dominating the national liberation movement the people know that the Party has always sought to strengthen the ANC, trade union and democratic forces. Far from seeing the communists as back-room conspirators, the people have found the communists with them, in the thick of all the national and local struggles down the years. Similarly, with the launching of the armed struggle, our Party has been in the forefront, our cadres distinguishing themselves in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

It is for these compelling reasons that our people have come to love and respect our Party. They listen to those who have always championed their rights; to those who show the way towards the end of oppression, exploitation and for a socialist South Africa; to those who have proved in action, not merely words, for over six decades that they have the true interests of the people at heart. Above all, what the people see from our history is the extent to which the oppressor fears the communists and attacks us and that is the best recommendation of all! Little wonder that after 65 fighting years of struggle — 36 of them as an outlawed organisation — our Party enjoys such prestige amongst the exploited masses of our country!

The red banners of our Party, with our hammer and sickle symbol, which are being proudly hoisted alongside ANC flags at demonstrations throughout South Africa, are evidence of the revolutionary times that have arrived. In our 65th year, those red banners,



65th Anniversary of the SACP

**FIGHTING
IN THE FRONTLINE FOR
NATIONAL LIBERATION
SOCIALISM & PEACE**

flying above the guns of the enemy, testify that the Party is alive and lives in the hearts of our people; that the enemy has failed to destroy us by banning the Party or imprisoning, murdering and driving into exile some of our most outstanding leaders; that the historic mission of our Party continues to gain ground within South Africa.

Our Party is growing. Into its ranks are flowing a young generation of workers, youth, revolutionary intellectuals. The workers, who have never in our history been as powerful, organised and poised to make their mark on the revolutionary process as now, seek the Party in large numbers.

In our 65th year our red banner, carried aloft by the workers, pays tribute to those who have built our Party and its traditions, arouses us to the tasks that still need to be carried out, and the victory that is certain!

**Long live the unity of the
SACP and the ANC!
Long live the SACP!**

BUILD THE WORKERS'S VANGUARD

BEYOND UNGOVERNABILITY

Two features stand out clearly in the current stage of the development of our revolution: un governability and the rapid growth of embryonic organs of People's Power.

In 1979 our Central Committee set out our Party's perspectives for the decade of the Eighties in a statement, *The Challenge Ahead*. Later we concretised this under the slogan *Forward to People's Power!* To some this perspective may have appeared to be looking too far ahead into the distant future. But events have shown how accurate our Party's analysis was.

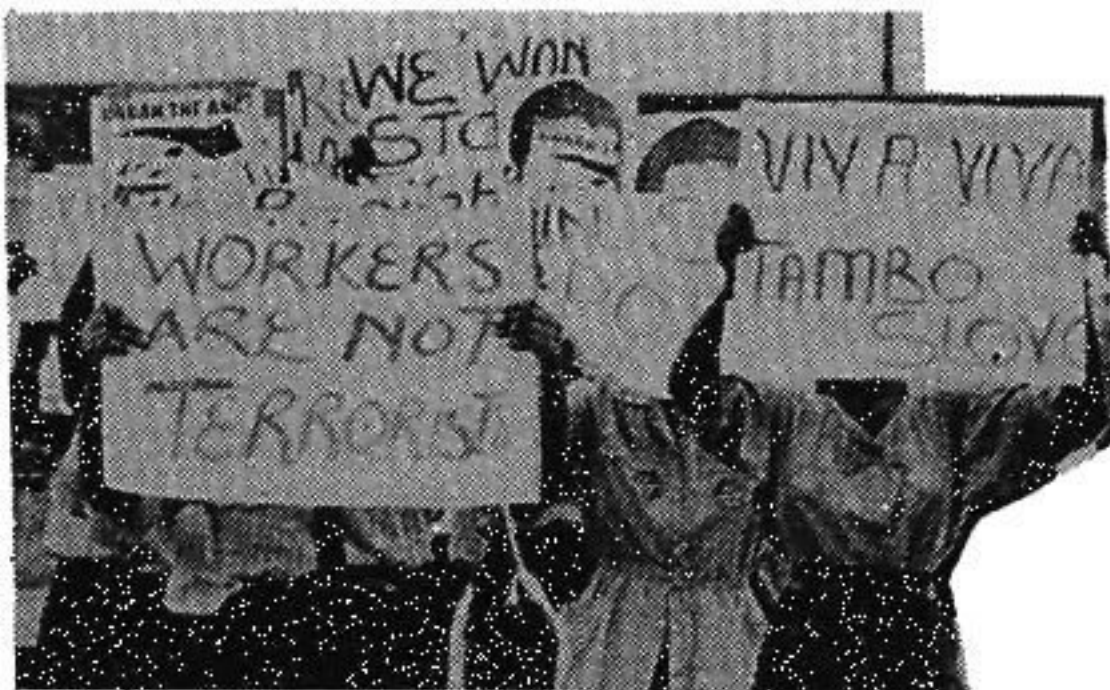
The January 8th, 1985 ANC call to our people, made by Comrade President Tambo, to 'render South Africa ungovernable and make apartheid unworkable' is of great strategic significance for the development of our revolution. The manner in which the masses have responded and continue to respond underlines also the correct choice of moment for making this call. 'Ungovernability' has become the battle-cry of our people.

As was to be expected, Gatsha Buthelezi, front-runner in the service of Botha, rushed in to claim that the call to render South Africa ungovernable would lead to a situation in which the people would also be ungovernable in a future, free South Africa. But far from ungovernability being a recipe for anarchy, it provided the strategic perspective for our people to go beyond a rejection of the dummy institutions and towards creating institutions of their own.

Thus ungovernability not only released the people's energy; it unleashed their creativity. In area after area the people began to create their own organs of power. They set up street committees, comrades' committees, people's courts, militia-type combat units and similar bodies. In the context of the present situation these are embryonic organs of People's Power.

Ungovernability thus created the space for our people to begin to establish embryonic organs of People's Power. Ungovernability in fact has been a necessary condition for the development of the people's committees and similar organs.

We are now at a stage where we can clearly see how each of these two processes reinforce and strengthen each other. Zwelakhe Sisulu, in his keynote address to the National Education Crisis Committee Conference held in Durban on March 29th, 1986, put it this way:



'An important difference between ungovernability and people's power is that no matter how ungovernable a township is, unless the people are organised the gains made through ungovernability can be rolled back by state repression. Because there is no organised centre of people's power, the people are relatively defenceless and vulnerable ... Where people's power has become advanced, not even the most vicious repression has been able to decisively reverse our people's advances ... The reason that people's power strengthens us to this extent is that our organisation has become one with the masses ... People's power tends to protect us and constantly opens up new possibilities, thereby taking the struggle to a new level...'

What, then, are the new possibilities? The defensive capacity of the people's committees is of great importance. Indeed, with the enemy determined to employ every stratagem to destroy our struggle and to present the struggle as one of black versus black, patriotic leaders at every level in the country are living under the shadow of death. We cannot underestimate these dangers. It is therefore vital to develop the defensive capacity of the embryonic organs of people's power that are emerging.

But it is of equal or even greater importance that we keep our eyes focussed on the offensive possibilities of the present situation. The Botha regime is in trouble. It tries to gain sympathy by using the excuse of the right-wing backlash threat, and it erects the spurious black versus black spectre. No trick of the ruling class should obscure the central thrust of our struggle. The line of march from ungovernability, linked to the embryonic organs of People's Power, leads straight to seizure of power by the people.

**FROM UNGOVERNABILITY
TO PEOPLE'S POWER!**

THE ENEMY'S ARMED FORCES — STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

Between them the SADF and the SAP can mobilise over 700 000 well-trained, well-organised and well-armed troops. This war machine is indeed one of the biggest in Africa and a formidable enemy in anybody's book.

Its strength lies firstly in its ability to concentrate large numbers of troops and equipment; whether onto conventional battlefields, or in counter-insurgency or other repressive operations.

Secondly, its ability to take the initiative — to identify its targets and choose its time and place of action — continues to be a source of strength derived from its extensive intelligence networks.

Formidable as they may be, the enemy's forces are by no means indestructible. What is of concern to us is not whether we are capable of defeating them on a conventional battlefield, but whether the whole people, engaged in a people's war, is able to seize power by rendering the enemy forces inoperative. From this point of view the enemy has many weaknesses.

These weaknesses are not state secrets nor obscure tactical matters. Rather they are to be found in the politics, geography and demography of our country.

Any armed force, as an instrument of the ruling class, is dependent on that class for political direction. With the political initiative in the hands of the masses and the ruling class divided the armed forces face a potential crisis of political direction and morale, which we need to exploit. While this would even apply to a professional force, the fact that the majority of troops available to the enemy are conscripts, and thus primarily civilians, means that the disintegration of white solidarity will automatically be reflected in the armed forces.

In number the enemy is not as strong as it might seem. Only some 100 000 personnel are professionals, while the vast majority are part-time troops. Large scale mobilisation thus has a detrimental effect on the economy, which is already in crisis.

To deal with the deployment of a limited number of troops within a large country the enemy adopted its strategy of area defence — a weak protective force permanently spread across the whole country to act as an alarm system to call in reaction forces based in major centres.

This system is effective in dealing with isolated incidents, but the number of units available for reaction is limited and is thus incapable of dealing effectively with a large number of simultaneous actions. In addition, the system's stress on reaction rather than all-round defence means that there are many enemy installations that are under-protected.

The enemy's claim to be the super-power of Africa has as much relevance to our struggle as it did to the United States forces in Vietnam. Combined armed and mass actions waged resolutely over large sections of the country will systematically overstretch and weaken the enemy. The pinnacle of people's war — armed insurrection — is the very point at which the enemy is weakest.



Northern Transvaal farmers on patrol

LET US ARM OURSELVES!

WORKERISTS AND CLASS LEADERSHIP



A number of contributors to this journal have, quite correctly, criticised the workerist notion that working class leadership of our struggle can be established through a trade union-based formation 'bargaining' with the political organisations of the national liberation movement. They have stressed the need for a revolutionary working class political party, and the historic role of the SACP as the vanguard organisation of the South African working class.

A number of contributors have also pointed out that the recognition by the Party that the struggle passes through stages, does not mean that it sees a 'Chinese wall' between these stages. The outcome of the struggle in one stage critically affects the possibilities in another. Thus while the Party's immediate aim is to combine with all other oppressed and democratic forces in the struggle for national liberation, it believes, in the words of comrade Sol Dubula, that: *'The inevitable victory of the national liberation movement can only be truly meaningful and guaranteed if the capitalist system of exploitation, which is the true foundation and purpose of racist oppression, is destroyed ... For this reason the Party believes that within the broad alliance for national liberation the working class must be the leading revolutionary force'*. (African Communist No. 87, 1981)

However, establishing these points immediately poses the question how working class leadership can be promoted in the present phase of our national liberation struggle. Such a debate has become all the more timely with the raising of the red flag and the slogans of the Party in mass organisations.

Posing that question immediately raises another: what does the establishment of working class leadership mean? In my view, this has to include promoting the active involvement in a leading role of workers at all levels and in all organisations of popular struggle.

However much we may disagree with the workerist political formulations which have

emerged from certain trade unions, we should take seriously their experiences of promoting participatory forms of organisation. Without romanticising, we should soberly seek to build on and develop the practices of direct democratic participation which developed in a number of unions from the mid-1970s onwards.

These practices were themselves built on the traditions of the working class struggles in earlier protests in which communist trade union organisers played an unmatched role from the Twenties onwards; a role which is continuing to this very day. Perhaps what understandably arouses a certain amount of passion is the arrogant claim by workerists that they are the ones who pioneered the idea of shop-floor democracy.

Recent experience has shown that even under conditions of severe repression a large measure of democratic mass participation in the organisation and planning as well as the execution of struggle is not only possible but an essential element in ensuring that the workers themselves rather than officials exercise a real measure of control over their own organisations. It is odd indeed that some who claim to stand for workers' dominance at all levels of the struggle should act in a way which isolates trade unions from some most important organs of struggle.

For example, the UDF declared itself in favour of working class leadership and yet for reasons never convincingly explained and often with workerist overtones, certain unions stayed out.

However, we must not allow our disagreements with the workerists to lead us to discount the positive elements of the forms of organisation and practices which they wrongly hold up as an alternative to the traditions of our movement. One of the key challenges facing SACP cadres and other progressive forces is to deepen the unity of our struggle while at the same time creating conditions for the working class to assume its historic leading role.

PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES EVERYWHERE!



FROM OUR READERS

No to the Dompas in Disguise!

Thank you for your inspiring paper. I am writing to you about something we all know is a burning question in our country — the hated dompas.

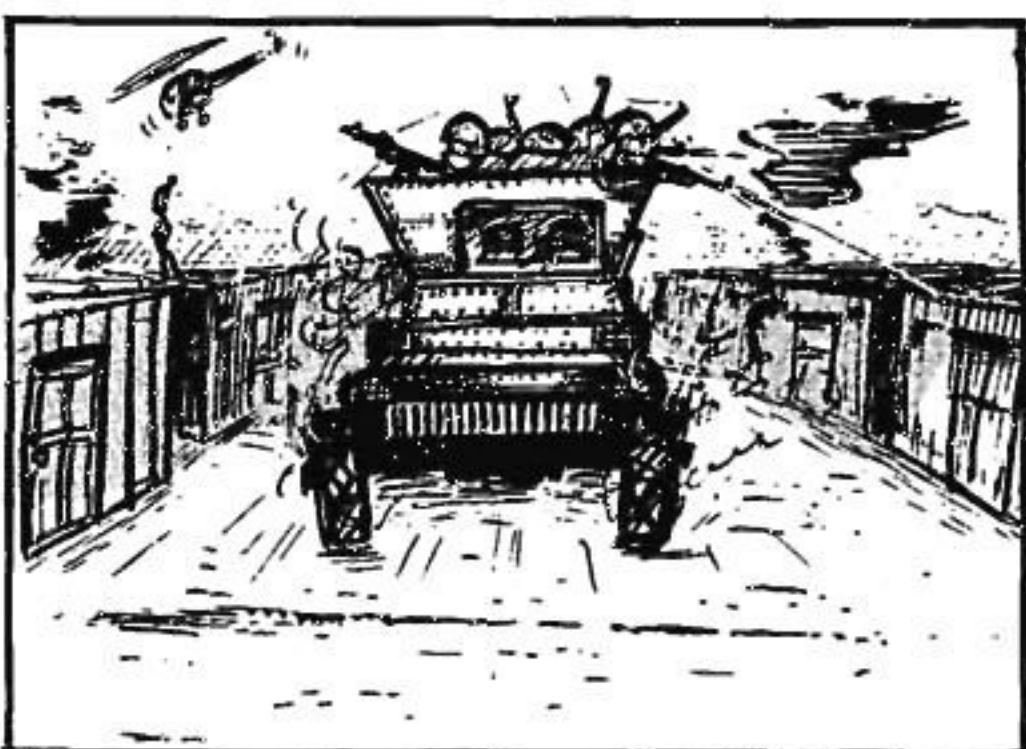
Once again the call has gone out for us to destroy our passes if they are not scrapped, but what do we mean when we say that the pass laws should be done away with? We are not simply demanding that 'reference books' should be withdrawn. Passes are not just books. To change the book for an ID document is meaningless, because the system that passes are part of remains in place. Passes, whether they are books or ID cards, can't be separated from influx control and the bantustans.

Without passes and influx control the white minority would never have been able to rob us of our land and set up the bantustans and 'group areas'. They would never have been able to impose the colonial geography which is central to the national oppression of the majority of our people. This system is one. Through the dompas, the regime controls our movement, where we can live and where we can work. It is as much about denying us our right to the land in all parts of South Africa as it is about controlling our labour. We therefore have to take concerted action to destroy the system as a whole.

Burning our passes and refusing to accept ID documents is the first and very necessary step. We must prevent the regime from dragging us into their control network by refusing to carry documents which help them in their work. This is part of our growing struggle to exercise popular control over our own lives. But we have to go further. We have to organise to begin to reclaim the land — our land — in the countryside as well as in the towns. We must break the chains of 'group areas' and the bantustans.

We have a right to live in all of South Africa. South Africa is our country. The 'white' farm houses which are left empty, the 'white' farm land where animals graze freely while we are penned up in grossly congested 'homelands'. We have the right to live there. In the towns and cities, the acute housing problems we face in the locations is paralleled by houses standing empty in 'white' suburbs. This is the lunacy of apartheid which we have to destroy. We demand that unused housing be made available to the people. When we burn the dompas we have to move to break down the fences of locations, ghettos and bantustan borders.

Let us reclaim the land which is ours!



NO TO BOTHA'S NEW DOMPAS!

PEN PICTURES OF SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS

MICHAEL HARMEL



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

A prolific writer, he contributed many valuable articles to such progressive and democratic journals as *Liberation*, *Fighting Talk*, *The Guardian*, as well as playing a leading role as a member of the editorial board of *Inkululeko*, the organ of the Communist Party. The most lasting monument to Harmel's

role as a writer and publicist is the *African Communist*, which he helped to launch in conditions of illegality in South Africa and which he edited continuously until a year before his death, when he was appointed the Party's representative on the *World Marxist Review* in Prague.

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

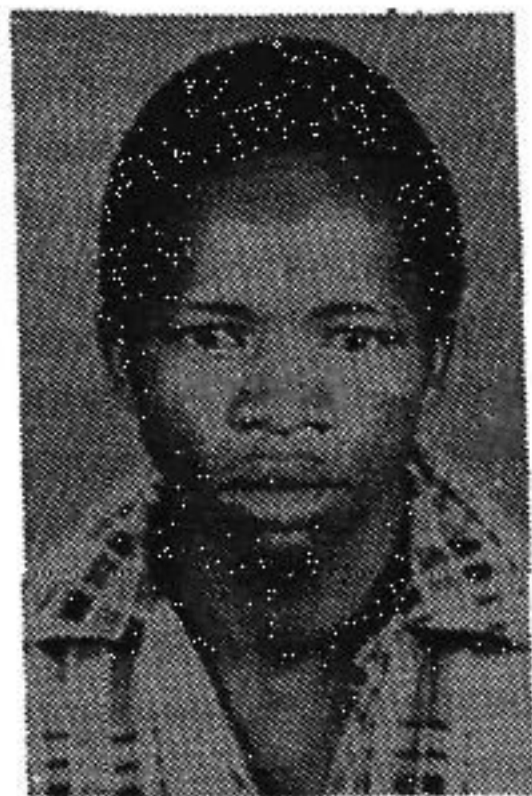
As a convinced internationalist, Michael Harmel worked tirelessly for the cause of the unity of the socialist countries, the international working class and the national liberation movement as the most vital force in the struggle against imperialism, racism, neo-colonialism and for the independence of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

Michael Harmel died on June 18, 1974

PETROS LINDA JOBANE — ('GORDON DIKEBU')

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

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



NO TO BOTHA'S NATIONAL STATUTORY COUNCIL!

JOE SLOVO: A short biography of the Chairman of the SACP.

(A fuller political biography is contained in the African Communist, 3rd Quarter, 1986)



Joe Slovo was elected Chairman of the SACP in 1985 at its 6th Congress. He entered politics as a youth of 16 while working as a warehouse assistant in a chemical wholesalers. He was elected a shop steward of the National Union of Distributive Workers and was part of the leadership of a successful strike in 1943. He was then victimised and sacked. Serving with the South African army in Italy, he saw something of the heroic anti-fascist struggles of Italian partisans inspired by an underground Communist Party. The significance of that struggle made a deep impression on his political understanding.

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

As a barrister, he undertook the defence of many political activists, while working in the now underground SACP. He was among the 156 accused in the 1956 Treason Trial, and was detained without trial for five months in 1960. Among the founder members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, in 1963 he was sent abroad by the Party. He was in Umkhonto's leading echelons from its formation, and has remained there ever since. Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, member of the Central Committee of the SACP since 1954, and a member of the ANC's Revolutionary Council, Joe Slovo was elected to the National Executive Committee of the ANC in 1985 — the first white South African to be so honoured.

We Honour Our Women

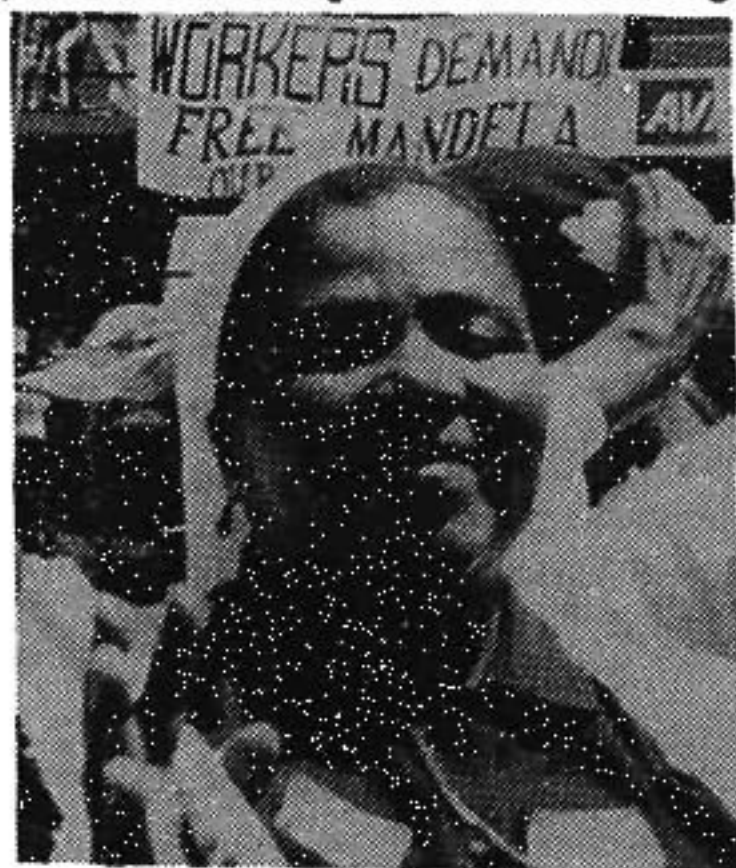
On 9 August 1956, over 20 000 women of all races, from all walks of life, marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria to see the racist Prime Minister. Led by Lilian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph, they delivered thousands of petitions signed by women throughout the country, protesting against the extension of passes to African women. As they dispersed they sang in proud defiance *Wathint' abafazi, wathint' imbokodo uzokufa!* — *Now you have touched the women you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed!* This day has since become known as South African Women's Day.

The 1956 historic march shook the apartheid regime. It demonstrated the strength of women as an organised force and marked an important stage in the growth of unity among the oppressed. The demonstration marshalled in a period of countrywide mobilisation and protests. The masses of women were set in motion. In their militant campaigns against passes, against municipal beer halls and dipping tanks in the rural areas, our women represented a strong united force to be reckoned with.

'You cannot draw the masses into politics without drawing the women into politics as well', Lenin said. Thus, communist women such as Ray Alexander, Florence Matomela, Dora Tamana and others formed the iron core of the women's movement. They inspired tens of thousands of women with their strength, courage and dedication to the struggle against oppression and exploitation. We are proud that the flower of revolutionary womanhood is found in the Communist Party!

On 9 August, we must rededicate ourselves to the struggle for freedom. We must come out in our thousands to confront the regime — the killer of our children — with our organised strength. As givers of life we cannot stand by and watch the destruction of that life by this monster regime!

Side by side we must win this fight!



LONG LIVE AUGUST 9TH!

A DISTANT CLAP OF THUNDER

The African Miners' Strike of 1946

(Extract from a commemorative pamphlet issued by the South African Communist Party)

1946 opened with the African Mine Workers' Union general meeting in Johannesburg, with some 2 000 members present. They drew up a list of demands — ten shillings a day minimum wage; family housing in place of compounds; long service gratuities; and the repeal of War Measure 1425. The tone was angry; again there were rank and file calls for strike action; again the union leadership held back. Letters containing the demands were sent on to the Chamber. No response.

On May 9th, 1946, the African Mine Workers' Union called an open-air meeting at the Newtown Market Square, to report back to the miners what had — and what had not — happened to their demands.

JB Marks, the President of the African Mine Workers' Union, took the chair and reported. Calls for strike action were made loud and clear by miners in the audience. Finally, a miner stepped up to the platform and formally moved that a general strike be called on all mines. The proposal was put to the vote and carried almost without dissent. No date was set. The union executive was to make one final attempt to meet the Chamber. The Native Commissioner and the Director of Native Labour were both at the meeting, together with uniformed and plain clothes police. No one, apparently, appreciated that a fuse had been lit, and the flame was racing towards the point of explosion.

On the 4th of August, again at the Market Square, a much larger audience of miners gathered to hear the executive's report. They had nothing to report save that the Chamber had blankly refused to speak to them or answer their letters. Immediately, from the audience came a call for immediate strike action. This time the date was set — one week ahead — Monday

August 12th. Marks cautioned all present against provocateurs, and warned that violence would achieve none of their objectives. What was needed was unity, discipline and determination. All present were to go back to their mines and use the next week to prepare their fellow workers for a Monday morning stoppage throughout the industry.

There had never been an attempt at an organised, industry-wide strike before. There had never been such a frontal confrontation between the worst paid, compounded and contracted black workers and the most powerful bosses' cartel with major influence in the state.

The Union spent the week after that last mass meeting spreading the word about the strike to its contacts all along the Reef. It was a task far beyond the real capacity of the four or five Union organisers. The shafts and compounds — now all policed, patrolled and wire-enclosed like concentration camps — were scattered along fifty miles of the Witwatersrand, generally in isolated areas of veld surrounded by no-mans-land of unused scrubland, difficult to approach by road except along the company's own private roadways, inaccessible by passenger rail.

The word spread — but how far and how many miners had heard nothing of the strike before it actually started has never been clear. The Union office, which should have been a hub of activity during the week, was generally quiet, often deserted, as all hands left headquarters for the task in the field. By the end of the week of preparation, there was little real organised preparation for headquarters operations once the strike had started. The strike would stand or fall, finally, on the self-initiative and self-direction of the miners, concentrated in a multitude of separate

FORWARD WITH COSATU



JB Marks (back to camera and inset) distributing leaflets outside a mine compound

and isolated compounds. The Union would be less of a general staff of the strike than a reporting centre and observation post.

The separation of Union office and Union officials from the closed world of the compound was to remain throughout the strike, despite many clandestine operations by which organisers penetrated the compounds and made isolated contact. The separation grew more serious as Union officials were arrested and locked up within the first few days of the strike. As a result, there has never been an 'official' account of the strike — of how the strike actually developed, written by anyone on the inside. The participants and strikers had an intimate knowledge only of that tiny segment in which they participated personally; none had an overall view, which could provide a comprehensive picture.

The atmosphere was not that of a labour dispute, as the term is understood elsewhere in the civilised world. It was rather that of civil war; it was a war fought by police equipped like an army, with rifles and fixed bayonets; its operations conducted like military offensives against an enemy, ending in 'surrender' signified by raising of weaponless hands; the surrenders followed up by the 'rounding up' of stragglers in hiding.

How many were killed and injured in this war against the black miners has never been established. It had been, by any

reckoning, an heroic confrontation between the most exploited black workers in the country, and the most powerful of employers allied to the state machine. In the course of it, the miners had pioneered a course which would serve the whole working class in the future; they had forged and maintained an inter-tribal and international unity in the face of tremendous provocation; they had discovered for themselves new weapons of struggle — the sit-down strike and the 'stay-at-home' (although here it was the compound which had to serve as 'home'); and the protest march to the seats of the power which controlled them.

If in the end they were beaten back to work with none of their demands won, they had made one fact clear to the Chamber of Mines and government alike — a fact which they and their press still failed to take on board — that here, in the mines and compounds, there were men who had grown to the consciousness and organisational capacity of the most advanced sections of the country's working class — a real proletariat which had felt the strength of its muscle, and could never again be disregarded or contemptuously ignored.

The strike had been fought and lost. But much had been proved for the future. It had been a dramatic clap of thunder which should have told South Africa that storms of a new kind lay ahead.

THE TRADE UNION STRUGGLE!

INGXOXO NEKOMANISI

'Ngingumuntu onsundu. Ngisebenza kanzima kodwa umholo wami awenele neze. Intelayendlu inzima kanti futhi nentengo yokudla ezitolo ilokhu yenyuke njalo nje.'

IKomanisi:

Kuyiqiniso lokho okushoyo. Ngiyayazi lenhlupheko ngoba nami ngingumuntu omnyama. Thina bantu abansundu siyiningi labantu abakulelizwe lethu kodwa asinazwi ekutheni izwelethu kufanele libuswe kanjani. Asinamalungelo neze. Sisebenza kanzima kanti futhi sihola kancane kabi. Kuyiqiniso ukuthi balingi abantu abadonsa kanzima kodwa kusemqoka ukwazi ukuthi yithi thina abasenbezi esikhiqiza umcebo wezwe. Into embi kakhulu ukuthi umuntu othola inoni ngokweqisiwe lawo wonke lomcebo uye lona osiqashile. Ucabanga ukuthi uwuthathaphi lomcebo ongaka? Yithi esikhiqiza lomcebo yena abesefika nje ngokugimbela kwesakhe isisu. Leyonto ayenza kithi siyibiza ngokuthi ukumucwa kwegazi (exploitation). Lento siyibona kahle lapho abesilisa nabesifazane besebenza kanzima ezimbonini nasezimayini bekhqiza izinto eziletha umcebo. Lomcebo uthathwa abaqashi. Thina ke esijuluka kanzima sikhiqiza lomcebo saziwa ngokuthi singabasebenzi. Lesigaba somphakathi esimelwe ngabasebenzi bonke jikelele sisibiza isigaba sabasebenzi (working class). Labake abathatha wonke lomcebo wezithukuthuku zethu sibabiza ngokuthi ngongxiwankulu (capitalist class)

Ngongxiwankulu bamunca igazi lethu. Yibona abanikazi bezindlu esihlala kuzo lapha ezinkompulazi. Yona lemali encane esiyisebenzela kanzima babuye bayithathe ngokusikhokhisa intela yezindlu enzima kakhulu. Basitshela ukuthi singateleki ngoba uma siteleka sizolahlekelwa umsebenzi wethu. Into abayifunayo ukuthi siqhubeke ngokusebenza njengezigqila. Thina asizwani nalokho.

Akusiyena wonke umuntu ophila njengami. Ngiyazi ukuthi abelungu abanazo lezinkinga enginazo. Bangitshela ukuthi inhlalo yami iyathuthuka kodwa mina ngizwa iya ngokubanzima

IKomanisi:

Abelungu abanazo lezinkinga kulelizwe laseNingizimu Afrika. Uma ungumlungu unamalungelo. Bonke abantu abamhlope, abesilisa nabesifazane, banezwi ekutheni izwe lethu kufanele libuswe kanjani. Izingane zabo zinezikolo zekhethelo, badla ngokwanele kanti futhi izindlu abahala kuzo ezikanokusho. Kodwa kwamanye amazwe emhlabeni kunabelungu abalamba njengathi abangenamali yokusa abantwana babo ezikoleni kanye nezinye izinkinga ezifana nalezo. Naboke laba abasebenzi abamhlope kulawo mazwe bakhiqiza umcebo othathwa ngongxiwankulu. Emazweni aphesheya afana nelamaNgisi, iFransi kanye neMelika abasebenzi abaningi bamhlophe kan-

ti futhi nongxiwankulu bamhlophe. Emazweni amaningi lapha e Afrika abasebenzi bansudu kanti futhi ngongxiwankulu bamnyama. Kulelizwe lakithi abasebenzi abaningi bamnyama kanti ongxiwankulu bamhlophe bonke. Kodwake phezu kokuthi bonke abamhlophe banejungelo abansundu abangenalo, amandla ombuso ophethwe idlanzana elingobonozinkampani, onozimboni kanye nabalimi abakhulu. Umnotho wabo ukhiqizwa izithukuthuku zabamnyama. Iqhezu elincane lalomnotho balihlephulela abanye abelungu kodwa abahlephulelani ngokulinganayo. Isizathu salokhu ukuthi nakubo abelungu kunalabo abangenomabhange, onozinkampani nonozimboni kanti abanye babo abanawo lowomcebo. Kunabamhlope abasebenzela abanye abamhlophe ngaleyondlela nabo bamuncwa igazi. Kodwake ngenxa yokuthi abamhlophe banezwi ekubusweni kwezwe, bayakwazi ukuthi bathole nemali ethe xaxa. Kodwa nabo laba abasebenzi abamhlophe uma isimo somnotho simi bucayi bangalahlekelwa imisebenzi yabo. Noma besekele umbuso wencindezelo yabamnyama nje, kodwa lombuso awumuhle nakubo imbala. Uma ngabe singaqeda yonke incindezelo nokumuncwa kwegazi, inhlalo yethu sonke lapha ingabangcono ngokuphindiwe.

'Uma uthi nina maKomanisi nilwela inkululeko, empeleni usho ukuthini?'

IKomanisi:

Ngumbuzo osemqoka lowo. Okokuqala nje thina maKomanisi umasithi silwela inkululeko asishonje ukuthi sifuna abantu abamnyama abaningi ukudlula abelungu esigungwini sombuso (parliament). Asilweli ifulegi kuphela. Asilweli nje kuphela iNkosi Sikelel'i Afrika esikhundleni se Die Stem yamabhunu. Zona lezinguquko ziyafuneka kodwa akufanele bese sima lapho. Maningi amazwe lapha e Afrika lapho lezinguquko esezenziwe khona kodwa abantu basahlupheka, bahlupheka ngaphansi kombuso wabantu abamnyama. Ezikhathini eziningi sithola ukuthi laba abamnyama abaphethe akusibo abanikazi bezinkampani nezimboni kodwa babambeke ongxiwankulu bakwamanye amazwe. Sesike sabona amanye amazwe ase Afrika elwisa omakhelwane bawo ngenxa yongxiwankulu bakoFransi, bakwelamaNgisi naseMelika. Asilweli inkululeko enjalo thina. Silwela ukuthi yonke lencindezelo yeminyaka engaphezu kwamakhulu amathathu iphele. Sifuna umhlaba wethu uphathwe abantu bonke. Izinkampani, izimayini, izimboni namabhange kufanele kube ngezabantu bonke. Thina ke maKomanisi sifuna ukwenza okweqile kukho konke lokhu esikushilo. Sifuna ukwakha iNingizimu yamadiandawonye lapho izimayini, izimboni namasimukazi ayonceda inhlalo yethu sonke. Sifuna abasebenzi basebenzele ukondla izingane zabo, bangajulukeli ongxiwankulu. I Ningizimu yaMadlandawonye kuphela engeza ukuthi sifike kulelo qophelo. Okwalesikhashana

umzabalazo wethu owokulwela inkululeko ukulwisa incindezelo yabamhlophe kodwa kufanele ukuthi siqale sicabange ngesidingo sokwakha iNingizimu yaMadlandawonye (socialist South Africa).

'Umtwana wami ubelwisana neMfundo yabaNsundu (Bantu education). Amaphoyisa amadubulela emgwaqweni. Uma ngibuza isizathu emaphoyiseni bangitshela ukuthi umntanami uyikomanisi'

IKomanisi:

Empeleni uyazi ukuthi umntanako uyilwiselani iMfundo yabaNsundu. Ulwisa ngoba iyimfundo eyenzelwa isigqila. Bathi umtwana wakho uyimkomanisi ngoba bayazi ukuthi amaKomanisi abantu abalwela amalungelo abantu bonke. Noma kukuphi lapho kunomzabalazo wenkululeko uyowathola amaKomanisi enceda icala lalabo abalwela inkululeko. Isitha siyalazi leloqiniso. Umtwana wakho useze wazusa ukubizwa ngeKomanisi ngoba weza lento esatshwa isitha, ulwela inkululeko.

'Inkosana yami yanyamalisa ingasangishiyanga nazwi. Uthe ebuya ubeseqeqeshiwe kumbutho wezempi uMkhonto we Sizwe. Ube esengichazela ukuthi lombutho iphiko lezempi ikaKhongolose (the military wing of the African National Congress) elwela ukuchitha umbuso wencindezelo wamabhunu. Wathi uma eboshwa bamthumela esiqhingini (Robben Island). Uma ngiwabuza ngalendaba, amaphoyisa angitshela ukuthi inkosana yami iyikomanisi'

IKomanisi:

Inkosana yakho iyiqhawe elabonisa isibindi esikhulu ezimpini azilwa nabafowabo

nodadewabo emigwaqweni yasezinkompulazi. Abanye babo badutshulwa phambi kwamehlo akhe. Kuhle kwacaca kuye ukuthi ukulwa lempi kudinga ukuthi naye aqeqeshwe esibhanyini. Washiya ikhaya lakubo alithanda kakhulu ngoba efuna ukukhulula izwe lakhe. Uhle wacacelwa futhi ukuthi uKhongolose iyona nhlango engakwazi ukuchitha lombuso wamabhunu, ibuyise namalungelo ethu sonke. Kumanjenje uqeqeshwe ezibhanyini zaseMabomvini (Soviet Union) kanti ngalesikhathi eqeqeshwa ubeda ukudla okubuya eJamane yaMadlandawonye. Ubegqoka izimpahla zaseShekoslovakiya, izicathulo zaseHungaria, amayembe aseCuba. Uhale isikhathi eAngola. Lana ngamazwe anceda uKhongolose. UKhongolose wemukela usizo kuwo onke amazwe azimisele ukunceda emzabalezweni wethu. Kodwa ke inzenye enkulu yoncedo uKhongolose uluthola emazweni amaKomanisi. Umbuso wamaBhunu uyayazi leyonto yiso izizathu esenza ukuthi bazonde amaKomanisi kangaka kanti futhi bawabhixwe ngamanga. Uma ungathola ithuba uyibuze inkosana yakho esiqhingini ukuthi amaKomanisi angabantu abanjani, izokuchazela ukuthi amaKomanisi awakhokhela kanjani lawomazwe ukuthi aze athole inkululeko.

Inkosana yakho yaqeqesha abanye abakhona lapha ezweni lethu abangasadingi ukuphumela ngaphandle bayoqeqeshwa. Umkhonto we Sizwe ukhula kanjaloke nsukuzonke. Yaqeqeshwa kahle kanti futhi yabaqeqesha kahle laba abanye kungakhoke bengaboshwanga.

Iqhubeka kwelilandelayo iphepha

THE ANTHEM OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS MOVEMENT I-INTERNATIONALE

*Vukan'zigqila zezwe lonke
Vukan'ejokwen'lobugqili
Sizokwakh'umhlaba kabusha
Siqed'indlala nobumpofu*

*Qeda lamasik'okusibopha
Asilwise yonk'incindezelo
Manj'umhlab'unesakhiw'esisha
Asisodwa kulomkhankaso*

Chorus:

*Maqaban'wozan'sihlanganeni
Sibhekene nempi yamanqamu
I-Internationale
Ibumb'uluntu lonke.*

*Arise ye prisoners of starvation
Arise ye toilers of the earth
For reason thunders new creation
'Tis a better world in birth.*

*Never more traditions' chains shall bind us
Arise ye toilers no more in thrall
The earth shall rise on new foundations
We are but naught we shall be all*

Chorus:

*Then comrades, come rally
And the last fight let us face
The Internationale
Unites the human race.*

READ THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

Theoretical quarterly journal of the South African Communist Party
Available from Inkululeko Publications, 39 Goudge Street, London W1P 1FD, United Kingdom

DESTROY BOTHA'S VIGILANTES!

HOW TO MASTER SECRET WORK



6. SURVEILLANCE TECHNIQUES (CONTINUED)

In our last issue on Surveillance, which is the organised observation of suspects by the police, we dealt with techniques of following people on foot. We now turn to 'tailing' by vehicle.

Vehicle Surveillance

A variety of vehicles may be used in surveillance — car, van, truck or motorbike. These must be dependable and powerful but not flashy so as to avoid attracting attention. A surveillance vehicle will carry no visible police identification but of necessity will be equipped with a two-way radio (so look out for the antenna!)

In heavy traffic the tailing vehicle will stick close behind the suspect's vehicle, hereafter referred to as the subject or 'S'. In light traffic it will hang well back, but it will always try to keep two or three cars behind S (Figure 1), especially in One-Vehicle Surveillance. The tailing vehicle will remain in the same lane as S to avoid making sudden turns from the wrong lane. There are normally two persons in a tailing vehicle. The passenger is always ready to alight and carry out foot surveillance if S parks his or her car or gets out of it. As in foot surveillance, inconspicuous actions are required so as not to arouse the suspicions of S. When more tailing vehicles are used, the scope and flexibility of the operation is increased. But normally two tailing vehicles are utilised. The number depends on the degree of urgency of the operation.

Two and Three Vehicle Surveillance

When two tailing vehicles are used, the lead tail A will remain two or three cars behind S and B will remain behind A, as in a chain. They will keep switching places (Figure 2). When using a parallel tailing technique, A remains

behind S and B keeps pace in a parallel street. A and B keep switching positions (Figure 3). With three tailing vehicles the possibilities are increased. A and B follow S in a chain and a third vehicle C travels in a parallel street. C may even speed ahead of S, awaiting it at an intersection before falling in behind and taking A's position. This allows A to turn off and follow in a parallel street (Figure 4).

Reflectors and Bleepers

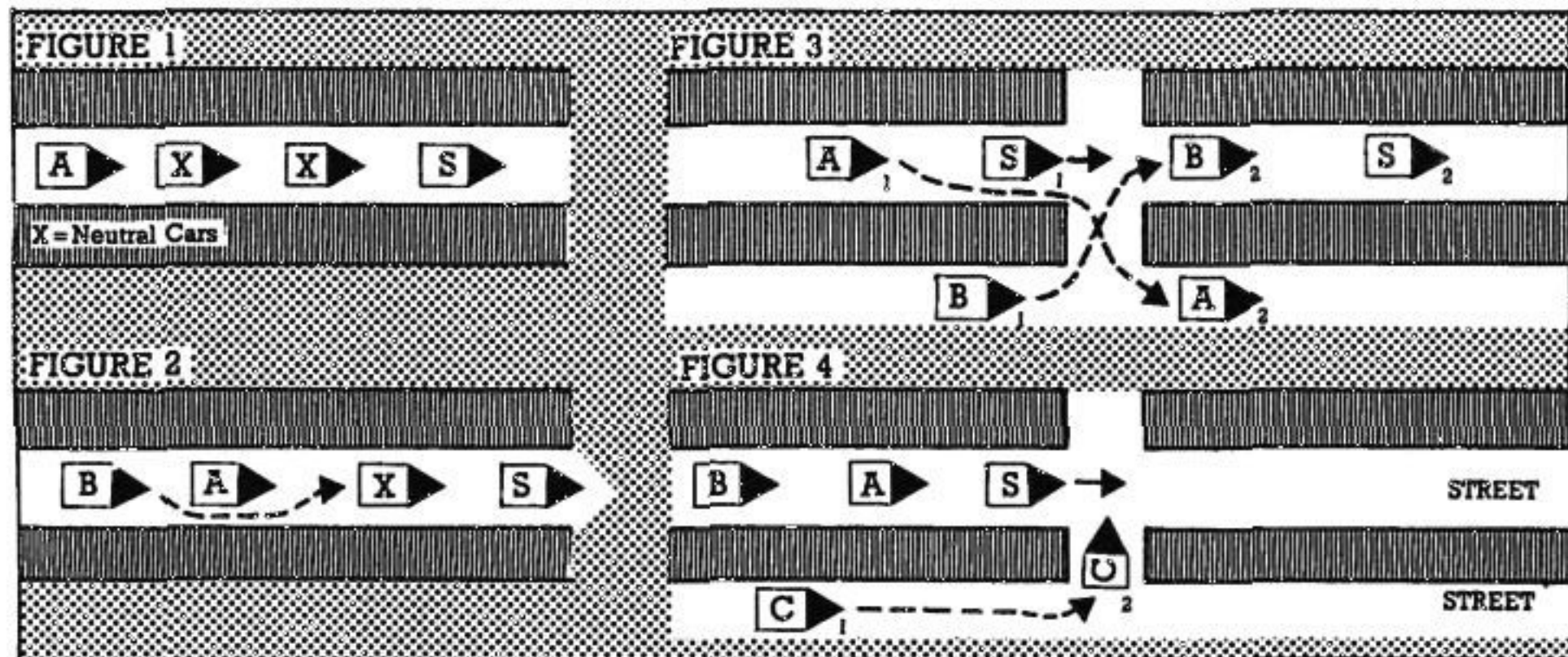
Those carrying out surveillance may try to place a strip of reflectorized tape on the rear of the subject's vehicle or break a tail-light to make it easier to spot it at night. Or they may place an electronic tailing device on S's car, called a *Bumper Beeper*. This is a small metal box which can be fixed to the vehicle with magnets in seconds. A radio signal is transmitted which the tailing vehicle picks up on a receiver. S's car can be tracked even when out of view! Such gadgets do not, however, make it impossible to avoid being tailed. It only means that you must be alert and check for such devices. Knowing it is there can help you to really mislead the enemy!

Progressive Surveillance

This technique is used when extreme caution is needed because the subject is likely to use all methods to uncover possible surveillance. S is only followed for a limited distance each day by foot or car. Observation is picked up again at the time and place where it was previously discontinued. This continues day after day until the surveillance is completed or discontinued.

Remember! Know the enemy's methods to deal with him and defeat him!

NEXT ISSUE: COUNTER-SURVEILLANCE





WE BEGIN A NEW SERIES ON:

MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

1. Theory, Practice and Struggle

Let us begin with two questions: what is philosophy? and what is Marxist philosophy? There are many ways of answering these questions. Some ways are complicated and often leave things unclear. Yet clear answers are possible. Philosophy is a way of thinking. It is thinking about such things as the meaning of history and the meaning of our lives within that history. Philosophy is reasoned thinking about questions like these: What is knowledge? What is freedom? How do we tell good from evil? Why is the world so full of suffering?

Philosophy is a struggle to think, and Marxist philosophy is part of the oppressed masses' struggle to think. So Marxist philosophy is a form of struggle.

This is not hard to understand. The apartheid regime separates our children and spends seven times as much on the education of white children as it spends on the education of black children. Our children go to overcrowded schools where they are taught by badly-trained, poorly paid teachers. The education the racists give us is not designed to help us to think, but to make us accept oppression and exploitation, and to educate white children in racism. The adult lives of workers and peasants are a constant struggle for food, clothing and housing, a struggle against poverty, crime and sickness and against the violence of apartheid. In such conditions, against such odds, to think and, above all, to think about philosophy, is indeed to struggle.

But why must we struggle to think about philosophical questions? What difference will such thinking make to our lives, and to the fight against racism and exploitation? In the eleventh of his famous *Theses on Feurbach* Marx gave this answer: 'The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it'. He did not mean by this that he no longer saw any point in doing philosophy. He was soaked in the thought of the ancient Greek philosophers, Epicurus, Democritus and Aristotle, as well as in the philosophy of the great geniuses of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Kant and Hegel.

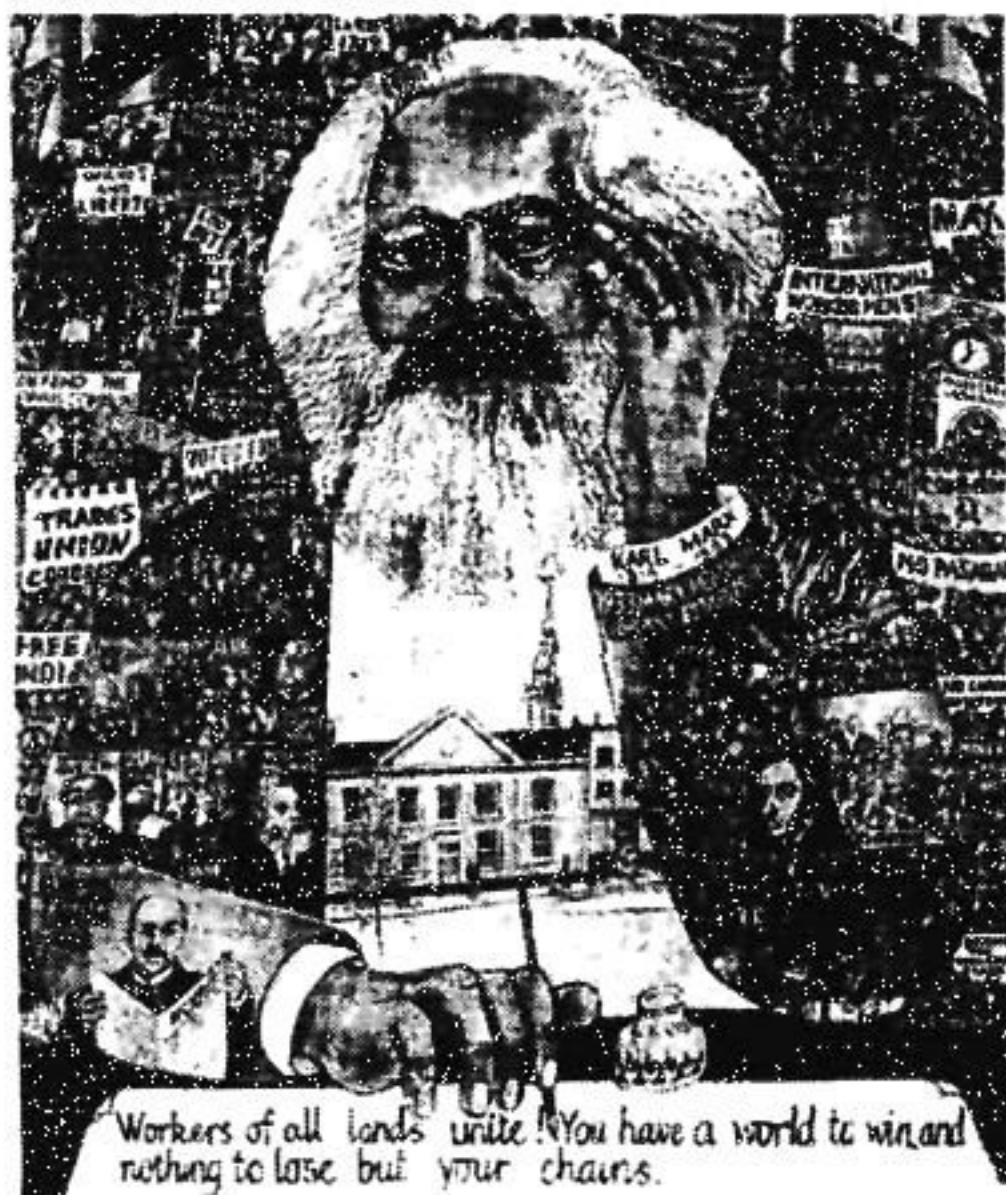
He had himself transformed Hegel's theory into the method of philosophical thought we now call *Dialectical Materialism*. No, what Marx meant was that philosophy had to be done in a new, active and critical way — a way which would enable workers to understand

and defend what was true in the various theories about human beings, the world and history and to rid their minds of what was false. In that way they could change the world.

This raises an important point. We have said that Dialectical Materialism is a form of struggle, and that it defends and clarifies true theories and criticises and exposes false ones. This means that Marxist philosophy is not itself a theory. It is a **practice** by which we show that the truth or falsity of a theory has been understood. So we can say that Marxist philosophy is a form of practical thinking which advances our understanding of Marxist theory.

But communists speak of a **unity** of theory and practice. What do we mean by this? We mean that, although theory differs from practice, neither is possible without the other. As philosophers we mean that no theory of history is possible without the practical thinking which makes the theory understandable, and no understanding is possible unless there is a theory to be understood. Marxist philosophy is particularly concerned with understanding and defending Marx's theories about history and economics — Historical Materialism and the Labour Theory of Value.

We will discuss these matters further in other articles in this series.



AWAY WITH THE TRICAMERAL FRAUD!



TRADE UNIONISM

6. The Foundations of Industrial Trade Unions are Laid

Notwithstanding the mistakes of the ICU, it was the tremendous achievements of this organisation which provided important foundations for the subsequent growth of our trade unions.

The ICU 'made the voice of the voiceless and disinherited African masses heard ... It awakened the revolutionary national and class consciousness among tens of thousands of African working people in town and country, brought to them their first lessons in organisation and unity. The ICU awakened and mobilised many of the working class cadres of the Congress and trade union movements and the Communist Party for the stern struggle ahead'. (*M. Harmel, Fifty Fighting Years*).

As early as 1924, the Party Central Committee had directed those of its members experienced in trade union work to focus their attention on the organisation of the African workers. Steps to establish African trade unions were taken in various parts of the country by communist militants such as Nzula, Kotane, Marks, Nkosi, Khaile, Dambuza, Gomas, Ngedlane, Ndobe, Tonjeni, Alexander, La Guma and Sachs.

The Party established night schools and a trade union committee to reinforce and co-ordinate its organising drive. A number of industrial unions were set up, including the Clothing Workers' Union, Municipal Workers' Union, Dairy Workers' Union, Furniture Workers' Union and others. As a result of the repeated refusal by the white trade unions to co-operate with black unions on the basis of equality, a meeting was convened on 25th March, 1928, and the Native Federation of Trade Unions was established. The meeting was attended by 150 delegates from the different industrial trade unions and it elected Weinbren as chairman and Thibedi as chief organiser. At the second national conference in Johannesburg in 1929, Moses Kotane was

elected vice-chairman.

Within a matter of months the NFTU had an affiliated membership of 10 000 workers. Its hallmark was that it exposed living and working conditions, campaigned against discrimination, expanded democratic and well-organised trade unions and provided workers with militant leadership in strikes and demonstrations. It upheld the principles of non-racial working class unity in the struggle against capitalist exploitation.

The future prospects for trade unionism which the NFTU opened up were not immediately followed up. The main reason lay in the disunity within the Party ranks which emerged at the beginning of the 1930s and continued into 1935. While the Party at no time controlled the affairs of the NFTU, it was no longer able to play its uniting and leading role. Many of the leading trade unionists, who remained communists throughout their lives, found themselves outside the ranks of the Party. In addition, the financial support for reformist trade unionism from overseas continued unabated. The white workers were consolidated behind the reactionary racist policies of the Labour Party-Nationalist Party alliance; and economic depression brought a new wave of poverty, unemployment and untold suffering to the black workers. While the communists remained at the helm of active, democratic industrial trade unions, the NFTU dwindled as a force.

The Sixth National Conference of the Communist Party was attended by delegates from various parts of the country, 60% of whom were trade unionists. The contribution of these trade unionists was vital to the decision of the Party to adopt its United Front strategy. Borne out of their **actual experience in concrete trade union work**, these trade unionists understood that the struggle to end capitalist exploitation is closely tied to the struggle for national liberation; and that the only guarantee of victory is an alliance between all the forces of progress.

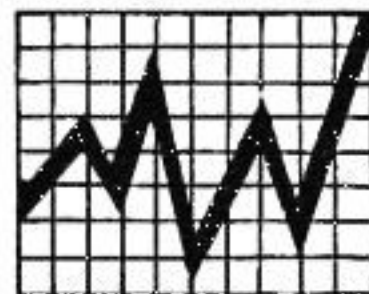
It was on the basis of this platform that the trade unions grew into an undeniable force. Founded on the principles and experiences of the 1920s and 1930s, the trade union movement continued to grow.

In the next article we shall be dealing with the history of the Non-European Trade Union Council which was established in 1941.



STRIKE WITH ONE FIST!

UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY ECONOMICS



This series will deal with some of the important economic categories which are regularly referred to in the media, such as the Exchange Rate, Balance of Payments, Budget and Taxation, Foreign Investment etc. We begin with Inflation.

1. INFLATION

What is inflation? In South Africa today the radio and papers say 'Inflation is now nearly 20%'. But what is inflation? And what difference does it make?

Inflation means a rise in prices.

Inflation is not just any price rise. It means a **general** rise in prices, so it happens when the prices of a wide range of goods are rising at the same time. And it means a **continuous** price rise, so it occurs when prices rise steadily over some months or when they continue rising over years.

How **big** is inflation? In other words, how much do prices rise? The amount of inflation changes; at times prices rise a lot but at other times they hardly change. The state measures inflation and publishes the figures. When they say 'inflation is now nearly 20%' they mean that prices are going up almost at the rate of 20% over a year.

20% is a high rate of inflation. It means that something which costs R10 one day, costs R12 twelve months later. (And something costing R100 goes up to R120 over the year, while items costing R1 go up by twenty cents).

Not all prices rise at the same rate during inflation. If inflation is 20%, the prices of some things rise more than that, while others rise less. The figure for inflation measures the average of all these price changes; in other words it is the figure for the middle of the price changes. The price of things in your area may be rising by more than 20% so the general figure does not give us the full picture.

What difference does inflation make? Does it matter?

Workers are badly hurt by inflation unless they confront the bosses over it. It raises the price of food, clothing, fares and other necessities, and inflation may include rises in rents. If workers' wages are not pushed up to the same extent they become poorer, for their wages will be able to buy less food and necessities. There is a term for this: their **real wages** fall.

The only way workers can protect themselves from inflation in a capitalist country like South Africa is through class struggle. Trade unions and community organisations have dif-

ferent roles in this. Trade union action, strikes for higher wages, overtime bans and other industrial action are the only way to force the bosses to increase wages to match the price increases. Community organisations can fight against the price rises by mass actions and boycotts against them. For example, in South Africa bus boycotts and rent strikes by the people have been successful over the years in holding back fare increases and rent rises.

In the end, whether workers are badly hurt by inflation depends on their strength in the class struggle.

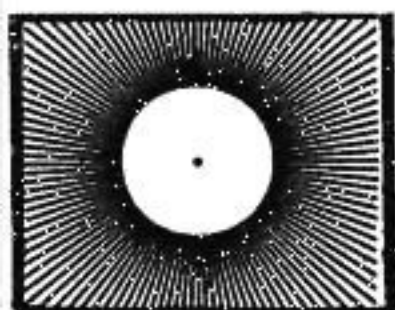
When the working people do not organise to defend their real incomes and living standard or when they are not strong enough, the bosses can make large gains from inflation. The capitalists in the **giant firms** especially gain, although some firms lose out. As a whole they have the state behind them to help them break the strength of the unions and community organisations.

The state and the bosses, though, often sow great confusion by arguing against inflation. In some periods of class struggle and some phases of the competition that exists between South African capitalists and other countries, business people and government ministers declare that inflation is too high and action must be taken to stop it. They blame the working class for causing inflation, saying that prices only go up because trade unions have forced employers to put up wages. Then they use that argument as an excuse for measures to hamper trade unions.

Such policies include direct attacks on trade unions' negotiating rights. And they include measures to create more unemployment, for the bosses think that trade unionists will be less militant when there is mass unemployment. That was what Marx, Engels and Lenin called the 'reserve army of the unemployed' that capitalism creates and uses.

In fact, the working class does not cause inflation. Instead, workers and peasants suffer from it unless they organise to defend and improve their living standards.

NO RENTS TO RACIST AUTHORITIES!



THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

5. Indians Defy and the Miners' Strike

The Party and the liberation movement came out of the war years stronger, more united and determined to raise the level of struggle to ever greater heights. Of special importance in the immediate post war period were the Anti-Pass Campaign of 1945 (See *Umsebenzi* Volume 2, No.2, 1986), the Indian Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946-48 and the great strike of African miners of 1946.

Indians Defy

Commonly called the Ghetto Act, Smuts's Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 forced Indians to live and trade in segregated areas. They decided to fight back.

The removal of collaborators and sell-outs from the leadership had cleared the way for militant action. Dr GM Naicker in Natal and Dr Yusuf Dadoo in Transvaal declared a *Hartal* (day of mourning) on June 13, 1946 and launched a campaign of defiance. More than 2 000 defiers went to jail, among them the two doctors.

The campaign left a deep mark on the ANC and world opinion. Congress, said Dr Xuma in April 1946, stood four square behind the resisters. In March 1947 he and the Indian leaders signed the 'Doctors' Pact'. It pledged 'fullest co-operation between Africans and Indians' in a struggle for full franchise rights, equality and the removal of oppressive laws. The pact laid a basis for the Congress Alliance of 1955.

Before then, in March 1946, the South African Indian Congress had appealed to newly independent India and the United Nations for sanctions against the racists. India under Pandit Nehru responded by withdrawing its high commissioner and putting an end to trade links with South Africa. Economic sanctions were being applied for the first time against white South Africa. And the General Assembly, led by India and the Soviet Union, rejected Smuts's motion to annex Namibia. National liberation had scored its first big victory in the long struggle to arouse world opinion against white supremacy.

Miners' Strike

The full story of the African miners' fight for a living wage has yet to be told. It began as far back as the 1930's when the Johannesburg District Committee undertook to organise the miners. SP Bunting and TW Thibedi formed a

nucleus in 1931 and attempted to set up committees in the compounds. The union was revived in August 1941 by the Party and the Transvaal ANC. In response to pressure by the miners, the government appointed the Landsdowne Commission in 1943 to investigate wages and conditions on the gold mines. JB Marks, who had taken on the presidency of the union, launched a vigorous recruiting drive with the assistance of James Majoro, a leading member of the African Mine Clerks Association.

This is the background to the findings of the Landsdowne Commission, the refusal by mine owners to implement all its recommendations or negotiate with the union, the enactment of War Measure 1425 in August 1944 prohibiting meetings of more than twenty persons on or near the mines, and the rejection of the miners' demands for a minimum wage of ten shillings a shift as compared to the basic cash wage of two shillings 5d, recommended by the commission.

Up to 100 000 miners struck work on 12th August, 1946. The government, police and compound managers reacted with the usual brutality employed to suppress revolts by the black working class. The strikers were beaten, shot upon and forced to go down the shafts. Those who staged sit-down strikes were driven violently back to the surface. JB Marks was arrested on the 12th while chairing a meeting of Non-European trade unions called to launch a campaign for a general strike in support of the miners. The strike was broken on the 15th when the police went into action with rifles and clubs.

Protests against this display of police terrorism came from many quarters. Meeting in October 1946, the ANC adopted a motion introduced by Moses Kotane, the Party's General Secretary, and Anton Lembede, leader of the ANC Youth League. It urged Africans to struggle for full citizenship rights and boycott elections to the Native Representative Council and parliament.

The NRC, meeting in August at the height of the strike, unanimously voted for a motion introduced by Dr Moroka denouncing the government's fascist policies, and demanding the abolition of discriminatory laws. To register its protest, the Council decided to adjourn indefinitely.

BOTHA IS DESPERATE

The raids which Botha's racist clique conducted against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe on May 19th are an important sign of the desperation that is gripping them as they face our united people's offensive.

The enemy remains powerful, treacherous and dangerous, and we should not underestimate him. But his panic becomes more obvious with each passing day.

The racists said they were aiming the raids against the ANC. And they made fantastic claims about the damage they had caused.

But, when the dust thrown up by their bombs had settled down again, even their own newspapers had to admit it: they had killed or wounded not a single ANC patriot.

Instead, the enemy had managed only to destroy two empty ANC buildings in Harare. For the rest, they attacked randomly with complete unconcern for civilians unconnected with the ANC. They had attacked two refugee settlements outside Lusaka. And they killed one Botswana citizen, one Zambian, one Namibian who did not belong to Swapo, and they wounded 14 other people. None belonged to our liberation movement.

Botha had totally failed to stop our mass and armed offensive inside the country which has gathered such dramatic force over the past three years. So he again lashed out at the Front Line States.

Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, told Botha what he thought of attempts to beat his country out of support for our liberation movement. The time had come to increase support for the ANC, Mugabe said after the raid. Four weeks later, 40 000 Zimbabweans gathered in Harare to pledge their solidarity with our struggle. President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia also said he and the Zambian people would stand steadfast behind our liberation struggle.

So, the enemy had not succeeded in harming the bonds of solidarity between us and our brothers in the Front Line States.

What, then, has the enemy achieved in these raids?

Firstly, Botha and his racists have shown the world in the most blatant way possible that they are not interested at all in any negotiations of any kind. Like mad dogs, they savaged the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, which was trying to promote some sort of negotiations between them and our people's movement.

They want war. We get no pleasure from war. Reasonable men and women never do.

But we have no choice but to hit back united, with every means at our disposal, to get our freedom.

Secondly, Botha and his racists made it harder for their aggressive imperialist allies to continue to support them as openly as before. Since the raids, democratic-minded people in the United States and Britain have demanded more forcefully than ever before that full and compulsory economic sanctions must be imposed against the racist regime in our country.

Thirdly, the enemy has shown more clearly than ever before to our brothers and sisters in the neighbouring countries that they can have no peace until we have destroyed apartheid and built people's power in our country.

The enemy has shown our neighbours that, whatever the cost in the short term, their solidarity with us, with our ANC-led liberation movement, is the only way forward to peace and progress in our part of the world.

Our struggle will be aided by help from independent Africa, from our neighbours and from the progressive world. But the main burden of the battle rests on us.



Pretoria's death squads have raided independent neighbouring countries many times. These raids are an attempt to liquidate our liberation movement and force these countries to submit to Pretoria's will.

The above picture was taken after the Matola raid in 1981.

DESTROY BOTHA'S TERRORISTS!

NO TRADE WITH APARTHEID!

In 1959 Chief Luthuli, President General of the African National Congress, issued an appeal to the people of the world. He asked them to boycott South African goods. His appeal was widely heard. It led people to form bodies such as the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain. For more than 25 years, the AM has been doing things like picketing shops which sell South African fruit, asking people not to buy it. Similar movements exist in many countries.

The same idea has been adopted by many governments. India decided to ban trade with South Africa as long ago as 1954. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have an equally long record of refusal to do business with apartheid. More and more governments followed these examples until, in 1962, the United Nations General Assembly adopted, by majority vote, a resolution calling for sanctions against South Africa. In other words, the majority of mankind have stood for a policy of sanctions for many years.

How Would it Work?

What exactly is meant by a policy of sanctions and how would it work? To answer this question we must understand the importance of foreign trade to the rulers of South Africa. The gold mines, the coal mines, the fruit and wine farmers of the Western Cape, the maize farmers of the Transvaal all depend for a large part of their profits on foreign customers. With the money which their exports earn, South Africa buys weapons for the army and police, as well as cars, lorries, railway engines and power stations. If all these exchanges came to an end, the government and its supporters would be greatly weakened and the people's struggle would become that much less difficult. Of course, only the South African people can finish the job. They alone can overthrow apartheid. They alone can build the free South Africa of the future. But our friends in other coun-

tries want to help and sanctions could be a very powerful way of helping.

The Enemy Also Has Friends

Why do we only say 'could be'? If the United Nations General Assembly called for sanctions in 1962, why are sanctions not in full force today? The answer is that a powerful minority in the world outside South Africa does not want to see the end of the powerful minority who rule inside South Africa.

Time after time, the governments of the USA, Britain, France and West Germany have voted against sanctions in the United Nations. These four nations, together with Japan, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium and Israel, continue to trade with South Africa on a vast scale. Some large firms in South Africa, such as Shell petrol or Ford Motors, are branches of even larger firms in these same countries. Part of the profits which they make out of their underpaid black workers in South Africa goes to their owners in America and Britain.

So trade makes money for both the rulers of South Africa and their friends in other countries. Neither side wants to lose these profits.

Recently, the British, American and other capitalist governments have found it more and more difficult to resist the call for sanctions. They hear that call from their own people as well as from many African, Asian, socialist and other governments. Their latest tactic is to play for time. They hold talks with Botha and meanwhile adopt unimportant measures which they pretend are sanctions. For instance, Britain and America forbid their people to buy gold coins from South Africa but still allow their banks to buy gold bars worth thousands of times as much. The peoples of the world are not deceived. They continue to demand real help for the South African freedom struggle.

ISOLATE APARTHEID



SANCTIONS NOW!