

UMSEBENZI



VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

BUILD THE HOME FRONT!

A SALUTE TO THE UNDERGROUND FROM THE 7TH CONGRESS

To our comrades in the Party underground — in the factories and townships, in the ANC, MK and trade unions, and in the dungeons of the regime — the 7th Congress of the SACP greets and salutes you!

continued ►



Umsebenzi celebrates our Party's historic 7th Congress with this enlarged edition. We provide our readers with something of the flavour of the proceedings and some of the main decisions. Among the items included are extracts from:

- ★ The Path to Power, the Party's new programme
- ★ The General Secretary's report and closing remarks
- ★ Impressions of a delegate
- ★ Fraternal messages

Pride of place is given to the Congress Salute and Message to our underground structures, whose very presence and contribution gave the 7th Congress its unique quality.

The people's revolutionary offensive has created a terminal crisis for apartheid colonialism. Our revolutionary prospects are greater than ever.

The 7th Congress adopted a new programme which charts the broad road to socialism in South Africa through the national democratic revolution.

Implementing our programme demands, first and foremost, building the underground vanguard forces of the ANC and of our Party.

Our Party's vanguard role is not achieved by simply proclaiming it. It will be earned by our dedication, our ability to offer leadership and our work in helping to build every front of the struggle.

The presence of so many delegates from the underground made the 7th Congress an historic one. Building the underground was the main emphasis of the Congress. Reports of excellent advances inspired the Congress and gave an urgency to its discussions.

Let us not be euphoric, comrades. There is much to be done. You are the pioneers in the building of a massive underground coordinating all forms of struggle and guiding the people towards victory. But most of this work remains to be done.

A prime task of South African communists is helping to build the underground forces of our liberation alliance.

Because of its role as the vanguard of the working class, our Party remains the most hated enemy of the racists. It has been built with great sacrifice. Many South African communists have fallen. Others languish in the prisons and torture chambers of the regime. But these dangers have never deterred South African communists.

Today South Africa's working class plays the leading role in our national struggle. In this process it increasingly looks to its vanguard party for guidance.

Our Party is active wherever South Africans come together to fight apartheid colonialism.

The SACP's prestige is higher than ever, both in the liberation alliance led by the ANC, in the trade unions and in the Mass Democratic Movement.

This confers an historic responsibility on our Party and the 7th Congress accepted the challenge.

We return to our posts, inspired by the Congress slogan, **Build the Party.**

The heroic efforts of the underground, under the very nose of the fascist police, have shown us the way.

The home front will be decisive, comrades, and all our resources will go into building it.

Forward to a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa!

Forward to freedom!

Forward to the 8th Congress of the SACP!

Build the underground!

Build the mass movement!

Intensify armed activity!

Let us prepare the people for the seizure of power!

For a democratic victory and advance to socialism!

FOR A DEMOCRATIC VICTORY



THE PARTY IS WELL ON THE WAY

Extracts from the General Secretary's Report
on behalf of the Central Committee and
Closing Remarks

In the course of this report we will draw attention to quite a number of failures and weaknesses at all levels of our Party structures. We hope to provide the basis for the constructive discussion on the way ahead. Understandably and correctly delegates will concentrate on the criticism and, we hope, self-criticism so that even in those areas where we may have done well we should leave from this congress with the resolve to do even better. And, of course, to do something about those areas where we have not done well at all.

Let us begin on the more positive side of our balance sheet. Comrades, we have come a long way. This Congress is a most significant measure of where we are. It is the biggest Congress since the re-establishment of our Party in the underground in 1953. Certainly, in the 25 years which have passed since Rivonia, this is the first sign that we have at least begun to bridge the gap between the outside and inside. For the first time in our post-sixties history we are having a Congress with the participation of delegates from every region of our underground. They are still a minority. But this beginning must be made into a sign of things to come. What we say here, what we do here and, what is perhaps even more important, what we say and do when we leave this Congress, must be dedicated to one thing above all: to ensure that our 8th Congress will be dominated completely by our underground.

This is no pipe dream. Nor must it be regarded as a prophecy. It is a clarion call whose fulfilment will depend upon each and every one of us and those who sent us here. We must regard ourselves not only as delegates of structures but as delegates of history.

The minutes of our 6th Congress are available for study and we do not propose to do more than to draw attention to the key political and organisational decisions and the extent to which they were translated into practice. We will also, under separate categories, cover the state of organisation externally and internally, as well as

selected political questions which have a bearing on perspectives.

The report then proceeded to deal in detail with the following categories:

- The decisions of the 6th Congress on both political and organisational questions and the extent to which we succeeded or failed to implement them.
- An assessment of the functioning of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau as a collective.
- The functioning of Central Committee departments and sub-structures.
- A report on the state of organisation in each Party region. The report showed that membership had increased by just over 90% since the last Congress. The racial composition is 70% African, 16% White, 10% Indian and 4% Coloured.
- Special measures to strengthen the underground.
- Education and underground propaganda.
- The Liberation Alliance and the Mass Democratic Movement, more especially the trade union sector.
- The Party's internal work.

We can record appreciable progress in carrying out the injunction of the 6th Congress to advance the Party's ideological approaches among the working class in particular. We have entered the debate in both the legal and illegal press and our Party and its published policies are being taken very seriously indeed.

We have considerably weakened the syndicalist tendencies which seemed quite threatening at the time of our last Congress.

Our Party's popularity has grown among organised workers and trade unionists. Our non-sectarian approaches have won us respect. This is an issue which still has to be pursued vigorously inside our own Party. To say the least we have in many cases begun to win the admiration, if not the support, of previously suspicious and hostile

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elements, some of whom we regarded as unrehabilitated workerists etc. We must entrench further the approach which rejects the old concept that all those who don't agree with the Party are necessarily enemies of the working class.

Our growing popularity among the organised workers was symbolised by the outstanding acclaim given to the Party's message to the Cosatu Congress. Our underground journal, *Umsebenzi*, is extremely highly regarded throughout the workers' movement. Above all, the rebirth of our underground has, more than any other factor, ensured the advances that we have been able to chalk up for the Party since the last Congress.

Extracts from Closing Remarks

We have reached the end of one of the most important and exciting journeys in the history of our Party. When we reach our destination — as we surely will in the foreseeable future — this Congress will be looked upon as one of the most important milestones in the direction of victory.

We all, I am sure, have a sense — perhaps for the first time since our Party was decimated — that we are well on the way. We have matured anew. We have been truly reborn.

Everything about this Congress reinforces this truth. We have adopted a programme reflecting the collective thinking of the whole membership. It provides us with the analytical tools to mould and to fashion our on-going revolutionary practice. It has set out a clear vision of a path to victory — our **Path to Power**. This is indeed what our programme should be titled: **The Path to Power**.

The mood of this Congress is yet another pointer to what we have become. It was a mood of the most deep comradeship on a scale which has never been more impressive. We are together comrades. Not a harsh word was heard. The discussion showed a constructiveness and a seriousness which measures up to challenges ahead.

Above all, this Congress clearly demonstrated that we are no longer in space; that the mission which exile gave us — to build the underground, to put ourselves back into the situation — looks for the first time like the beginnings of a reality. These underground successes, even though far from complete, have given this Congress its special flavour. It provided the real spark which was so much in evidence. The pledge of the 7th Congress must be for each and every one of us to dedicate ourselves to the underground in everything we do.

This Congress is the end of an important journey for our Party. But we must not think of this end as a rest period. We must not unpack our bags. The mere fact that we have arrived at the end of *this* journey should inspire us with even greater urgency and enthusiasm to move forward, sparing nothing.

The enemy is staggering. We must not let it recover. This Congress has provided us with the theoretical approach and the vision for delivering knock-out blows.

Whether we seize the time or not depends not only on the Central Committee you have elected; it is in the hands of each and every one of us. We must leave with one them imprinted in our very beings: **Everything for the Revolution! Everything for the Party! Everything for the Working Class! Everything for Socialism!**

**Let us translate the slogan of this Congress into an unconditional mission. Let us spare nothing towards a Democratic Victory and Advance to a Socialist South Africa!
Long Live the Liberation Alliance led by the ANC!
Long Live our Heroic Working Class!**

ELECTIONS AT CONGRESS

At the 7th Congress the General Secretary Joe Slovo, the National Chairman Dan Tloome, and a new Central Committee, were re-elected. The new Central Committee met immediately after Congress and elected its Political Bureau.



DAN TLOOME



JOE SLOVO



HOW THE DRAFT WAS PREPARED

The draft programme before you is the climax of a most thorough-going and democratic process allowed by our conditions. It can truly be said that every member of our organisation, both inside and outside our country, has had a say in determining its shape and contents.

The process began in 1983. A sub-committee was appointed to go into the question of whether, and to what extent, the programme needs to be rewritten. The sub-committee recommended a series of additional theses which would appear as an addendum to the 1962 programme, *The Road to South African Freedom*. These recommendations were circulated to all party units. The overwhelming response was that it was necessary to prepare a completely new draft.

The plenary session of the Central Committee in 1987 accepted this approach. It appointed a Programme Commission, chaired by the General Secretary. The first step taken by this Commission was to ask all units to undertake an intensive examination of the 1962 programme and to submit concrete proposals on the contents and shape of the new draft. These proposals formed the basis for the initial discussions by the Commission.

The Commission met a number of times both in plenary session and in separate groups. A draft was prepared which, with some amendments by the Political Bureau, was circulated for discussion. An enormous number of comments came in from the membership. Taking these comments into account, the Commission then prepared an amended draft which, after additional changes by the PB, is the document before Congress.

Approximately 1 250 amendments, suggestions and additions came from the units. Only a negligible minority considered the draft unacceptable. The overwhelming majority accepted the main theses contained in the chapters with varying degrees of enthusiasm. On questions of formulation, emphasis, omissions, style, additions, etc., the structures responded critically,

constructively and most thoughtfully. You have before you a summary of those comments that came on time. The verbatim comments are too mountainous to circulate to each of you, but they are available for perusal by delegates. You also have before you the original draft.

If you examine the specific criticisms, suggestions and amendments and compare the two drafts, you will see how the PB and its Commission incorporated so much of what came out in the collective discussions at grassroots level.

In this sense we can truly claim that the draft before you is an attempt to express the collective thinking of or whole membership. The process is an example of democracy in action. It is, of course, for the delegates to Congress to be the final arbiters.

Before we proceed to debate the separate chapters and sections, it may be useful to touch on some general questions which need emphasis. These have a bearing not so much on the specific content but on the level at which the Programme is pitched and the factors which should influence the selection of the contents.

Some units felt that the original draft was not sufficiently 'agitational' in tone and style. It is, of course, true that a programme cannot completely disregard this aspect. But this is not its main purpose. A programme (as opposed to a leaflet or a popular explanatory pamphlet etc.) needs to characterise the system, elaborate strategic perspectives for its overthrow and set out our general vision of the future society. The programme's best message must also be spread and elaborated among the broad masses through popular material. Such material must be both agitational and educational and must continuously link the contents of the programme with day-to-day problems.

A related question which was touched upon in the unit discussions was the level of analysis. For whom must the programme cater? It is not so easy for a basic programme (both in its style and

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content) to cater for the masses in an undifferentiated way. We should not shy away from theory merely because it smacks of intellectualism or because some concepts are not immediately understood by all. A programme is primarily a broad theoretical framework to help guide the Party's revolutionary practice and to attract politically active cadres of a relatively high calibre who may be potential recruits for a vanguard Party.

Popularising, simplifying, elaborating, educating; these are the continuous tasks which must follow on the adoption of the programme.

A number of units referred to gaps in the draft in relation to aspects of the immediate situation. A programme must, however, concentrate on tendencies rather than current events. It cannot concentrate too much on the details of the immediate situation or current organisational

problems (also raised in some unit discussions) in a way which will make it look dated within a short time.

Quite a number of units complained about the omission in the draft of the Party's immediate proposals for the post-apartheid period along lines similar to the final section of the 1962 programme. The draft does, in various places, touch upon this question.

But it is the view of the PB and its Commission that we should not, at this stage, be seen to be pre-empting the current discussions throughout the liberation alliance and the mass democratic movement on the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines. As a Party, we are participating in these discussions. Our final positions will no doubt take into account the thinking of the broad revolutionary forces.



LIST OF COMMUNISTS WHO HAVE DIED IN BATTLE

Insofar as we have made progress, it has been at the cost not only of effort but, more so, of blood. Since our 6th Congress in 1984 22 members of our Party were killed in combat or died in the course of duty. I ask you to stand while I read this roll of honour of those who have laid down their lives for liberation and socialism

Humphrey Chauke

Paul Dikeledi

Zola Dubeni (Jabulani Nxeko)

Wandile Hlobo

Joe Juluka

Bobo Keagile

Patrick Mabaso

Cassius Make

Shadrack Maphumolo

Mazizi Mapekeza (Mpilo)

Don Mashaba

Zukile Matakane (Zakes Khulu)

Bryce Motsamai

Rogers Nkadimeng

Lungisa Qokweni (Don Ntshembe)

David Rabkin

Morris Seabelo

Naledi Sehume

Scandal Seiso

Comrade Solomzi

Comrade Trevor

Mathemba Vuso



THE PATH TO POWER

Extracts from the new SACP Programme, adopted at the 7th Party Congress

At our recent 7th Congress the SACP adopted a new Party Programme entitled *The Path to Power*. In view of its exceptional interest and relevance to the present, *Umsebenzi* publishes extracts from this new programme.

From the Introduction

'The prospects of achieving a revolutionary breakthrough in South Africa are greater today than ever before in our history. The apartheid regime faces an all-round crisis which results from our broad revolutionary offensive together with the internal contradiction among the rulers. The crisis of racial tyranny cannot be resolved, except by the revolutionary transformation of our country ...

'Today the influence and prestige of the South African Communist Party is greater than at any time in its history. Although it has been forced to operate in the underground for nearly 40 years, our Party is one of the main pillars of the national liberation movement. The principles, the strategic objectives, and the organisational approach which our Party pioneered from the 1920s have come to be widely accepted among the broad masses within our country ...'

On Colonialism of a Special Type

'... In different capitalist countries the bourgeoisie exerts its class rule through different kinds of domination, ranging from bourgeois democracy to fascism.

'Like many earlier oppressor classes, the bourgeoisie also exerts its class rule across frontiers. In the imperialist epoch, capitalism has extensively developed its own variants of colonial, semi-colonial and neo-colonial rule, underpinning the brutal super-exploitation of working people in the dominated societies.

'Within South Africa, bourgeois domination and

capitalist relations of production, which emerged within the context of colonialism, have been developed and maintained since 1910 through a specific variant of bourgeois class rule — colonialism of a special type. It is a variant of capitalist rule in which the essential features of colonial domination in the imperialist epoch are maintained and even intensified. But there is one specific peculiarity: in South Africa the colonial ruling class with its white support base on the one hand, and the oppressed colonial majority on the other, are located within a single country ...

'There are significant class differences within both the white colonial bloc and the oppressed black majority. However, the effect of colonialism of a special type is that all white classes benefit, albeit unequally and in different ways, from the internal colonial structure. Conversely, all black classes suffer national oppression, in varying degrees and in different ways ...

'The South African capitalist state did not emerge as a result of an internal popular anti-feudal revolution. It was imposed from above and without. It was an imperial army of occupation that created the conditions for political unification. And it was within a colonial setting that the emerging South African capitalist class entrenched and extended the racially exclusive system to increase its opportunities for profit. The racial division of labour, the battery of racist laws and political exclusiveness guaranteed this. From its origins to the present, this form of domination has been maintained under changing conditions and by varying mechanisms. In all essential respects, however, the colonial status of the black majority has remained in place.

South African Monopoly Capital

'Within the white colonial block, it is the bourgeoisie and in particular monopoly capital that is the leading class force. In every sector of

the economy — mining, manufacturing, finance and increasingly even in agriculture and services — monopoly capital is now overwhelmingly dominant. Enormous power is wielded by a handful of companies controlling vast economic empires. By the mid-1980s, 2.7% of enterprises controlled over 50% of our country's total turnover; 6.3% of all enterprises employed over half of the national workforce; and a mere 6% had 85% of all fixed assets. Monopoly concentration of capital is a universal trend within capitalism — but the level of concentration in South Africa is virtually unprecedented. And the trend to ever greater concentration is increasing each year. By 1987, four companies (Anglo-American, Sanlam, SA Mutual and Rembrandt) alone controlled 80% of all shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Of these companies, Anglo American alone controlled 55%.

On the White Colonial Bloc

'The alliance of white classes and strata is not without contradictions and counter-tendencies. Although historically all white classes and strata have united around the system of white minority rule, the different interests that draw them together in this alliance are not static. Monopoly capitalism now tends to secure its labour from a more stable, better qualified and higher consuming workforce. From the perspective of monopoly capital these economic changes require a political and economic restructuring of colonialism of a special type. This restructuring is resisted by sections of the white working class and petty bourgeoisie, and by some of the non-monopoly capitalists in agriculture and manufacturing.

'Above all, the growing revolutionary challenge and increased international isolation are now dramatically weakening the cement uniting the white bloc. Today, the white community is more confused, more divided and more demoralised than in many decades. While certain sectors are in favour of reform to ward off revolution, others are increasingly swept into the ranks of the ultra-right and various neo-fascist groupings that propagate the most rabid race hatred. Generally speaking, these differences and conflicts within the white bloc are not centred around the abolition of colonial domination of the majority, but around how best to maintain stability and privilege.

'However, with the deepening political and

economic crisis, increasing numbers of whites are beginning to doubt whether apartheid is in their own long-term interests, and whether it can ever bring them peace and security.

'There are now many possibilities for detaching significant sectors of whites from at least an unquestioned faith in white minority rule. Indeed, increasing numbers of whites are now espousing an anti-apartheid position, joining the broad front of forces aligned against the Pretoria regime'.

On Black Workers

'Within the colonially oppressed black majority, the six-million strong working class is by far the largest and most significant class force. Neither the profound economic changes that have occurred in South Africa, nor the restructuring that monopoly capital advocates, amount to an abolition of the special colonial oppression of the black working class. Despite the changes, black workers still occupy the less skilled and lower paid jobs. Inferior education, the unequal provision of resources and the denial of political rights all continue to reproduce a racially divided, colonial-type workforce.

'The South African industrial proletariat, concentrated in the large urban complexes, has emerged as the most organised and powerful mass revolutionary contingent in our country. Its proletarian class consciousness has been developed and deepened by decades of militant trade unionism. This tradition is today embodied in the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and in the giant federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). It is a working class that has responded in its millions to calls for national stayaways, shutting down the mines, factories, shops and bringing the national economy to a grinding halt for days at a time. It is a working class from among whom increasingly large numbers are actively rallying to the Marxist-Leninist positions of the SACP, openly espousing the perspectives of socialism. Within our own country this proletariat is gathering its forces to fulfil the historical role predicted over one hundred years ago by Marx and Engels for the working class movement on a world scale. Assembled in millions within the very heartland of an advanced capitalist economy, and leading the struggle against national oppression, the South African working class is poised to be the gravedigger of capitalist exploitation itself'.

The Crisis & Apartheid Colonialism

'Today, colonialism of a special type is in deep crisis. The crisis is the result of a combination of factors — the economic impasse of South African capitalism, international isolation, divisions in the ruling bloc and, above all, the broad revolutionary struggle. The present crisis is more generalised, deep-rooted and enduring than those of the 1940s and the early 1960s ...

'... above all, the crisis of apartheid colonialism is a political crisis. The ruling class and its political representatives realise that it is impossible to continue ruling in the old way. Amongst their major strategies is the attempt to secure black participation and collaboration in a subordinate form of civil government. At the political level the essence of the regime's crisis is precisely the failure of this strategy. As long as significant black participation is withheld, the regime's crisis will continue to fester and, in one form or another, upsurge and revolt will continue with increased intensity and frequency.

'Every racist constitutional and "reform" initiative, designed to divert the revolutionary pressures, has landed on the rocks. Such initiatives have usually led to an increased tempo of struggle. The forced retreat from the concept that the bantustans would provide the "final solution", and the self-evident ineffectiveness of the tri-cameral parliament, are among the most significant of these failures. The attempt to win black participation in the setting up of local ghetto councils — as a step towards the so-called "Great Indaba" — has failed ignominiously'.

The National Democratic Revolution

'The immediate interests of the overwhelming majority of the South African people lie in the carrying out of fundamental change: a national democratic revolution which will overthrow the colonial state and establish a united, democratic, non-racial South Africa. The main content of this revolution is the national liberation of the African people in particular, and the black people in general.

'The historical experience of subjugated peoples everywhere, and our own experience, have shown that the ruling class will not relinquish power of its own accord. It has to be removed by the combined force of the struggling people. Seizure of power by the revolutionary masses is the fundamental task of the national democratic revolution. This will entail the destruction of existing state institutions design-

ed to maintain and defend colonial oppression. In their place, democratic institutions will be set up'.

On the NDR and the Economy

'In order to satisfy the needs of the people and ensure balanced and rapid development of the economy, it will be necessary to ensure popular control over vital sectors of the economy. This will entail the continual strengthening of the state sector in mining, heavy industry, banks and other monopoly industries. The national democratic state will define the general parameters of economic activity. In addition, it must ensure that workers in particular and the people in general play an important role in the running of enterprises, and that the necessary cadres are trained and deployed to serve the national interest. To fully eliminate the system of colonial domination, it will be necessary to ensure democratic ownership and control over decisive aspects of the economy. At the same time, the state will protect the interests of private business where these are not incompatible with the public interest.

'The character of any revolution is determined by objective realities and not by the wishes of individuals or parties. In our situation, the unity in action of the oppressed and democratic forces around the basic national democratic demands constitutes the most powerful revolutionary weapon against the ruling class. To weaken this unity by placing the attainment of socialism on the immediate agenda would, in fact, be to postpone the very attainment of socialist transformation'.

On Workers and the NDR

'The demands for national democracy unite the overwhelming majority of strata and sectors of the oppressed: black workers, the landless rural masses, the intelligentsia, cultural workers, sections of black business, youth, women, religious communities, sports people and others. These demands are also in the long-term interest of white workers, small farmers and middle strata who together make up the bulk of the white population ...

'But in our conditions in which national oppression and economic exploitation are inextricably linked, there can, at the end of the day, be no fundamental liberation without full economic emancipation; without the advance to a socialist and communist future. To achieve this, the South

African working class — and black workers in particular — must play the leading role in the national democratic struggle.

'The role of black workers as the dominant force in our struggle is absolutely crucial to ensure that the national democratic revolution lays the basis for a transition to socialism. Whether we will be able to make a steady advance in this direction depends mainly on the role that the working class plays today. It is vital that black workers ally to themselves all classes and strata among the oppressed and all other forces who have a real interest in the creation of a united, democratic non-racial South Africa ...

'However, the alliance strategy does not mean that the working class should abandon its own class organisations. It is of crucial importance that the working class builds and strengthens its own independent class organisations while co-operating with, and indeed leading, the broad democratic forces. Nor does it mean that propagation of socialist ideas should be postponed until popular seizure of power in the national democratic revolution. The Communist Party and other working class organisations must ensure that the ideas of socialism are widely debated, spread and take root, especially among working people.

'The transition to socialism will be neither completely separate from nor contradictory to the tasks of the national democratic revolution. On the one hand, consistent implementation and defence of the national democratic programme constitute a major guarantee for progress towards socialism. On the other hand, many of the major objectives of the national democratic revolution will be fully accomplished in the process of socialist construction. Among these tasks are complete national liberation and equality, elimination of sex discrimination and, more significantly, the elimination of monopoly domination over the economy'.

On our Approach to Armed Struggle

(When we first launched the armed struggle in 1961, there were a number of difficulties with which we had to contend)

'... These difficulties and many others continue to face us: the lack of an extensive area of classical guerrilla terrain; the absence of a black peasantry in most of the countryside; the separation of residential areas between whites and blacks; the lack of friendly borders; the great

mobility and firepower of the enemy; an army whose main contingent benefits from the system of colonial oppression; and imperialist support to the South African regime. In addition, over the past two decades, the South African regime, drawing on an advanced capitalist base, has greatly increased its military capacity, refining its counter-insurgency strategies.

'However, the people and their vanguard liberation movement possess many strategic advantages for the conduct of armed struggle ...

'The oppressed people, the social base upon which the armed struggle depends, enjoy both numerical and moral superiority over the enemy ... Our just war is supported by the international community ... The colonial regime is situated within the theatre of struggle ... Popular actions directly affect the base from which it operates. The six-million strong army of black workers occupies a position within the economy which gives it the potential to deal strategic military blows to the entire system ... The increasing reliance of the regime's army and police on recruits from the black community, especially in the bantustans, provides better possibilities for us to undermine the racist state machinery from within...

'Given the enemy's military strength, we have to conduct a continuous armed struggle which progressively saps the enemy's strength over a relatively protracted period. **But, given the objective difficulties mentioned above, ours cannot be a classical guerrilla-type war primarily based on the winning, over time, of more and more liberated territory. Nor are there immediate prospects of inflicting an all-round military defeat on the enemy.**

'Our armed struggle has to rely, above all, on the people in active struggle. The working class, in particular, possesses vast possibilities to take the war to the nerve-centres of apartheid colonialism. In mass action, the people create the conditions in which the armed struggle can be grounded. It is in these conditions that guerrillas can better survive, operate and work among the people. The popular uprisings have, from time to time, led to the emergence of mass revolutionary bases in numerous townships and villages, a reliable and secure terrain for the operation of combatants.

'In many current upheavals, the people make heroic efforts to engage the enemy using rudimentary weapons. Street battles and barricades take shape where mass confrontation

with the enemy becomes acute. At their initiative, the youth and other sectors set up Self Defence Units and combat groups. This creates the basis for the revolutionary movement to raise mass revolt to higher forms of insurrectionary activity, by popularising the skills of armed combat and giving all-round leadership and direction to the particular combat formations. In carrying out this task, particular attention should be paid to the formation and operation of combat groups in the industrial centres and white-owned farms ...

'In the rural areas, the growing mood of defiance and opposition, particularly in the ban-tustans, provides the soil for the creation and operation of rural combat formations ...

On the Relationship between Military and Other Forms of Political Struggle

'We communists believe that the struggle must always be given forms appropriate to the concrete political situation. It is this situation which determines whether the revolutionary transformation can be achieved by military or non-military struggle or by a blend of both. A decision to include combat activity as part of the political struggle does not, in itself, imply that the military struggle has become primary or that the route to victory will be only through the barrel of a gun ...

'(In our situation) ... organised combat activity must be primarily guided by the needs of the political struggle. It must be designed to weaken the enemy's grip on the reins of power and to reinforce political mobilisation, organisation and resistance ... (This) balance between political and military activities must reflect itself at all levels of our planning and in the way we use our energies and resources.

'... As emphasised by the ANC's Kabwe conference in 1985, without a well-organised underground linked to mass political revolutionary bases throughout the country, in both rural and urban areas, armed activities cannot grow significantly either in scale or quality. A mass movement organised at both national and local levels guided by an internal underground political leadership with structures in all the major localities, and at the point of production, is a precondition for the raising of the armed struggle to new heights.

On the Seizure of Power

'... the development of a crisis, however deep, will not in itself lead to an enemy collapse and a people's victory. The seizure of power will only be assured if the revolutionary movement has already effectively prepared the necessary political and organisational forces with the capacity to launch an offensive for the seizure of power at the right moment. **This at once poses the question of our approach to insurrection as a likely path to people's power.**

'An insurrection, unlike a coup, is a mass revolutionary upsurge of the people in conditions which hold out the possibility of a seizure of power. It does not lend itself to blue-printing in the same way as a coup does. The call for an insurrection can only be placed on the immediate agenda of struggle if, and when, a specific revolutionary moment has emerged. However, the task of making adequate preparations for a possible insurrectionary "moment" needs attention even during the phase when it is not yet imminent.

'An insurrection is an act of **revolutionary force**. But, it is not always an **armed** uprising. An all-round civil uprising could lead to an insurrection even when the armed factor is absent or secondary. History has successful insurrections of both types. Historical experiences are instructive but cannot provide us with an exact model. At the end of the day we have to find our own way. **In what sense then can we talk of an insurrection as a possible path to power?**

'The crisis facing our ruling class will be aggravated still further by a combination of mass upsurge, in which working class action at the point of production will play a key role, mass defiance, escalating revolutionary combat activity, intensified international pressure, a situation of ungovernability, a deteriorating economy and growing demoralisation, division, vacillation and confusion within the power bloc.

'When all these elements converge in sufficient measure, the immediate possibility of an insurrectionary breakthrough will present itself. **Such a situation will, of course, not simply ripen on its own; its fruition depends, in the first place, on the work of the revolutionary movement ...**

'... all-round mass action, merging with organised armed activity, led by a well-organised underground, and international pressure are the keys to the build-up for the seizure of power. Seizure of power will be a product of escalating and progressively merging

mass political and military struggle with the likelihood of culminating in an insurrection.

'The revolutionary movement must place itself in the best position to plan for, and to lead, an insurrection at the right moment. This means, among other things, paying special attention to building factory, urban and rural-based combat groups, popularising insurrectionary methods among the masses and winning over elements from the enemy's armed forces. The partial uprisings which have become a feature of our mass struggles must also be seen as a school for the accumulation of insurrectionary experience. The organisation of the industrial working class is of major importance; protracted national strikes and other industrial activity at the point of production will be a vital factor in the maturing of the "revolutionary moment".

Above all, a political vanguard is needed to plan for, and lead, the insurrectionary assault at the crucial stage.'

On Prospects of a Negotiated Transfer of Power

'There is no conflict between this insurrectionary perspective and the possibility of a negotiated transfer of power. There should be no confusion of the strategy needed to help create the conditions for the winning of power with the exact form of the ultimate breakthrough. **Armed struggle cannot be counterposed with dialogue, negotiation and justifiable compromises, as if they were mutually exclusive categories ...** But whether there is an armed seizure of power or negotiated settlement what is indisputable to both is the development of the political and military forces of the revolution.

'We should be on our guard against the clear objective of our ruling class and their imperialist allies who see negotiation as a way of preempting a revolutionary transformation. The imperialists seek their own kind of transformation which goes beyond the reform limits of the present regime but which will, at the same time, frustrate the basic objectives of the struggling masses. **And they hope to achieve this by pushing the liberation movement into negotiation before it is strong enough to back its basic demands with sufficient power on the ground.**

'Whatever prospects may arise in the future for a negotiated transition, they must not be allowed to infect the purpose and content of our pre-

sent strategic approaches. **We are not engaged in a struggle whose objective is merely to generate sufficient pressure to bring the other side to the negotiating table.** If, as a result of a generalised crisis and a heightened revolutionary upsurge, the point should ever be reached when the enemy is prepared to talk, the liberation forces will, **at that point,** have to exercise their judgment, guided by the demands of revolutionary advance. But until then its sights must be clearly set on the perspectives of a seizure of power'.

The Masses are the Key

'There is no aspect of the crisis facing the regime — whether it be the rapidly deteriorating economic situation or the divisions and vacillations within the power bloc — which has not got its primary roots in the soil of people's struggles. It is the all-round escalation of these struggles, combined with, and dependent upon, the consolidation and growth of mass and underground organisation, which will lead to the revolutionary breakthrough. **Our working class is the decisive force to bring about the collapse of racism and victory in the national democratic revolution as a stage towards building a socialist South Africa'.**

CONGRESS CALLS FOR THE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

This Congress acknowledges with pride the tremendous contribution to the fight for national liberation and socialism made by our Party members and others in the liberation movement. We salute those who have spent long years in South Africa's dungeons and those who have given their lives. This includes those executed, murdered in detention or by death squads, as well as those tortured and maimed. We pledge that we will continue to work for the release of all political prisoners; increase the demand for prisoner of war status for captured freedom fighters and an end to all apartheid executions. The campaign on political prisoners and detainees is an important area of activity and should be given maximum attention by all sections of the liberation movement.

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

MESSAGES TO THE 7TH CONGRESS



Our 7th Congress was greeted by trade unions, national liberation movements, and communist and workers parties from every continent. Below we publish extracts from some of the messages which came from our country and Namibia. A list of others messages follows in alphabetical order.

From President Tambo



I am honoured today, on behalf of the leadership of the African National Congress, inside and outside of our country, on behalf of its entire membership, and in particular, the heroic cadres-in-arms of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and our militant youth, wherever they may be, as well as on my own behalf, to convey our revolutionary greetings to the historic 7th Congress of the South African Communist Party and to you personally, Comrade General Secretary Joe Slovo.

The South African Communist Party has a proud record of firmness and resolution in struggle. Its history is replete with sterling examples of commitment to the cause of the oppressed and exploited and to the building of a just socio-economic system in our country and the spirit of selflessness and dedication that has coloured its performance ...

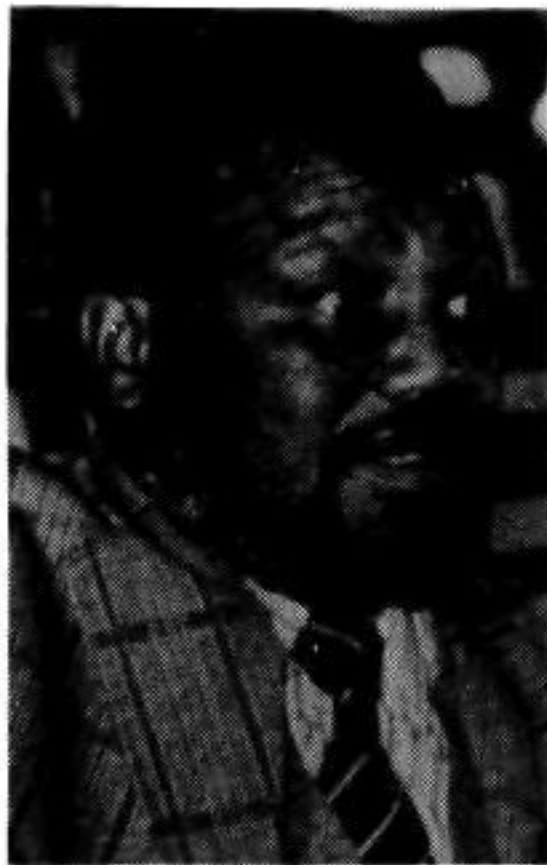
Those of us who have traversed the arduous path of struggle for many difficult years recall with great admiration the calm and vision of many departed stalwarts of the Party ... We are speaking here of the leaders of rare stature like Albert Nzula, JB Marks, Malume Moses Kotane, Bram Fischer and Moses Mabhida. We continue to be inspired by the fond memories we share of the gallant MK combatants who were also members of the Party, such as the late Obadi, Lucas Njongwe and others. With such a heritage behind it, the Party must deservedly stand tall ...

As never before we need to move arm-in-arm, shoulder-to-shoulder, with all our allies, friends and supporters. Within our own movement we need to close ranks now as never before and wage intensive struggle with reinforced vigour, including the intensification of our armed struggle. For it is our own struggle that will give clarity and direction to the international support and it is our own struggle, more than any other force, that will defeat the enemy and bring about a new order in our country and region. We have reached a victorious phase in the struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa. The defeat of the bellicose South African Army in Angola has turned the tide irreversibly against the Pretoria fascists. FAPLA, the Cuban internationalist forces and SWAPO of Namibia have done Africa very proud indeed. To paraphrase comrade Fidel Castro — after Cuito Cuanavale the history of Africa will have to be written anew. We are happy to reiterate this truth with all the hope that the military victory which was complemented by international political and economic support, as well as by internal pressures within our country and Namibia, will produce durable peace for the peoples of the Republic of Angola and spell the imminent demise of the UNITA bandits.

Our message to this 7th Congress, therefore, is: let us consolidate and strengthen the alliance and advance in concert. Let us remain vigilant and watch out for those forces who never leave the boardrooms where they studiously plot our own undoing. Our victories are many and significant. But now more than ever we need to defend them in order to secure our offensive and ensure our advance to the victory of our revolution. We wish your 7th Congress every success.

All Power! Matla!

FORWARD TO A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA!



**From
John Nkadimeng
General Secretary
SACTU**

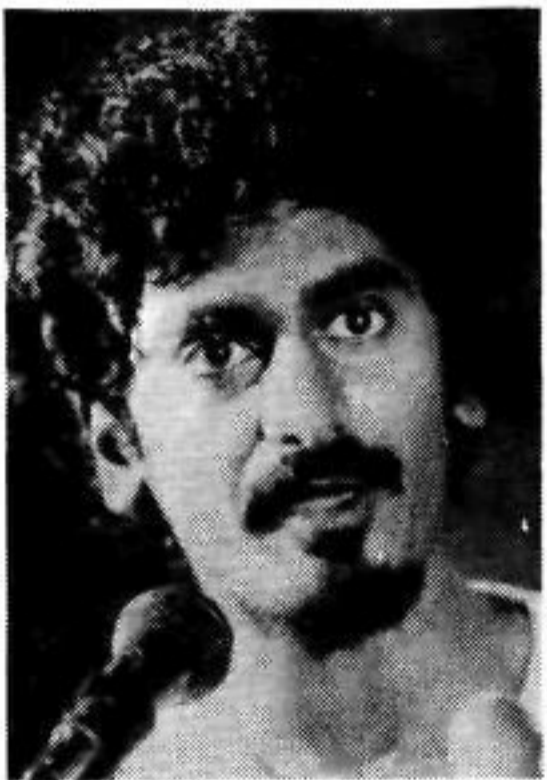
The South African Congress of Trade Unions sends its warmest revolutionary greetings to the SACP on this historical occasion of your 7th Congress.

Looking back over the past decade, considering our common struggle and our complementary tasks, SACTU and the SACP have reason for considerable pride. Working class organisation has re-emerged, more powerful than ever before, in recent years.

But it is not only on the trade union front that the working class has re-emerged powerfully. Within the broader mass democratic movement it is workers who are, more and more, taking on their role as the leading class force. This is being achieved not just through sheer force of numbers but by virtue of their organisational experience and increasing political confidence.

This Congress is occurring in a period that is rich with revolutionary potential. The apartheid regime is caught within a chronic, all-round crisis. Although the regime may still limp on in crisis for some time, we are undoubtedly witnessing its final years.

Despite nearly 40 years in the underground, the prestige and popularity of the South African Communist Party is now greater than at any time in its history. But prestige and popularity also confer revolutionary duties. You can be certain that the programmatic, strategic and tactical positions that emerge publicly from this 7th Congress will be closely studied by our friends and enemies alike. But, above all, and more importantly, the impact of this Congress will surely echo powerfully among the working masses of our country.



**From
Jay Naidoo
General Secretary
COSATU**

We salute the outstanding contribution the Party has made to both working class theory and the actual task of building and consolidating working class organisation. The labour movement which today has emerged as an important weapon of working class struggle has been inspired by the contribution made by leading Party comrades such as JB Marks, Moses Mabhida and Harry Gwala, amongst others.

You meet at an exciting time — a time in which the racist regime is clearly floundering under the weight of united mass resistance. The regime's growing inability to give a coherent lead to its traditional social base is clear for all to see. The whole country is engulfed in an ever-deepening political and economic crisis.

Even its erstwhile imperialist allies who have underpinned it in the past, are finding it increasingly difficult to justify it any longer. The crisis is irreversible.

Our historic duty remains to strengthen the mass organisation on the ground so as to develop the capacity to surge forward. In doing so, the democratic movement has to forge a programme that overcomes our subjective weaknesses and takes along with it as wide a range of forces for change as is possible into a future in which they have an objective interest.

We are confident that your deliberations and conclusions will add to the momentum which brings us closer to our strategic objective of total liberation.

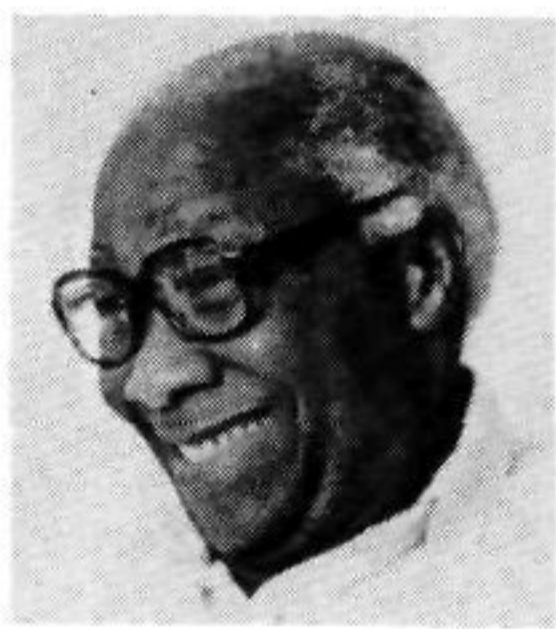


**From President
Sam Nujoma
of SWAPO**

On behalf of the Central Committee of SWAPO, I would like to convey to you and through you to all the leaders and ardent participants to the Congress warm and militant salutations from the rank and file of our Movement. We wish to express our full solidarity and support with you, comrades-in-arms, as people with whom we are fighting against the common enemy.

We are convinced that decisions and resolutions to be taken by the 7th Congress will have some political influence on the development of events in South Africa in particular, and our region in general.

We wish you renewed strength, excellent health and many more successes in the just struggle for the establishment of a democratic and non-racial South Africa and the complete eradication of apartheid.



**From
Govan Mbeki**

About a fortnight ago I received the *Draft Programme*. I wish to say I was overjoyed to read, after a quarter of a century, a document of its nature. I wish to convey my very warm greetings to all the comrades at the Congress and elsewhere. I would like to assure them of the great spirit and determination of the comrades I left behind on Robben Island and at the other places where our fighters are continuing the struggle under other conditions than the ones we're experiencing.

I am sending these greetings not only from me but also on their behalf.
Long Live the 7th Congress!



**From Communists
on Trial**

We want to convey our militant and revolutionary greetings to the *Indaba* and to wish it all the success in its important and difficult task. We will await the outcome of the *Indaba* with keen interest. We refuse to be grounded and be cut off from the mainstream of struggle.

We are preparing ourselves for the impending battles which will be starting in the Supreme Court.

Messages from Communist and Workers Parties:

CP Algeria, CP Austria, CP Argentina, CP Belgium, CP Bulgaria, CP Canada, CP China, CP Colombia, CP Congo, CP Cuba, CP Cyprus, CP Czechoslovakia, CP Egypt, CP El Salvador, CP Ethiopia, CP Finland, SED (GDR), German CP, CP Great Britain, CP Greece, CP Guadeloupe, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, CP Iraq, CP Ireland, CP Israel, CP Japan, CP Jordan, CP Lesotho, CP Martinique, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, CP Mozambique, CP Netherlands, Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand, Socialist Working People's Party of Nigeria, CP Phillipines, CP Poland, CP Portugal, CP Romania, CP Soviet Union, CP of Spain and the CP of the People's of Spain, CP Sudan, Left Party Communist of Sweden, Swiss Party of Labour, CP Syria, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, CP USA.

MEMBERS REINSTATED

In 1937 three South African communists were arrested in the Soviet Union and charged with 'counter revolutionary' activity. They were expelled from the CPSA by the Comintern and sentenced to undergo imprisonment in labour camps. Two of them were executed in 1938 and the third is reported to have died in a labour camp in 1941. All the sentences have since been annulled by the Soviet judicial authorities.

At the 7th Congress the following resolution was adopted:

'In the light of the information received from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the effect that P. Richter and M. Richter, executed by the Soviet authorities on 1 March, 1938, and Lazar Bach, who died in a Soviet labour camp of 'natural causes' on 10 March, 1941, had been expelled from the Communist Party and convicted on the basis of false evidence extracted from them by the Soviet security authorities, this 7th Congress of the SACP decides that the three comrades would be posthumously reinstated as members of the Party.'



Congress also instructed the PB to re-examine the cases of SP Bunting and others expelled by the CPSA during the early 1930s. In the case of SP Bunting, the PB has declared that 'it is high time to restore Comrade

Bunting, a great leader of the liberation movement, to the roll of honour where he rightly belongs. He was unjustly expelled from the Party together with other leading militants in 1931 during the great 'purge' carried out by international communists of alleged "right wing deviationists".'

Although he had doubts about certain aspects of the Black Republic policy adopted by the 6th Congress of the Comintern in 1928, it was left to him to explain and win support for the policy on his return to SA from Moscow. 'It was a travesty of justice to condemn him for having the courage and foresight to initiate what would in time become the settled policy of the entire mass democratic movement'.

CONGRESS ON NAMIBIA

The Namibian independence process at present under way in terms of United Nations Resolution 435 is a major milestone in the decolonisation of our continent. After decades of heroic struggle under the leadership of SWAPO, freedom for the Namibian people is now in sight.

The Namibian independence process is the result of three major factors:

i) the historic defeat of the apartheid war machine on the battlefield in southern Angola, by the combined forces of FAPLA, the Cuban Internationalists and SWAPO. This military defeat resulted partly from the impact of the international arms embargo on Pretoria. But it was also the result of the superior morale of the combined FAPLA, Cuban and SWAPO combatants engaged in a just war.

ii) the growing inability of an apartheid economy in crisis to sustain the war in Namibia and Angola. This economic crisis is partly the result of international sanctions and disinvestment directed against apartheid South Africa.

iii) the overall struggle within South Africa itself, tying down large numbers of SADF forces. Many young whites, who have openly refused forced conscription into the SADF, have also contributed to the defeat of Pretoria's military aspirations in South Western Africa.

Pretoria has been forced to the negotiating table by military defeat, international isolation and by all-round political struggle led by SWAPO. There has been no 'change of heart' by the regime. It is of the greatest importance to emphasise this fact. Neither Pretoria nor its imperialist allies must be allowed to use the Namibian peace process as a pretext for undermining the campaign for the international isolation of apartheid.

In the coming months the struggling peoples of South Africa and Namibia, and all progressive forces around the world, must exercise maximum vigilance to ensure Pretoria complies with UN Resolution 435. To this end, the SACP sees the forging and deepening of ties of solidarity between the Namibian and South African people as an important priority within South Africa. Independence in Namibia must resound throughout the ranks of our people, inspiring the struggle against the last bastion of colonialism in our continent.



A DELEGATE'S IMPRESSION

At the opening of the Party's 7th Congress, as we rose to sing the National Anthem, and the *Internationale* — first in English, then in Zulu — I had, to be honest, a feeling of considerable bewilderment. For me, as for many other delegates, this was my first SACP Congress. It was a very strange sensation to be gathered together with so many fellow South African communists. My direct experience of Party life has always been in the back of a Kombi, or in a darkened room — hurried, clandestine meetings with one or two other anonymous comrades.

Now here we were, gathered openly beneath the new Party flag, red with its black star and gold hammer and sickle. Behind the speakers' dais was a large banner: **Build the Party ... For a Democratic Victory and Advance to Socialism!**

Of course, not all the delegates would have been as bewildered as I was at the beginning. Not all were attending their very first Party congress. During the breaks between sessions, one comrade was able to entertain us with memories of CPSA congresses going back to the 1930s.

It is inspiring to be a member of a Party that has such deep roots, a Party that has weathered nearly 40 years of illegality, and which, despite four decades in the underground, is now more popular and more influential within our country than ever before.

But the 7th Congress was much more than songs, banners and memories. It involved many long hours of hard work. In my opinion the main achievement of all this hard work was the adoption of the new Party programme — *The Path to Power*. It was no easy task. As an entire Congress we proceeded line by line, paragraph by paragraph through a 50-page draft document.

We had to consider more than one thousand amendments, criticisms and additions proposed by the entire Party membership. Should our programme in its style and approach place more emphasis on analysis and strategy, or on agitation and education? (On this we agreed that the former tasks were more important. Agitation and

education around the perspectives of the new programme could come later).

How detailed should a programme's strategy be? (Here, after some discussion, we agreed that a Party programme should be a guiding light for an entire phase of struggle. It should not be confused with a very time-specific programme of action.)

There were other issues that were debated intensely. The whole Congress was very enthusiastic about the much clearer insurrectionary perspective that the draft programme introduced. Here, we all felt, was a strategic approach that was informed by the great rolling wave of struggles within our country in the 1980s. Here was an approach that introduced a much more concrete, specific grasp of the social realities of revolutionary struggle in South Africa.

But comrades were also concerned that this emphasis on insurrection should not be seen, in any way, as displacing our commitment to protracted struggle. Nor should the importance of rural areas be ignored. After much debate about precise formulations, the Congress adopted a programme of which we are all proud.

Whether working through the programme, or discussing organisational matters, or considering the international report, our Congress was always dominated by one major concern — the Home Front. In his concluding remarks Cde Joe Slovo, unanimously re-elected General Secretary, underlined this point.

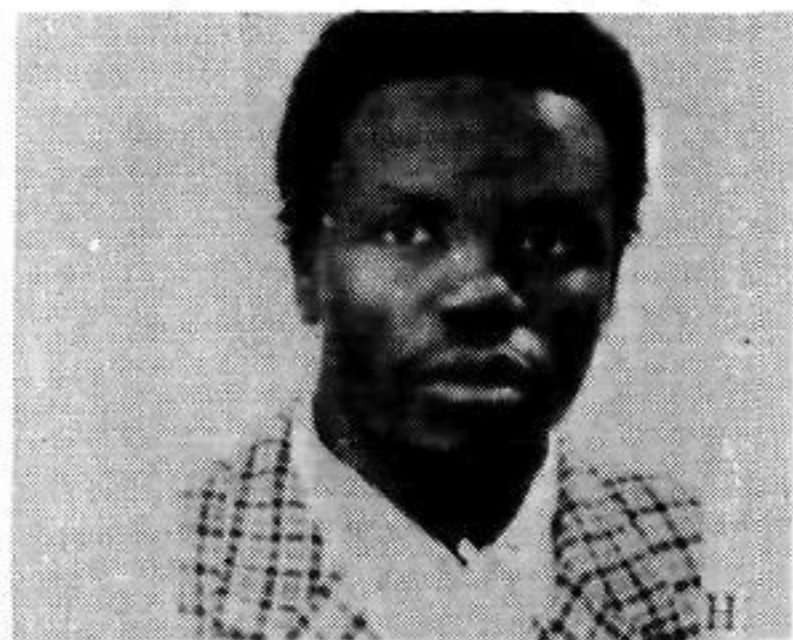
'The test of a good policy', he said 'is that it becomes negated by its own achievement. We have fulfilled the mission which exile gave us. Less and less can we hope to lead effectively from the outside. This growing limitation is not a measure of failure. It is a measure of success. It is ever more vital that more and more of us should be where the action really is.'

Armed and motivated with that perspective, we, delegates, embraced each other, said our goodbyes, and dispersed into the massed ranks of our great liberation struggle.



PEN PICTURES OF SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS

GENE GUGUSHE (STEPHEN SEROTO)
(also known as Ngini)



among the flood of young people who left the country. He joined Umkhonto, excelled during training and became an engineering instructor. An avid reader, Gene rapidly grew into an excellent political theoretician.

After recruitment into the SACP, he was selected to study Marxism-Leninism at the Lenin Party School. Upon completion of his studies, Gene was deployed in Lesotho to concentrate on trade union and Party work.

Serious, industrious, absolutely committed to our revolutionary cause, Gene became an outstanding political instructor. Able to speak most South African languages, he communicated clearly on both theory and practice with trade unionists and underground operatives who participated in his political school.

The barbarous Maseru raid, in which he was gunned down, deprived our movement and our people of a very gifted revolutionary who would surely have become one of our outstanding leaders.

Very few of the younger generation of communists have made such a deep impression as Comrade Gene. Born in the middle fifties in Kroonstad, OFS, Gene's experience of Bantu Education, as with so many others of his generation, turned him into a questioning rebel. He participated in the 1976 student revolt, and was

PREPARE FOR SEIZURE OF POWER!

MK HITS WHERE IT HURTS

In the early hours of 3rd May 1989 a unit of Umkhonto we Sizwe attacked a strategic military base near Slurry in the Western Transvaal. The base houses 3 Sattelite Radar Station, a key SA Air Force installation which is responsible for monitoring air movement in Botswana and controlling SAAF fighter planes operating within 500km of Slurry.

It is also the garrison for the enemy's troops currently occupying Bophuthatswana.

The attack began with a mortar bombardment. Six shells hit the barracks, two struck the radar itself and a further two landed in the base's vehicle park. One cadre was wounded and captured. The rest of the units withdrew safely.

From local sources we established that all nearby hospitals were mobilised to deal with the wounded and numerous helicopters ferried casualties to Pretoria. Damage to the radar will disrupt the SAAF's covert reconnaissance over Botswana and disable it's fighter-control capabilities for some time.

The attack on Slurry is the largest operation ever conducted by MK against an enemy installation. In MK's record of operations this year, however, it is no exception. The majority of actions have been against enemy installations and personnel. These include successful operations against the Natal Command Officer's Club and Nataliahof police residence in Durban; the Municipal Police and Kit-skonstabel bases in Katlehong; the Municipal Police base in Dube; and attacks on police

patrols in the Witwatersrand, Eastern Cape and Natal.

Statistics indicate that the enemy had suffered heavy casualties this year with at least 22 killed and 80 wounded. During this same period no civilians were killed, and only 3 were injured. These figures speak for themselves: there can be no doubt as to both the intended targets and discipline of units in the field. This is both a welcome and important development away from last year's spate of incidents featuring civilian casualties.

These actions have occurred at a time when the enemy and its media predicted that the disbanding of Umkhonto training camps in Angola would result in a serious setback to the armed struggle. Events have shown, as the ANC leadership has always stated, that the development of armed struggle is not dependent on its rear bases.

MK has two major responsibilities: firstly, as the core of our People's Army, to deploy cadres capable of reproducing themselves so that the combat forces of the revolution multiply and stones are replaced with grenades, sticks with AKs; secondly to field highly skilled soldiers to strike at the enemy's security forces and nerve centres. The record shows that both these responsibilities are being met.

The number of actions carried out to date this year is down on previous years. The quality of actions, however, is immeasurably higher. It is this which, in the final analysis, counts. The Spear has become sharper and more precise.

Yet we cannot afford to be complacent. Only once the slogan 'Every Patriot a Combatant' starts to become a reality will the armed struggle reach it's next decisive phase and the revolution's insurrectionary capacity be ensured.

**Forward with the Spear!
Every Patriot a Combatant!
Every Combatant a Patriot!
JOIN MK!**



Joe Modise, Commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe



Chris Hani, Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe

LONG LIVE UMKHONTO WE SIZWE!



HOW TO MASTER SECRET WORK

17. SIGNALS

Comrade A has been introducing various forms of Non-Personal Communications (NPC) to his underground unit. At times he has carefully used the telephone, post and press to pass on innocent sounding messages, (see No.16 of this series). Key phrases, spoken and written, have acted as signals for calling meetings, warning of danger etc. He has also used graphic signals, such as a chalk mark on a lamp post, or an object like a coloured piece of string tied to a fence, as call and answer sign (See No.14).

Signals can be used for a variety of reasons and are essential in secret work. They greatly improve the level of security of the underground and help to avoid detection by the enemy forces.

Everyday Signals

The everyday use of signals shows how useful they are in conveying messages and what an endless variety exists. Road traffic is impossible without traffic lights (where colour carries the message) and road signs (where symbols or graphics are used). Consider how hand signals are used in different ways not only to direct traffic but for countless purposes from sport to soldiers on patrol. Everybody uses the thumbs-up signal to show that all is well. Consider how police and robbers use signals and you will realise how important they are for underground work. In fact in introducing this topic to his unit Comrade A asks them to give examples of everyday signals. The reader should test his or her imagination in this respect.

For our purpose signals are divided into **TYPE** and **USAGE**.

● Type:

Sound — voice, music, whistle, animal sound, knocking etc.

Colour — all the hues of the rainbow!

Graphic — drawing, figures, letters, numbers, marks, graffiti, symbols etc.

Actions — behaviour/movement of a person or vehicle.

Objects — the placing or movement of anything from sticks and stones to flower pots and flags.

● Use:

To call all forms of meetings; to instruct people to report to a certain venue or individual; to instruct people to prepare for a certain task or ac-

tion; to inform of danger or well-being; to indicate that a task has been carried out; to indicate a presence or absence of surveillance; to indicate recognition between people.

Whatever signals are invented to cover the needs of the unit they must be **simple, easy to understand and not attract attention**.

Here are some examples of how signals can be used:

One example is included which is bad from the security point of view. See if you can spot it. Consider each example in terms of type and usage.

● Comrade A draws a red arrow on a wall to call B to an emergency meeting.

● D whistles a warning to C, who is slipping a leaflet under a door, indicating that someone is approaching.

● B stops at a postbox and blows his nose, indicating to A, observing from a safe distance, that he is being followed.

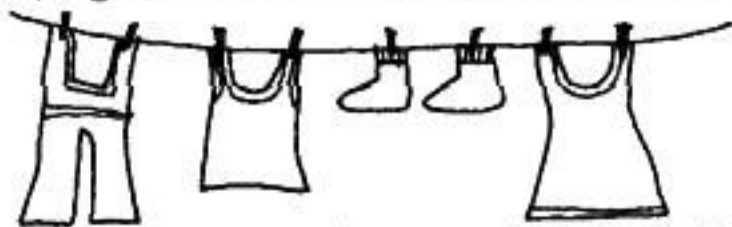
● D hangs only blue washing on his clothes line to indicate that the police have visited him and that he believes he is in danger.

● B enters a hotel wearing a suit with a pink carnation and orders a bottle of champagne. These are signals to C that she should join him for a secret discussion.

● C, having to deliver weapons to 'Esther', whom she has not met before, must park her car at a rest-spot venue on the highway. C places a tissue-box on the dash-board and drinks a can of cola. These are the recognition signals for E to approach her and ask the way to the nearest petrol station. This phrase and a Mickey-Mouse key-ring held by E are the signs which show C that E is her blind contact. (Note: both will use false number plates on their cars to remain anonymous from each other).

● C places a strip of coloured sticky tape inside a public telephone box to inform A that she has successfully delivered weapons to E.

The bad example? D's pink carnation and champagne draws unwanted attention.



NOTES FROM THE UNDERGROUND



6. A DIFFICULT PROBLEM

Comrades will remember last time I was discussing our plan for building a strong Party underground. It was a plan directed at the industrial area in which I am working. Well, a strategy is one thing. But don't think that in political struggle things just run smoothly to plan. Along the way don't be surprised by all kinds of pot-holes and road-blocks.

Already we have had one such difficulty. Following the plan I had identified one comrade, 'Tom', who was on the branch executive of his trade union. He works in a factory with great strategic importance. And another thing, his trade union is under backward leadership, and it is not in Cosatu. In short, Tom has opened a way to both a key factory, and to a union that has been closed to us.

I had recruited Tom, with clearance from my unit and from the Party centre. He is still a probationer, a somebody who is being trained to become a full Party member. I have been working with him for some time. We have been reading and discussing. I have also given him some small tasks.

About two months ago, the comrade was forced to resign from his elected position in the union on charges of 'theft'. Trade union money had disappeared and Tom was held responsible. Now let me straight away say I do not believe for one moment that this charge is true. This is a comrade who would give his last cent away for the struggle.

It is Tom's view that he was deliberately framed by the reactionary leadership in the union. They fear his militancy and popularity with the workers. Within our unit we discussed this case. My view agreed completely with Tom. I said we must continue with his Party probation.

One of the other comrades in the unit took the opposite view. She argued that even if the case was almost certainly rigged, it didn't matter. The Party must consist of only the most outstanding comrades. There must be not the slightest doubt or stain on any of them.

The comrade went on to ask what would hap-

pen if Tom's Party connection eventually became public — maybe through a trial? What would workers in his union think of someone their union leadership had suspended? The comrade ended by saying: 'Even if Tom didn't take the money, he was careless to give his enemies the gap to suspend him.'

We had a heated debate in the unit, but we could not reach agreement. Finally, we referred the matter to our Party district centre. This is how they advised us on the matter:

They said Tom's probation must be suspended as long as there is any doubt about the money issue. It does not matter that Tom is still well placed in a key factory. There can be no short-cuts.

At the same time, the district committee instructed that I must remain in closest contact with Tom. At a time when the leadership of his union had launched a heavy campaign against him, it would be a great blow to his morale (and possibly to our own security) if his Party contact just suddenly cut him. The district committee advised that the situation must be explained honestly to Tom.

So, that is how we are proceeding. I feel that the district committee's view is well balanced, and I have confidence in following it. I wonder if readers of this column agree with me?

If my assessment of the comrade is right, Tom will come through his difficulty and play an outstanding role in the longer term, building our insurrectionary forces in the industrial zone.

Read the AFRICAN COMMUNIST
The theoretical quarterly journal of the
South African Communist Party.

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MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

12. Philosophy and Language

Language is of obvious importance to philosophers in general and to Marxist philosophers in particular. General philosophical interest in language goes back to Plato (427-347BC), who, in his *Cratylus*, set out the earliest theory of the origins of language in the history of Western thought. Since the beginning of our century, however, modern philosophers' interest in language has become especially intense. They have been greatly concerned with questions as to what language is, how it is possible and whether scientific explanations of its workings can be given. In fact, in our times, it is quite impossible to study philosophy seriously without giving some attention to such questions.

The topic is clearly of vital interest to Communist philosophers, whose attention is focussed on social processes and who recognise that human society is unimaginable without language. This is certainly true of South African communists, engaged as we are in a national liberation struggle in a country whose people speak a wide diversity of language, and committed as we are to the preservation and flourishing of all our country's languages and cultures.

The 'linguistic turn' in philosophy, as it is sometimes called, is especially associated with the work of Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951), who is regarded by many thinkers today as the greatest genius of twentieth century philosophy. A strange, lonely figure, he was certainly never a member of a communist or any other political party. In fact, Wittgenstein's first great work, the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, was attacked by NI Buhkarin, a former editor of *Pravda*, who was shot during Stalin's 1938 purges, as having omitted any consideration of 'social and historical man'. This view of Wittgenstein persisted in the Soviet Union until quite recently. Now the Soviets are preparing new translations of Wittgenstein's work, and in the People's Republic of China, Professor Chen Weihang of Wuhan University is preparing the first ever translation of the *Tractatus* into Chinese.

The son of a wealthy Viennese industrialist, Wittgenstein studied engineering, first at Berlin and later in Manchester. However, his interest in the problems of mathematics and logic led him

to Cambridge to study philosophy under Bertrand Russell, who soon came to realise that his pupil was a genius with abilities far beyond his own. During the First World War, Wittgenstein fought with the Austrian artillery on the Eastern and Italian fronts, was several times decorated for bravery and was taken prisoner towards the end of the conflict. It was in this period and under these circumstances that he wrote the *Tractatus*. After the war, he gave away his inheritance and worked for a while as a schoolteacher, returning permanently to Cambridge and philosophy in 1929. By this time Wittgenstein had come to believe that the account he had given of language in the *Tractatus* was incorrect in certain crucial respects, and the rest of his life was devoted to rigorous self-critical thinking, which issued in the *Philosophical Investigations*. It is only quite recently that some scholars have realised that Wittgenstein's self-criticism was assisted by his acquaintance with Marxist philosophy. He visited the Soviet Union during the 1930s and, at one time, considered settling there. In Moscow, Wittgenstein had discussions with Sophia Janovskaya, later Professor of Logic at Moscow University, who later recalled his interest in developments in Soviet philosophy.

The influence of Marxism shows itself in the way Wittgenstein criticised his early work. As Marx had criticised Hegel's idealistic notion that history was governed by a hidden logical essence, so Wittgenstein criticised his own assumption in the *Tractatus* that language was governed by a hidden logical essence. As Marx and Engels had concluded that human consciousness could not be understood apart from human social processes, so Wittgenstein came to see that 'to imagine a language is to imagine a form of life' — by which he meant the social lives of real, live human beings.

The lesson for communists of this story of great philosopher's self-critical struggle is clearly that dialectical insight is not a privilege which professing Marxists alone enjoy. The truths of Dialectical Materialism can influence even those who seem to be at a great distance from our struggle's intellectual concerns.



UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY ECONOMICS

12. IS THE ECONOMY OVERHEATING?

The talk of South African economists in recent months has been of 'overheating'. Is the economy overheating? How badly? And what should be done about the heat? These money men sound like weather men. But let us try to make sense of their words because what they are referring to is really a serious economic problem. Their soft words like 'overheating' are a way of pretending that the problems are not so serious.

Capitalist economies are not planned. There is no direct government action to control production and ensure what is produced is what people want or what the country can afford. In other words the government cannot direct things to ensure the economy is in balance. So in a capitalist economy like South Africa's many different imbalances occur.

'Overheating' is a word used to describe the types of imbalances that occur when the economy has seemed to be booming. Business directors, some white workers, bankers, and many of the rich in South Africa have experienced a boom over part of 1988 and 1989. Their profits rose, prices of shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange rose, the output of many firms rose, and the standard of living of the minority rose even further. But now they claim it has led to overheating which will bring the boom to an end.

The word 'overheating' means two types of imbalance. One is on the balance of payments, reflecting the country's imports and exports. As the economy booms, imports grow faster than exports. This is a sign of danger because everyone knows it cannot continue. If it did go on the country would run out of money to pay for the things it needs to import. So there are calls to protect the balance of payments by policies which try to end the boom.

For example, the government could raise taxes to make people poorer and encourage them to cut their spending. If this succeeds it means less money will be spent on imports. It also means that many South African companies will have difficulty selling their goods in the country so the boom in their profits, output and share prices will come to an end. The economy will be 'cooled down'. Another favourite policy to end the boom is a rise in interest rates.

The second imbalance referred to by 'overheating' is in employment and wages. It means

that factories, mines and farms have been so busy that there is a shortage of workers. The owners try to hire more workers in order to increase output in these boom conditions, but this creates difficulties for them.

One of the difficulties is that wages start to rise generally as workers find that employers are competing with each other to hire them. Another is that firms face acute shortages of workers with particular, key skills.

This aspect of 'overheating' is worrying for business. The rise in wages makes bosses afraid that their profits will fall because of high wage bills. And a shortage of key skilled workers also harms profits because it disrupts the smooth growth of production. As a result businesses press the government to take steps to reduce the overheating, cool the economy, or, in other words, end the boom.

In all countries the fears businesses and their friends in government have about the overheating of their economy reflect deeper problems. They are always a sign of business leaders' fear of workers' power. If unemployment is kept high, wages can be kept low and there will be fewer shortages of key workers. But when the economy grows and unemployment begins to come down workers' power to push for higher wages improves and the shortages of key workers show how much firms' profits depend on their workers.

In South Africa these fears reflect the deep structural problems of the apartheid economy.

For example, the rise in imports and worsening balance of payments deficit as the boom 'overheats' is sharp because South Africa has failed to develop a strong manufacturing industry producing machinery and consumer goods that can compete with other countries. And this problem has been increased by the sanctions and withdrawals of capital imposed through the worldwide anti-apartheid movement.

Similarly the employment imbalances are the effect the distorted labour policies of apartheid have when the economy booms. Business fears of 'overheating' are a recognition that apartheid worsens some of capitalism's normal problems. But it is never forgotten that apartheid also lies at the root of the extraordinary long term profitability of South African capitalism.



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