

# **the african communist**

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Published quarterly in the interests of  
African solidarity, and as a forum  
for Marxist-Leninist thought throughout  
our Continent, by the  
South African Communist Party

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**VOL 2, No. 2 • JAN - MAR 1963**

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## Editorial Notes

# HANDS OFF CUBA!

*I have never known any statesman act with the magnanimity and greatness that you have shown over Cuba, and I wish you to be quite clear that every sincere and honest human being pays you homage for your courage.*

—Bertrand Russell: Cable to Nikita Khrushchov,  
28th October, 1962.

We are writing these notes in South Africa at the end of November—such are the difficulties of maintaining a commentary on current affairs under such grim conditions as are forced upon us by the Verwoerd dictatorship—and the crisis provoked by United States imperialism over Cuba is still fresh in our minds. The whole world trembled on the verge of frightful nuclear destruction a month ago; if we were saved from that unimaginable horror it was thanks, and thanks only, to the restraint, firmness and wisdom of the Soviet Government and the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, backed up by the will to survival of the overwhelming majority of mankind. Relief at this reprieve, however, must be tempered by the thought that the conditions which brought the world to the brink of disaster still remain: above all, the arrogant, reckless policy of those militarists and imperialists in the United States of America, who yesterday were prepared to gamble on world war in order to blockade and invade Cuba, and who tomorrow may mount the saddle again to launch another insane adventure of the same sort in Europe, in Asia, in Africa or any part of the world.

The real complaint of the American millionaires against Cuba is not that—in the face of innumerable acts of aggression, including an ill-fated invasion attempt, launched against her from United

States territory—she sought and obtained military aid from the socialist camp, including weapons which the Americans regard as offensive—as if little Cuba could constitute a real military threat to the mighty U.S.A.! The real complaint of the Yankee imperialists is that Cuba has dared to send the wealthy U.S. parasites and their Cuban hangers-on packing and raise the banner of true independence, freedom and socialism within 90 miles of the holy stronghold of world capitalism.

It is true that, as a result of the brilliant handling of the situation by the Soviet leaders, which disregarded brazen American provocations and forced the aggressors to retreat, the United States was compelled to undertake not to invade Cuba and to call off the naval blockade, in return for the Soviet removal of “offensive weapons”. But no one should be deceived that United States imperialism really means to call off its cold war against Cuba. It is not merely Soviet missiles and bombers they wish removed from the island, they wish to remove the Castro government which they see as a threat to colonialism and capitalism throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. They wish to destroy independent Cuba, people’s Cuba, socialist Cuba.

They want to make war on Cuba.

The Soviet peace initiative at the end of October deprived them of the pretext of “a threat to the United States” with which they sought to cover up this ghastly crime. It made it certain that should the U.S. warmongers nevertheless plunge into what certainly would not only be an act of wanton aggression but also the beginning of a nuclear world war, they would brand themselves as enemies of humanity without a friend or a well-wisher anywhere. Faced with this grim prospect the saner forces in the United States prevailed, and the October crisis was resolved. It was an outstanding illustration of the fact that, in our time, the forces of peace have grown strong enough to prevent war.

But we should not deceive ourselves that the forces of aggressive imperialism will accept this setback as decisive. They will continue to seek new pretexts for acts of aggression against Cuba. They will continue as long as they can with the arms race, with stockpiling nuclear and other weapons of frightfulness; with acts of provocation and aggression in Berlin, in Asia, in Africa, in every sensitive area of the world which can serve to maintain tension and the cold war.

Those who stand for peace—and that means the overwhelming majority of the world’s people, not least we of Africa—must not relax our vigilance in this crucial period. We must redouble our



efforts to see that disputes are settled by reason and discussion, not by war; that nuclear weapons and nuclear tests are ended as a first step to general and complete disarmament.

A particular duty rests on the peoples of Latin America, Africa and Asia in regard to our brothers in Cuba, who were but a few years ago, like ourselves, under the heel of colonialism. We must raise our hundreds of millions of voices as one, in a mighty shout loud enough to be heard in Washington and New York: **HANDS OFF CUBA!**

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## **China and India**

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The freedom-loving people of South Africa, like all other African and Asian peoples, are deeply disturbed at the fighting that has taken place over the border between China and India.

There is no well-defined borderline between these two countries. The so-called MacMahon line was merely drawn on a map by the British imperialists, during their occupation of India, without consulting either the Indian or the Chinese people.

It is clear that the only sane way to arrive at a fair boundary is by means of friendly discussion and agreement between the leaders of these two great countries, in terms of the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence announced by Nehru and Chou En-Lai before the Afro-Asian Bandung Conference. Similar discussions and agreements have already been reached between China, on the one hand, and Burma and Nepal respectively.

To attempt to solve this problem by means of an armed clash can only benefit the enemies of both the Chinese and Indian people. It is a serious setback to the cause of Afro-Asian unity and to the freedom and independence of our people.

Already the American and British imperialists are joyfully seizing upon this rift between two Asian peoples with age-old ties of brotherhood, pouring arms into India, and doing their utmost to widen and extend the dispute and to fish in troubled waters.

We do not believe that the leaders of the People's Republic of China have any aggressive designs against India. Aggression and conquest are opposed to their principles as Communists. Striking proof of the sincerity of these principles is the dramatic decision of the Chinese Government to stop fighting—at a time when their forces had completely routed the Indian troops—and withdraw

voluntarily to positions behind the line they occupied in 1959. At the same time they renewed their offer to the Indian Government of friendly negotiations to establish a permanent and mutually agreed boundary.

Mr. Nehru had previously declared that he was not prepared to negotiate under pressure. This remarkable offer gave him an outstanding opportunity to enter negotiations with honour and dignity, and thus to earn the gratitude of India, of Asia and the world. Instead he dismissed China's offer as "a trick", refused it, and made a warlike speech declaring India's readiness to carry on fighting for years.

We consider this to be an indefensible position on Mr. Nehru's part, laying him and his Government open to grave charges of wantonly continuing a senseless military operation against a friendly socialist country, disrupting Afro-Asian solidarity, and playing the game of the imperialists and colonialists.

The Indian Government claims that by agreeing to the Chinese "cease fire" proposals they would be leaving the Chinese in occupation of "Indian territory". But the Chinese Government is not proposing a withdrawal to permanent positions, but a cease fire to enable peaceful discussions on precisely the issue of which is and which is not to be Indian territory. Refusal to accept this proposal is tantamount to an insistence by Mr. Nehru and his colleagues on settling the dispute by military means.

It is with deep regret and reluctance that we have been driven to these conclusions. Mr. Nehru and the Government of India have in the past proved staunch friends of African, and particularly South African, freedom. They were the first to bring the case for the oppressed people of this country before the United Nations and to impose economic sanctions against the South African white colonialists.

How can we explain this failure of statesmanship on the part of Mr. Nehru? It is plain that he has now become the puppet of the most reactionary forces in India—of the powerful industrialists, financiers and landlords who are interlinked with British imperialism; which, all these years after independence, still controls important sectors of India's economy. For these classes are the only sections in India which can benefit from continued hostilities against China.

They benefit because under the banner of a "patriotic war effort" they can divert the attention of the masses from the terrible sufferings and hardships of capitalist India. They seek to profit from the inevitable inflation, scarcities and scope for black-marketeering

which always accompany a capitalist society during wartime. They expect to get huge windfalls from the flood of dollar aid which they now confidently expect from the United States, all of which invariably finds itself into the pockets of the rich, with nothing but inflation for the people.

Above all, they hope to benefit politically and economically by using the nationwide flood of patriotic and nationalistic sentiment as a weapon against their opponents—the Communists, trade unionists and militant peasant leaders of India. Every strike will be branded as treason, people who complain about poverty, high prices and taxes, landlessness and profiteering will be persecuted as “enemy agents”. The most powerful opposition Party in India, the Communist Party, will be outlawed and persecuted as it (like the Congress Party, too, for that matter) was in the days of the British Raj, on the grounds that they are “pro-Chinese”.

Already the process has started. Hundreds of leading Communists have been rounded up and jailed—and this in spite of the fact that the Communist Party of India has criticised China and declared its support for the Nehru Government.

However, these selfish and petty calculations of a section of the Indian bourgeoisie cannot for a moment be weighed against the permanent and long-term interests of the great masses of the Indian people, which are wholly in favour of a peaceful settlement of the border dispute and a resumption and strengthening of Chinese-Indian friendship.

Continued attempts to resolve the frontier dispute by force cannot succeed. They can only result in further bloodshed and suffering for both the Indian and the Chinese people. From the point of view of the legitimate patriotic aspirations of the Indian people, continued intransigence and refusal to negotiate can only have the effect of driving the country into the imperialist camp, strengthening not only British colonialism but also the insidious neo-colonialism of the United States, and endangering the hard-won independence of India, bought by the blood and sacrifice of generations of patriots.

The African people cannot be indifferent to this tragic quarrel. Already many African statesmen have urged both parties to negotiate and end this dangerous rift in Afro-Asian solidarity. These efforts should be continued and intensified, for this is a struggle in which Africans cannot but be the losers.

To no section of our population do these considerations apply more forcefully than to the minorities of Indian origin who live in many countries of East and Southern Africa. It is natural that these



communities should feel the deepest sympathy with the people of India at this difficult time. The most practical and wise way to express that sympathy is not by giving way to nationalistic and militaristic tendencies, but by throwing their full weight into the scale for a negotiated settlement now.

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## Dictatorship run mad

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Following its serious defeat at the United Nations on the issue of sanctions and South-West Africa (on the latter they did not get a single vote) the Verwoerd dictatorship has unloosed a wave of repression against freedom-fighters and opponents of apartheid. Without any pretence of legal proceedings Balthazar Vorster, Verwoerd's sinister Minister of "Justice" (he was interned during the war as a leader of the pro-Nazi "Ossewa Brandwag") has, within a few weeks:

- ★ Placed Moses Kotane and a number of others—African, White and Indian—under "house arrest";
- ★ Closed down the outspoken democratic weekly newspaper *New Age*;
- ★ Published a "black-list" of 437 "named Communists" and launched a wave of hysterical anti-Communist propaganda from the political platform, in the Nationalist press and over Radio South Africa.

Moses Kotane, former secretary-general of the Communist Party of South Africa and member of the executive committee of the African National Congress, has been ordered by Vorster not to "absent himself" from his two-roomed house in Alexandra Township for the next five years, or to "receive any visitors"—on pain of a heavy prison sentence. A number of others have received similar 24-hours-a-day confinement orders; and still others, including Mrs. Helen Joseph, a leader of the Federation of Women, Adv. Duma Nokwe, former ANC secretary-general, and Mr. Brian Bunting, editor of *New Age*, have been ordered to stay at home from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. and over weekends and also denied the right to receive visitors. These sadistic punishments are imposed by means of an order signed by the Minister without any trial or opportunity of defence—without, indeed, the victims even being informed what they are supposed to be undergoing punishment for. A request from one of the victims, Mr. Ahmed Kathrada, for

reasons for his house-arrest met with a reply that the Minister, Vorster, was "not prepared to furnish" the reasons.

Nor were any reasons given by the Government for the closing down of *New Age*—not in South Africa, that is. It is true that, speaking at a private meeting in London, a leading South African diplomat declared that *New Age* "openly advocated Communism". It is not by chance that he made this ridiculous assertion in Britain, for the nationalists know that if they had made it at home they would have been laughed to scorn. According to the Suppression of Communism Act, it is and has been since 1950 a serious "crime", carrying a lengthy jail sentence, to "advocate or defend Communism or any of its aims".

*New Age* was a fighting defender and advocate of the people's rights, standing four-square with the national liberation movement in every struggle throughout the years in which it was published. But it did not break the Suppression of Communism Act or any other law—and the proof is that the Government never succeeded in getting a conviction against the paper in any court of law. This was not for want of trying. *New Age* was one of the defendants in the scandalous "Treason Trial", in which charges of Communism as well as treason were thrown out by the judges; and there can be no doubt that the special branch of the police eagerly studied every issue for grounds on which they could arrest the publishers and editorial staff and bring them to Court.

**That they were unable to do so is precisely why Vorster made use of the slimy, underhand method of banning by decree, without having to produce reasons which could be tested and proved in a court of law. In just the same way, if Vorster had any valid evidence against the men and women he has placed under house-arrest and otherwise banned by decree, he would have prosecuted them instead of using this equally slimy and repulsive method of dealing with political opponents. His failure to prosecute is an admission and a proof that he has no such evidence. That is the hard fact and logic which no amount of wriggling and bluster can get around.**

## **Anti-communism hysteria**

In its attempts to arouse a wave of anti-Communist hysteria throughout the country, the Nationalist government—safe in the knowledge that its enemies have no legal right to redress or reply—has no scruples in sinking to the lowest depths of deliberate lies, abuse and libel. Yet, although it has at its disposal all the formid-

able resources of the State for propaganda and intimidation, the Government can claim little success in this campaign to influence the minds of the masses. There are many reasons for this failure.

Even simple people who know little about Communism have long learnt to regard all propaganda that comes from the Government with the deepest mistrust. Dr. Verwoerd—a product of the bourgeois school of psychology—is an adept at the art of calling things by their opposite names, as if words were more important than reality. The result is that he has become known as the very Father of Lies. His past “cleverness” is returning to condemn him, like chickens coming home to roost. He brought in a law to intensify the hated pass laws and extend them to African women: and called it the “Abolition of Passes Act”. He introduced a system which has greatly lowered standards of education for African children—and called it “Bantu Education”. He introduces a scheme of terroristic colonialism for the Transkei and other rural areas—and calls it “Bantu independence and self-government”. So when Verwoerd and his Ministers shout night and day against the so-called dangers and wickedness of Communism, most people are not impressed. They feel that if Communism is so much hated and feared by the oppressor then it cannot be a bad thing at all.

People ask: Why is the Government so much afraid of the Communist Party? The answer is given in a recent leaflet distributed all over the country by the underground South African Communist Party. The Government knows that, given a fair debate and a free choice, the overwhelming majority of the people will choose the Communist Party, with its policy of votes for all, land and freedom, rather than the Nationalist Party with its policy of apartheid and White domination.

As part of its propaganda drive the Nationalist Party attempts to equate “Communism” with liberalism and other anti-apartheid trends. The motive is transparently clear: to intimidate all its opponents and to drive a wedge between South African democrats of different schools of thought. It is saddening to find organisations like the Liberal Party falling for this ruse. In order to “prove” that they are not Communists they join in the sport of “Red-baiting”—making sneering and untrue attacks on Communism, under the shelter provided by the Suppression of Communism Act.

For example, the Liberal Party wrote to the *Rand Daily Mail* “replying” to a criticism published in our last issue, a garbled and incomplete version of which was reproduced in that newspaper. The “reply” consisted mainly of further attacks on the distorted pic-



ture of "Communism" customarily presented by Liberal spokesmen. Our criticism was directed not at liberalism as such but at the illiberal and obsessive anti-Communism of that Party, which vitiates it as an effective force against Nationalist tyranny. We did not suggest that the Liberal Party should undertake acts of violence, but asked that it should at least have the decency to refrain from criticising and sniping at those brave spirits who are hitting back against the ceaseless and ever-growing Government violence against the African and other oppressed people.

The burning issue in South Africa is not Communism but the rampant Nazi tyranny of Verwoerd and Vorster, which if allowed to develop unchecked will submerge the Liberal Party just as it has already outlawed the Communist Party, the African National Congress, the Pan-African Congress and the Congress of Democrats. It can only be checked if all democrats, Communist and non-Communist alike, stand together to bar the road. By feeding the flames of anti-Communist hysteria among Whites, the Liberal Party is, objectively speaking, hastening its own destruction.

## **Hitting back**

The democratic masses of South African people are not taking the blows of the Nationalist Party ruling clique lying down. They are courageously and resourcefully hitting back, in a variety of ways. They are taking full advantage of whatever slender possibilities of legal political action still remain. The warmest tribute must be paid to the African people, at Langa and elsewhere, who hold mass meetings under the noses of the sten guns and batons of the police and pass militant resolutions demanding the release of Nelson Mandela and the leaders under house arrest, condemn the outrageous Government plan to expel all Africans from the Western Cape, and insist on the people's right to defend themselves against violence.

At the same time the underground forces of people's resistance are gaining strength and consolidating their forces. Despite the conditions of terror prevailing, both the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party have succeeded in holding national conferences—the former in Bechuanaland and the latter inside South Africa itself. The greatest spirit of confidence and militancy manifested itself at these conferences.

The S.A.C.P. conference was a historic landmark in the development of the Communist movement and the building of a

united front of national liberation for victory in the national democratic revolution against the special type of South African colonialism. The Conference considered and approved a detailed Report from the Central Committee, decided on policy and practical tasks for the period ahead, and elected a new Central Committee. It also adopted—after a thorough discussion at Conference, following months of prior discussion among members, workers and democrats throughout the country—a new Programme of the Party.

**This remarkable document—the full text of which is published in this issue of “The African Communist”—embodies forty years of the experience of the Communist movement in South Africa, enriched by the creative thought of Marxism-Leninism throughout the world, as expressed in the famous Statement of 81 Communist and Workers’ Parties of December 1960, and other historic documents. “South Africa’s Road to Freedom” is bound to have a profound and ever-growing impact on the development of political thought and movements in this country and even beyond our borders.**

Another way in which the revolutionary people of South Africa are expressing their resistance to the Verwoerd-Vorster terror is through the activities of the military-type organisation Umkonto We Sizwe. Over forty acts of sabotage have taken place on the Witwatersrand industrial complex, in the Eastern and Western Cape, and in Natal during 1962. Despite the “death-for-sabotage” law passed by the Government, intensive police counter-measures and large rewards offered to informers, the acts are steadily increasing in scale, frequency and effectiveness.

True, the significance of these daring actions, at the present time, is mainly symbolic. They inspire a mood of confidence and militancy among the people, and help to destroy the picture of impregnable strength and stability which the Government is so laboriously attempting to present at home and abroad. But no illusions should be entertained that the revolutionary overthrow of the white supremacy state can be accomplished by such actions, considered in isolation. It is unlikely that Umkonto We Sizwe itself harbours any such illusions. It has announced that it supports the broad aims of the mass liberation movement, and has been established to enable the people to meet colonialist violence with an armed force of their own. If its present operations form part of a process of training and preparation for the building of a formidable military force, they take on an entirely new significance, whose importance should by no means be underestimated.

## A great victory

The decision of the United Nations in November to impose economic and other sanctions against the White colonialists of South Africa was a great victory for the cause of peace and freedom. Only the United States, Britain and the other NATO countries, together with Japan—the only Asian country to commit this act of treason to the cause of human dignity—opposed the resolution at this historic General Assembly meeting. The great majority voted in favour.

Unfortunately, the minority of countries which opposed the resolution are precisely those with the closest economic ties with South Africa—and the greatest stake in maintaining White supremacy and apartheid. It is this factor which gives the racists of Pretoria such confidence that sanctions will be ineffective. Foreign Minister Eric Louw said openly he was “extremely doubtful that the economic boycott recommended by the General Assembly can be applied successfully”. He did not believe the imperialist countries would want to lose their “very profitable export markets and very profitable source of raw material supplies”.\* He should have added the millions accruing to, primarily, British and American capitalists from their investments and exploitation of cheap labour in this country.

British and American speakers at the General Assembly made hypocritical speeches expressing their “repugnance” to apartheid and South African race discrimination—and went on to give all sorts of twisted reasons why they were voting against the resolution. A truer reason may be found in figures such as the following (reproduced from the official *South African Digest*, 15th November, 1962):

### TRADE WITH SOUTH AFRICA, 1961 (figures given in millions of Rands\*\*)

	S.A. Imports	S.A. Exports
United Kingdom .. ..	291 ..	311.6 ..
United States .. ..	176.6 ..	77.7 ..

Britain takes about a third of South Africa's total exports, and between them these two countries account for between 40 and 50 per cent of the total South African foreign trade (imports 46.4 per cent, exports 41 per cent).

\* *South African Digest*, 11th November, 1962.

\*\* 2 South African Rands equal £1 sterling.



As Eric Louw says, all this is "very profitable". That is what gives the apartheid regime such confidence that the United Nations resolution will remain a dead letter. They are sure that the handsome dividends and profits of the influential section of the British and American capitalist class which traffics with South Africa will be sufficient to induce these and other "Western" countries to flout the solemn decision of the United Nations.

However, there are certain considerations which do not seem to have occurred to the petty minds of Mr. Louw and his Cabinet colleagues.

In the first place, to disregard the decisions of the United Nations is a very serious matter indeed—as the South African government itself is learning to its cost. It means to undermine, and if continued long enough, to destroy the U.N. itself—which with all its imperfections remains, to millions of people everywhere, an instrument of peace. And to those millions—including those in the imperialist and satellite countries who opposed the resolution—peace is a very important question. Far more important than the interests of the tiny minority which benefits from the exploitation of semi-slave labour on the Witwatersrand mines, or trade with their masters. Once these millions understand the true issues involved—now, no longer only a question of solidarity with the oppressed people of our country, but the preservation of UN and of peace itself—we are sure they will not allow the policy of their governments towards South Africa to be dictated by the likes of such a tiny minority.

Secondly, the Verwoerd regime seems, as always, to underestimate the passionate disgust and contempt aroused by its race policy among the African, Asian and Socialist countries. For the people and the governments of these countries, the resolution on South Africa is no mere formality, and they will never allow it to remain a dead letter. The imperialist governments may care nothing for the sufferings and humiliations of the black man in this country. They may care nothing—as their behaviour in the Congo indicates—for the solemn decisions of the United Nations. But they do care—and they must be made to care—for their status and reputation in Africa and Asia as a whole. Let the "West" be made aware that if they flout the Resolution on South Africa they will stand condemned before the whole of Asia and Africa as upholders of apartheid and white supremacy; let them understand that by maintaining the South African trade they stand to lose infinitely greater advantages in the rest of Africa and the whole of Asia—and their

enthusiasm for their repulsive friends in the Republic will rapidly evaporate!

**In short—the UN Resolution was, as we have said, a great victory: a victory for peace and for Africa. But it is a victory which can only be made effective and clothed with reality if the friends of South African freedom all over the world will work, with vigilance and determination, to make it so.**

We cannot leave the question of this historic resolution without a final, somewhat bitter note. Of the 15 governments who voted, with South Africa, against the resolution, it was in some ways most saddening to find the representatives of Japan and the Republic of Ireland.

Do the people of Japan know the facts about race discrimination in South Africa? Do they know that—because some Japanese businessmen are prepared to go down on their knees and lick a white man's boots for the sake of extra profits—their representatives at UN dragged Japan's national honour and dignity, as a proud Asian people, in the dust?

Are the people of Ireland—Britain's oldest colony, whose epic struggle for independence has inspired and still inspires oppressed people the world over—are they aware how their representative voted on this matter? Do they know that, in so doing, in backing the South African colonialists, he insulted the memory of Wolf Tone, Patrick Pearse, James Connolly and generations of Irish freedom-fighters?

We are sure that the Japanese and the Irish people do not know these things; for if they did they would never tolerate them. And we are sure that the advanced progressive elements in these two countries will make it their duty vigorously to enlighten their compatriots.

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## Whither Algeria?

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The long and heroic struggle of the Algerian people for their freedom and independence has aroused tremendous admiration of all Africa and the whole world. We had all hoped that with the signing of the Evian Agreement and the end of the fighting with France, independence would be consolidated, and the task of

rebuilding, of peaceful construction of a free and happy life would commence.

These hopes were disappointed when civil strife broke out among the Algerian leaders themselves. They suffered a further setback when—with unemployment, economic dislocation and landlessness rife in the country—the young government showed signs that the influence of conservative and capitalist elements was hindering an energetic and radical approach to these burning problems.

Further evidence of a Rightward trend can be seen in the shocking decision to outlaw the Algerian Communist Party and close down its newspaper. The Algerian Communists fought heroically in the front ranks of the war of independence; their Party—representing the masses of workers and peasants—was the only one to advance a dynamic and practical plan for reconstruction and national rebirth.

It is sinister, and fills one with foreboding, to note that this unjustifiable action took place at the very time when the representative of the new Algerian Government was in Paris, seeking loans and other forms of aid. Was this, one wonders, part of the price?

The Algerian people have bought their freedom far too dearly, in seven long years of bloodshed, to allow their leaders now to sell it. De Gaulle cannot buy for gold what his armies failed to conquer in frightful and merciless warfare.

We are confident that the Algerian Communist Party will soon regain its legality and its rightful place in the counsels of the nation. And we pledge our solidarity with our Algerian comrades in their just claim for the vindication of their rights and those of the Algerian working people.



# THE THEORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION

By  
A. Zanzolo

“The idea that the exploited must rise up against the exploiters and create their Soviets is not a very complicated one.”

—V. I. Lenin

The sixth Conference of the South African Communist Party has adopted the new programme of the party. Not for the first time in the history of the international working-class movement a creative work of great significance was begun and completed at a time of intense difficulty and repression. Never has the onslaught by the ruling class against the national liberation movement been so concentrated as it is today in our country. Never have the people been so determined to fight for their rights and freedom. In the words of Lenin, the people can no longer be governed in the old way and they are not prepared to be governed in the old way. The contradictions that afflict South African society are growing sharper day by day. The international position of the ruling class has never been weaker. As a result the South African racist government is taking extraordinary measures to safeguard the interests of the monopoly capitalists, landlords and industrialists together with their allies—the British and American imperialists.

Yet it is precisely at this time that the Party unanimously adopted the new programme. At a period which the superficial might regard as one of great danger, the Party engaged in a vast creative endeavour to produce our programme. This alone is an indication of the confidence of the party that the National Democratic revolution in our country is near at hand. The basis of this conviction clearly emerges in the true Marxist-Leninist programme of the party which contains an exposition of the theory of the South African Revolution. The strategy and tactics of the revolution in South Africa are to be found here.

**ORIGINS:** It was the discovery of Gold in 1886 which brought South Africa decisively into the mainstream of modern imperialist development. The first of the modern imperialist wars—the Anglo-Boer War—was fought over control of the Transvaal Gold Mines.

Lenin refers to this in his classic work "Imperialism". For that reason the discovery of Gold can be regarded as a convenient starting point in a consideration of working-class theory in South Africa.

Before this the structure of the country had not altered very much. European settlement in the Cape and the beginnings of the wine and fruit industry two centuries earlier had not altered the life of the bulk of the people in this part of the world. Nor did the discovery of diamonds (in 1867) although it was a portent of the shape of things to come.

The African tribal structure had remained largely intact. The wars which finally ended the independent existence of the African peoples only took place a few years before the birth of the Gold-mining industry. The last Eastern Frontier war between the British and the Xhosa ended in the battle of Ngcayechibi in 1877. Sekhukhuni, the gallant chief of the Bapedi was defeated in the Transvaal in 1878. His powerful military machine crumbled before superior arms and organisation at the battle of Ulundi in 1879. So that when the gold-mining industry began its career, the Africans—the vast masses of the population—had not yet been drawn into the vortex of modern economy. This followed later as a cause and a consequence of the establishment of a strong centralised state in our country—the Union of South Africa in 1910.

Thus the labour for the mining industry had to be sought elsewhere. As happened in other countries where gold was discovered, thousands of immigrants rushed into South Africa in search of fortunes. Most of them came from Britain and as they soon showed, they came with ideas. With their working-class background, they formed trade unions some of which were branches of similar organisations in Britain. The South African Labour Party was founded in 1909. Prominent international figures in the labour movement visited the country including such persons as Keir Hardie in 1907. Naturally they also brought with them the problems which beset the European labour movement at the time. The dominant group in the S. African labour movement shared in the opportunism of the Second International. They either did not understand the role of imperialism or acquiesced in it. They were affected by the chauvinist imperialist ideology which sought to justify colonisation by looking down on peoples of colour as inferior beings. They still looked upon the national question as a European question confined to regions like those in the Austro-Hungarian empire where there were oppressed minorities. Such ideas found fortification in a warped form in South Africa where

racialism was already a part of the tradition of the ruling class and which was a reflection of the advance of capitalism in Africa and Asia. First, to justify slavery and then imperialist domination. The labour movement thus came to South Africa literally physically transported from Europe. It was a European movement.

And yet there was another trend. Within the same movement were progressive and far-sighted thinkers who saw in the African people the future "iron battalions of the proletariat". Such men were the talented Marxists Ivon Jones, S. P. Bunting and Bill Andrews.

But even those who perceived the importance of the African people could not conceive of them as the vanguard of the struggle for socialism. Our people were by and large in their traditional lands which had not yet become the poverty-stricken reservoirs of labour they later became. The ingenious methods utilised to convert the Africans into landless, propertyless proletariat had not yet become fully effective. And in any event the organised labour movement, though it consisted almost entirely of Europeans, was vigorous, militant and determined. Great struggles were fought by the labour movement in 1907, 1913, 1919 and 1922. These were powerful struggles which posed a serious challenge to the ruling class.

As in other parts of the world the first world war split the working class movement in South Africa. The left-wing was against the war and campaigned under the slogan "war against war". The rest of the movement like the bulk of the parties in the Second International capitulated to their own capitalists and rulers by supporting the imperialist war.

In 1917 the Great October Socialist Revolution led by V. I. Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks burst forth in ten days which shook the world. The first Socialist State was born. For the first time since man emerged on earth, history (to use the words of Engels) became truly human history. The salvos of that revolution were heard clearly in South Africa.

In July, 1921 the Communist Party of S. Africa, a section of the Communist International, was founded, largely, by those who had previously constituted the left-wing of the S.A. Labour Movement.

**THESIS:** The ideas, policy and practice of the party in its first decade were naturally influenced by the origins of the movement and by objective conditions in the country. Looking at the situation then it appeared that South Africa was not basically a colony. It was independent to all intents and purposes. The proceedings of



the Peace Conference held in 1919 had already seen virtual acceptance of South Africa as a member of the international community. It had been received as a member of the League of Nations and had even had a territory placed under its control as a mandatory power—South-West Africa. Capitalist development of this state based on the giant gold mining industry had proceeded at an ever increasing pace. A big section of the population, about a quarter, enjoyed democratic rights. The organised labour movement although almost exclusively White was militant and appeared to have great revolutionary possibilities. The Africans were largely “country-people” who were just beginning to enter the urban labour market. In fact the first Law designed to control African labour in urban areas was passed in 1923 (the Urban Areas Act). In these conditions it was thought that the working class of the White group would seize power and then proceed to free the oppressed nations. Thus the slant of party work continued to be largely among the European workers. This approach ignored the vital fact that the Africans and other oppressed national groups constituted by far the vast majority of the people in South Africa.\* The early concept of the struggle was rudely shattered by the “Red Revolt” of 1922 and its aftermath.

The 1922 general strike of white workers on the Rand, which developed into an armed struggle, was the most serious class struggle ever to have taken place in our country. The Communist Party although it did not have decisive leadership in its hands played an important role in that struggle. The revolt was crushed. Fundamentally this was because the general strike did not draw in the majority of the people to the side of the workers. The 1922 “revolt” is one more illustration of the defeat that follows upon a failure to pay serious attention to the question of allies. No attempt was made to bring the liberatory movement of the African people, or other classes of society into the fight against the ruling class. In fact the strike leaders opportunistically wished to keep other sections out of the fight. This made their defeat inevitable. But the ruling class had been haunted by a nightmare throughout the 1922 strike. The nightmare of a united movement of workers of all races against the bosses. It was determined to take measures to prevent this ever happening.

Thus the policy was adopted by the ruling class of making vast

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\* It must be emphasised that although these were the dominant ideas in the party they were not shared by all. Thus leading figures like S. P. Bunting devoted almost all their time to developing the party among the Africans.

concessions to the White workers in order to make them part and parcel of the ruling group. These concessions were compounded in a series of laws which made skilled jobs and trade unions organisation a right of the white workers alone. A so-called "civilised labour policy" was implemented designed to maintain Africans as unskilled cheap labour and to prevent the emergence of an organised African working class. The White workers became an aristocracy of labour.

**ANTITHESIS:** The work of the party swung more and more to the development of the African liberation movement. The development of the new approach was cemented by the theses on colonialism adopted at the Congress of the Communist International in 1928. The South African question was specifically raised at this Congress. The decisions adopted at the Congress were obligatory on the party.

The party now saw the struggle as a colonial one with Africans of all classes fighting for self-determination and aiming at the establishment of a bourgeois democratic republic. This was the era of the so-called "Black Republic". Work among workers of other sections declined and almost exclusive attention was paid to mobilising Africans in the struggle for freedom and independence.

This approach obviously had difficulties of its own. Was South Africa a colony in the accepted sense? From whom was independence to be wrested? From the South African ruling class? From the imperialists in Britain who were economically dominant in South Africa? Against whom was the main blow to be directed?

There were tremendous advances in the work of the party among Africans in both the trade unions and national liberatory fields. The activity of the party, however, was unfortunately at this time hampered by the accession to the leadership of a sectarian and dogmatic ultra-left group. The group was subsequently exposed and defeated but not until much damage was done to the party. During that period certain chauvinistic elements were expelled from the party. But as always happens with dogmatists a lot of good comrades were also removed from the party on false charges. The party has since corrected these injustices and rehabilitated staunch communists who suffered during that time.

**SYNTHESIS:** The Party rallied its forces against dogmatism. A new Central Committee was elected just before the second world war with Bill Andrews as Chairman and Moses Kotane as General

Secretary. A period began of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the actual conditions obtaining in the country. The synthesis began of the tendencies in the party and from the realities of the South African situation.

**In the new programme of the South African Communist Party the synthesis is complete. The main features of our society are described in detail. It is shown how South Africa is a country with a highly developed modern economy in which monopoly capitalism has reached its final stage—imperialism. That South Africa at one level operates as a bourgeois democratic republic in its final stage of imperialism in which it exports capital and seeks to control other territories. That in fact fascism is now a factor in our country. At another level—that of the majority of the people—South African reality projects itself as a country with a colonial people fighting for national liberation and freedom. That at this level the struggle of the African people becomes one with the great anti-colonial revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is the integration of the two aspects in a single economic complex within the bounds of a single country that the programme characterises as a Special Type of Colonialism. The programme illustrates once more the fact that no pure societies exist in the world which fit exactly some previously defined social formation. It is the duty of the social scientist to find the dominant feature of the society and thus to characterise it. The Africans constitute by far the vast majority of the people in the country; they are the main labour power and therefore the liberation of the African people is the main content of the national democratic revolution. Because of the highly developed nature of South African capitalism and its exclusive control by a bourgeoisie drawn from a particular racial group, the national freedom of the African and other oppressed people involves the destruction of monopoly in the country. In the absence of a national bourgeoisie among the Africans and the great numerical strength and experience of the working class the national democratic revolution has a far-reaching and radical programme which will usher in a state of national democracy. Under South African conditions the national democratic revolution has great prospects of proceeding at once to socialist solutions.**

The programme describes the strategy of the revolution. The forces against whom the main blow will be directed are the monopoly capitalists and landlords who are the servitors and allies of American, British and foreign imperialism. Also described are the forces that will unite to carry through the revolution. Headed



by the working class is an alliance which includes the national liberation movements of the African and other oppressed peoples together with democratic elements in other groups. With the support of the international working class and all democratic forces the world over the victory of the South African revolution is imminent and assured.

**The programme of the South African Communist Party is a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the experiences of the Communist movement in our country for the past forty years and more. Mastery of the theory of the party as contained in the programme by members of the party and the national liberation movements is essential for speedy victory of the revolution which is now definitely on the agenda in South Africa.**



# **THE ROAD TO SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM**

Programme of the  
South African  
Communist Party

- **COMMUNISM—VITAL FORCE OF OUR TIMES**
- **THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION**
- **COLONIALISM OF A SPECIAL TYPE**
- **THE FORCES OF CHANGE**
- **THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION**
- **IMMEDIATE PROPOSALS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY**

## **INTRODUCTION**

Our country, South Africa, is known throughout the world because of its system of White domination, a special form of colonialism which has been carried to extremes under the Nationalist Party policy of apartheid. Nowhere else is national and racial oppression practised so nakedly and shamelessly, with such systematic brutality and disregard of human rights and dignity.

The three million Whites hold a monopoly of political rights and economic opportunities. They alone can vote for and be elected to Parliament and other governing bodies. They are fortified behind a wall of privilege in the civil service, in jobs and professions, in educational opportunities and a hundred other fields. 87 per cent of the land is reserved for White ownership, and White capitalists own and control the mines, factories and banks and most of commerce. Their government inculcates a lying and insulting doctrine of race superiority.

The eleven million Africans, two-thirds of the population, suffer ruthless national oppression. They have been robbed of their ancestral lands. The thirteen per cent of land set aside for African occupation—the so-called Reserves, or “homelands”—are grossly overcrowded and the soil exhausted. Hunger and the network of pass laws and special taxes drive Africans to work in mines, industries and farms, where they are terribly exploited and underpaid. African languages are despised and undeveloped. The growth

(Sub-titles and emphasis added—Editor)

of national cultures is stifled. Africans are doomed from birth to little or no education, to the status of "hewers of wood and drawers of water".

The other non-White groups—one and a half million Coloured people and a half million South African Indians—are but little better off. Indeed the advantages they once enjoyed over Africans are one by one being removed. They have no vote or say in making the laws. Apartheid means gross national oppression for all non-Whites.

This system of race domination and oppression has its origins far back in South African history. However, it has developed into its present, extreme form with the development of capitalism and especially of the great diamond and gold-mining monopolies. Capitalism everywhere cultivates and plays upon race and national antagonisms. These are to the advantage of the capitalists because they are a weapon in the competition between capitalists of different nationalities, and because they are a means of dividing and weakening the working class. In the highest, imperialist phase of capitalism the West European monopoly capitalists developed vicious racial theories to justify their subjection of African, Asian and Latin American peoples to colonial slavery. The South African and foreign monopoly capitalists and large-scale landowners, who, together, are the real rulers of this country, have cultivated racial differences and prejudices as their most effective instrument in their insatiable drive for cheap labour and high profits. The colonial status of the African people facilitates the maximum exploitation of their labour. The privileges extended to White businessmen, farmers, professional people and workers are a means of maintaining their support for the ruling capitalist class and for the South African colonialist system.

Since 1948 the Nationalist Party government has intensified this system to an unendurable degree at the very time when racialist and colonialist theories and practices have been discredited and condemned throughout the world, and when hundreds of millions of people of Africa and Asia have gained independence and self-government. To maintain this system the Nationalists rely more and more on suppression, force and violence. Almost every channel of legal protest is closed. The main organs of people's resistance have been driven underground. South Africa is being turned into an armed camp. The State moves increasingly towards the pattern of fascism: an open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary and racialist section of capitalists.

One of the first attacks of the Nationalist government on the people's rights was the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. The Communist Party of South Africa which for twenty-eight years had marched at the head of the freedom struggles of the workers and oppressed peoples, was outlawed. The Act laid down heavy penalties for defending or advocating Communist ideas. It was no accident that the Nationalist Government made this Party and these ideas their first target, and sought to destroy them as the main obstacle to their plan of subjugating the people. Communism stands for the direct opposite of the theories and practices of the Nationalist Party. Communism stands for the rights of the workers and oppressed people—against all forms of racialism, privilege, colonialism and exploitation of man. Communism stands for peace, freedom, democracy and national independence.

Laws and force cannot destroy the ideas of Communism, of Marxism-Leninism, because these ideas are true and answer the needs and aspirations of the people. They correctly explain the world we live in and show mankind the way forward to a better world: a world without wars and racialism, without poverty and exploitation.

In this Programme, the South African Communist Party states its fundamental principles. It surveys the vast changes which are transforming the world and the continent we live in. It analyses the historical roots and the underlying realities of South African society. It puts forward its answers to the problems facing the people of our country today.

**As its immediate and foremost task, the South African Communist Party works for a united front of national liberation. It strives to unite all sections and classes of oppressed and democratic people for a national democratic revolution to destroy White domination. The main content of this Revolution will be the national liberation of the African people. Carried to its fulfilment, this revolution will at the same time put an end to every sort of race discrimination and privilege. The revolution will restore the land and the wealth of the country to the people, and guarantee democracy, freedom and equality of rights, and opportunities to all. The Communist Party has no interests separate from those of the working people. The Communists are sons and daughters of the people, and share with them the over-riding necessity to put an end to the suffering and humiliation of apartheid. The destruction of colonialism and the winning of national freedom is the essential condition and the key for future advance to the supreme aim of the**



**Communist Party: the establishment of a socialist South Africa, laying the foundations of a classless, communist society.**

## **1**

### **COMMUNISM—VITAL FORCE OF OUR TIMES**

Communism—Marxism-Leninism—is the dynamic, social and political force of our times. Already, under the leading banner of the Marxist parties, one-third of mankind has chosen the road to socialism. Already, in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the gradual transition has begun to Communism, the highest form of human society. The world over millions of men and women, inspired by the Parties of Communism, are struggling for peace, socialism, democracy and national independence.

Karl Marx, the great 19th Century thinker and revolutionary who, together with his comrade Frederick Engels, was the founder of the modern Communist movement, laid bare the basic laws which determine change in the universe and in human society. The Marxist world outlook, dialectical materialism, enables us to understand the laws of change. It enables us to understand the world as it really is—and how to change it. All progress and development comes through inner conflict and contradictions: the conflict between what is new and struggling to be born, and what is outworn and dying. Like everything in nature, human society develops from lower to higher stages, according to the development of the productive forces at each stage. Feudalism is a higher stage than slavery. Capitalism is still higher, and Socialism and Communism the highest of all. Social progress has always come about through class struggles; struggles between slaves and slave-owners, between feudal lords and their serfs, and today between the two main classes of society, the capitalists and the working class.

Marx analysed the capitalist system of production. He exposed how it rests on the basis of the exploitation of man by man. All value comes from labour. Because they own the means of production, the capitalists hold the whip-hand over the workers. They do not own them, as a slave-owner owned his slaves. They pay them wages. But the wages are not equal to the real value produced by the worker. The worker works only part of the day to earn his wages. The rest is free labour for the boss. This is surplus value, out of which the capitalists make their profit and accumulate wealth:

Because of their great economic power and wealth, the owners of the means of production dominate in every capitalist country. They run parliament and the press; their ideas prevail in educational and religious institutions. The laws are made to suit their interests. The State, the army, the police and the courts, defend, in the first place, their property. However democratic it may appear on the surface, every capitalist state is in reality a dictatorship of the capitalist class.

### **Imperialism**

The genius of Vladimir Lenin, recognised leader of the workers and oppressed people of all countries, threw a bright light on the further development of 20th Century capitalism into its highest and last stage—Imperialism. As capitalism develops, more and more the control of wealth passes to fewer and fewer hands. Big firms eat up small ones. Huge monopolies grow, both national and international, and a few giant firms dominate whole branches of the national economy. Banks and other financial institutions buy shares in industrial concerns, and the “kings of industry” acquire controlling interests in the banks. So the two kinds of monopoly capital, financial and industrial, merge with one another. The imperialists export capital to the sources of raw material and cheap labour, to the countries which are less developed economically. Economic penetration is followed by political domination. A handful of West-European powers, Japan and the United States of America, seeking higher profits, dominated the whole of Africa, Asia and Latin America, mercilessly looted their natural resources and exploited their people. The colonial system of imperialism did incalculable damage to these peoples. It held back and stifled their independent economic, political, social and cultural development. In extreme cases it resulted in the wholesale massacre and near-extermination of indigenous peoples. Imperialism produced disgusting and utterly false theories and practices of so-called “superior” and “inferior” races, which culminated in Hitler’s Germany and Verwoerd’s South Africa.

Imperialism breeds war, on a scale and of a frightfulness previously unknown in human history. Following the “scramble for Africa” towards the end of the 19th Century, the entire world was partitioned between the imperialist powers. Powerful new capitalist states arose, and demanded their “right” to own colonies. But all the colonial territories had already been grabbed by the older imperialists. The desperate conflict between the rival imperialists for the re-partition of the world, erupted in the terrible world war



of 1914-18, which shook the foundations of imperialism and exposed its true nature to the masses.

Capitalism, in its time, as a progressive social system. With all its defects it represented an advance over feudalism, higher production, greater liberties. But, in the world of today, capitalism is no longer progressive. Modern production is a great and complicated process, arising from a highly organised society. But the means of production remain in private hands, and the fruits are appropriated by the few. This deep contradiction between social production and private appropriation leads to great conflicts in society: between the masses of the people and the group of monopoly capitalists who control their destinies, between rival capitalist countries, between colonial peoples seeking national freedom and their imperialist masters, between the working class as a whole and the capitalist class. These conflicts cannot be resolved within the framework of the capitalist system. They are leading to the breakdown of that system. Symptoms of this breakdown are the ever-recurring crises of over-production; the turning of the ruling classes towards fascism; the gigantic expenditure on armaments; the ceaseless drive towards aggression and war.

Capitalism is obsolete. It is giving way to the new and higher social order of socialism and communism. Socialism puts an end to the contradictions of capitalism by abolishing private ownership of the main means of production and placing them under public ownership. It replaces the dictatorship of the capitalists with that of the workers, thus for the first time ensuring genuine democracy for the masses. It overcomes the class and national conflicts inherent in capitalism by abolishing the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man; by guaranteeing equality and national rights to all peoples. Socialism aims to meet the growing material and cultural needs of the people by overall planning, by steadily developing and improving social production. It develops socialist consciousness and labour enthusiasm among the working people by applying the principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." The great development of the productive forces under socialism, and in the rise in the socialist consciousness of the masses, enables the gradual development towards a still higher stage of human society: communism. Communism is a classless social system, with one form of public ownership of the means of production. All members of communist society will enjoy full social equality. The all-round development of the people, accompanied by the growth of the productive forces sufficient to ensure abundance of goods, enables the principle to

be applied: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Under communism—a highly organised society of free, socially conscious people enjoying public self-government—labour will cease to be a burden. Everyone will recognise that to work for the benefit of the people is a necessity willingly performed as life's first need.

### **The October Revolution**

A new era in human history opened with the great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 when, led by the Communist Party, and inspired by the great teachings of Marx and Lenin, the workers and peasants of Russia and the former Tsarist Empire overthrew capitalist class rule and established, over a vast territory, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The heroic victories of the Soviet workers and peasants against counter-revolutions and foreign intervention, their triumph over famines and backwardness, their great achievements in the building of socialism, inspired millions of working people in many parts of the world. Powerful Communist Parties arose in many countries. In the areas of the greatest population, the colonies of imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the October Revolution aroused hundreds of millions to fight for national liberation.

Following the historic victory of the Soviet Union in the second world war and the defeat of fascism on an international scale, the people's cause made a further leap ahead. Led by the Communist Party, the great Chinese nation of 750 million put an end to domination by imperialism and its agents and took the road to socialism. In a number of European and Asian countries the people rose against capitalist and landlord rule and laid the basis for socialism. These countries have joined the Soviet Union in the socialist camp, comprising no less than one-third of the human race, bound together by firm fraternal and equal relations, among themselves, advancing the people's living standards by leaps and bounds, and providing a powerful safeguard for peace, national liberation, democracy and progress for all the peoples of the world.

The colonial system of imperialism is crumbling. The peoples of practically the whole continent of Asia have within an astonishingly short space of time liberated themselves from direct colonial rule. The tide of national liberation has advanced with equally dramatic swiftness throughout the continent of Africa and the great majority of our fellow-Africans today enjoy formal political independence. The inspiring example of Cuba has called forth a great wave

throughout Latin America of resistance to the economic enslavement by United States imperialism. Determined to win a place of equality in the world, and to overcome the evil heritage of imperialism, the peoples of the colonial and formerly colonial countries are conducting vigorous and mounting struggles against imperialism and its agents in their midst. They fight against feudalism and other forms of local reaction. They are striving to build states of national democracy, which will move forward from formal independence and break all imperialist financial, economic, political and military entanglements. They seek rapidly to put an end to the chaos and economic backwardness which imperialism has left behind it. They aim to overcome the crippling lack of equipment, communications, and trained and skilled personnel; and to conquer illiteracy, mass poverty, disease and ignorance. They aim to catch up with the most advanced countries in industrial and agricultural development, in living standards and conditions, in educational, cultural and scientific achievement. Only thus can true equality, independence and democracy be established for the hundreds of millions of people in the former colonies of imperialism.

More and more the masses of people in Africa and other formerly colonial countries are coming to understand that capitalist forms of production, based on private ownership, can never enable them to accomplish this gigantic task. Led by the small, but growing, working class, in close alliance with the masses of rural people, they are striving to achieve non-capitalist forms of development, leading towards socialism. They are demanding a vast process of agrarian reform, enabling the African, Asian and Latin American farmer, for the first time in history, to have sufficient land at his disposal for a decent life. To place the control of their countries firmly in the hands of the people, they are fighting for genuine democracy, guaranteeing freedom of speech, of the press and organisation, and enabling masses of workers and peasants to play a full part in public life. The newly independent countries no longer constitute a reliable reserve of imperialism. They are moving more and more out of the sphere of influence of imperialism, and becoming a powerful factor for peace, against imperialist war.

**The greatest threat to the aspirations and the future of the peoples of all countries lies in the aggressive plans of international imperialism against socialism and national independence. Should the imperialists succeed in triggering off a nuclear world conflict it would destroy a great part of humanity and man's greatest achievements. Imperialism has not changed its character. Mobilised and organised by the leaders of world reaction, the United States**



monopoly capitalists, the imperialists are intensifying the armaments race and the cold war, they commit continuous fresh acts of intervention and aggression, attempting to check and reverse the world tide towards national independence and socialism. They threaten the world with nuclear destruction. But because of the tremendous strength, economic, social and military, of the Socialist countries, attracting the powerful support of hundreds of millions of people in the newly liberated and the capitalist countries, the power of the imperialists to impose colonialism, or to start wars, has been checked; their wings have been clipped.

Powerful peace movements, embracing millions of people of varying political beliefs, have grown up in many countries. The forces of national liberation and of the labour movement everywhere are insistently demanding an end to the cold war and the observance of the principles of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. All these forces are rallying to demand universal and complete disarmament. This crucial policy, advanced by the Soviet Union, crystallises the longings of our generation for peace and security, for life itself. Universal disarmament would lift a crushing burden of taxes from the shoulders of the people. It would make available the huge resources and quantities of manpower now diverted to arms production for useful production to raise the people's living standards. It would greatly assist the cause of national liberation by striking the weapons from the hands of the colonialists. It would free the world from the nightmare of nuclear war. Unity of all the forces demanding peace is capable of enforcing this demand. Even though imperialism still rules in powerful countries, such as the United States, the countries of Western Europe and Japan, and even though the war danger is still acute, the possibility already exists of achieving universal disarmament and eliminating war, providing the people struggle resolutely to assert their will for peace.

It is no longer the imperialists, but the international working class and its proudest creation, the world socialist system, which determine the main characteristics and trends of our times. We live in an epoch of struggle between two opposing social systems, an epoch of socialist and national liberation revolutions, of the breakdown of imperialism and the abolition of the colonial system. It is an epoch of the transition of more and more peoples to the socialist path and the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale. These vast changes in the world spell the doom of capitalism and imperialism. The victory of socialism and com-



munism will ensure the eradication of all types of exploitation and oppression, a future of peace, friendship, well-being, and unlimited advance for all peoples of the earth. Idlers and parasites will no longer exist for "he who does not work, neither shall he eat". Selfishness, ignorance, superstition and other evils of the acquisitive society will disappear. Mankind will enter upon a greater freedom, in terms of the principles of Communism.

But this great change will not come about of its own accord, or by persuading the capitalist ruling classes that change is reasonable and desirable. No ruling class in history ever bowed itself gracefully off the stage. The defeat of capitalism and the transition to socialism can only come about through struggles of the masses of the people, headed by the most advanced, resolute and revolutionary class, the working class. In their fight against exploitation and capitalist class domination, the weapon of the working class is organisation. The workers organise trade unions to fight for higher wages, better conditions and shorter working hours. They build mass political organisations to oppose and protest against the injustices of capitalist class rule. Answering Marx's great call: "Workers of all countries, unite!" the workers of each country strengthen brotherly ties between themselves and those of other countries beyond their borders, on a regional, continental and international basis.

Due to differences of history and national tradition, which the Communist Parties take into account, the precise path to socialism will differ from one country to another. But international experiences show that certain basic laws apply to all countries. Headed by the Marxist-Leninist Party and in alliance with most of the peasants and other working people, the working class must destroy the state of dictatorship of the capitalists, and replace it with the dictatorship of the working class, offering the widest democracy to the great majority of the people. Attempts at counter-revolution by the reactionary classes and groups must be suppressed. Private ownership of the main means of production must be abolished, and public ownership must be established in its place. The land must be in the hands of those who till it, and agriculture gradually transformed on a socialist basis. The national economy must be planned, to raise the people's living standards and build socialism and communism. Capitalist influence must be rooted out in the fields of ideology and culture, and a new type of intellectual must be trained, devoted to the welfare of the people and to socialism. All forms of racial and national discrimination and oppression must be wiped out, complete equality of rights and opportunities

and brotherly friendship must be an unvarying principle governing all relations between people of different national groups. The achievements of socialism must be defended against enemies inside and outside the country. Working class internationalism—close ties between the workers of all lands—is essential for the building of socialism in any country.

The highest form of working class organisation is the Marxist-Leninist Party, the most advanced, conscious and determined section of the class. This Party, the Communist Party, is a voluntary association of the best, most militant and devoted fighters for the cause of the workers, peasants and all oppressed people. All Party members enjoy equal rights irrespective of race or nationality. All members pledge themselves to maintain the highest standards of discipline, political training, loyalty and courage. Led by the Party, the working class aims, not merely at reforms of the capitalist system, but at the revolutionary overthrow of the system itself and its replacement by socialism.

## 2

### THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

For centuries the peoples of Africa were subjected to exploitation and robbery by the capitalist maritime nations of western Europe and other marauders. Millions of sons and daughters of Africa were transported as slaves to far away countries. In the words of Karl Marx, Africa was “a warren for the commercial hunting of black skins”. The invaders destroyed Africa’s ancient civilisations. They seized and laid waste her natural wealth. By the end of the 19th Century almost the whole of Africa had been conquered—by trickery or the force of superior arms—and brought beneath the alien yoke of a handful of European powers—Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium, Germany and Spain. Her peoples were deprived of self-government, alienated from their ancestral lands and driven to work as forced labourers on white-owned plantations, mines and other enterprises. Africa’s normal economic and political development was arrested and set back. Vast fortunes were accumulated in Europe and North America out of African resources and African labour. But the people of our Continent remained the most poverty-stricken in the world, with the highest death rate and the lowest expectancy of life. The colonialists proclaimed that their mission was altruistic and civilising. But now, when they are being driven from Africa, they leave behind them a crippling heritage of illiteracy, ignorance, economic stagnation, starvation and disease.

As a result of the heroic struggles of the African peoples, all over the Continent, and also of the break-up of the colonial system of imperialism which was inaugurated by the great October Socialist Revolution, the peoples of Africa have swept forward to win freedom and independence. At the end of the second world war, only Ethiopia and Liberia could claim to be African states governed by Africans. By 1962 the whole picture had been transformed. Only Angola, Mozambique and a few other scattered territories remained under the direct colonial rule of European powers, and in the Republic of South Africa, South-West Africa and the Rhodesias, White minorities continued to dominate. The area of formal political independence had spread to almost the entire continent. This sweeping process—the return of Africa to the rule of the African people themselves—is a great victory for the African people and the cause of freedom. It must be pressed forward and completed as soon as possible. It is the essential basis for all future advance. The working class, and its most advanced leaders, the Communists, are intimately concerned with this great movement for political independence; they form its spearhead and its most determined and uncompromising defenders.

But, formal political independence alone will not ensure the genuine independence of the African peoples, and their equality amongst the nations of the world. The former colonies remain tied by a thousand bonds to their former owners. Through the “British Commonwealth” and the “French Community” powerful pressures are exerted to influence them and ensure their continued adherence to political, diplomatic, military and economic systems of Western imperialism. There is a new “scramble for Africa” in which United States, West German and Japanese finance capitalists are vying with the older imperialists to extend their investments and their economic stranglehold over African territories and resources. The imperialists all strive to retard the development of national economies and national industries in the African countries. Through such instruments as the European Common Market they strive to keep them backward, in a position of suppliers of raw material and cheap labour for imperialism. These plans of *neo-colonialism* are the greatest threat to the real independence and development of the newly emerged African States.

The young African states need to abolish illiteracy, backwardness and economic dependence. They need to “Africanise” their civil services and administrations, rapidly to train personnel from amongst their own people to administer and develop their countries. They need radical land reform, to transform and improve African



agriculture and greatly raise the desperately low living standards of the masses. They need rapid industrialisation and economic development, in order to overcome the terrible heritage left behind by colonialism, and to catch up with the advanced countries of the world. In these aims the young African Republics are tremendously assisted by the generous and unconditional aid extended to them by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist world system. Such aid is rendered upon the principles of strict equality and true brotherly friendship. It aims to lay the basis for the industrialisation of undeveloped countries—the foundation stone of true independence and equality—and to train competent specialists in the hundred fields which the new Africa so urgently requires.

Only if they can achieve a social transformation, a fast rate of economic and social development, can the African countries ensure genuine independence and equality in the world family of nations, and higher standards of life, health and culture for their people. In their drive towards these goals the African peoples are faced with the choice between capitalist and socialist paths. More and more, the revolutionary workers and peasants, the radical intellectual youth of Africa are turning towards the socialist path. They have seen the evils of capitalism at work in their midst, its greed and wastefulness of life and resources; its ruthless contempt for the dignity and value of the human being. They have learnt of the tremendous rate of development which socialism has made possible especially in the Asian Republics of the Soviet Union, in People's China and other formerly colonial countries which, under workers' rule and socialism, have advanced with giant's strides. Non-capitalist forms of development, aimed at the building of socialism, are the only way in which Africa can rapidly liquidate racialism, feudalism, tribalism, poverty, backwardness and disease, and the exploitation of man by man.

The South African Communist Party regards as a dogmatic distortion of Marxism, the concept that African countries which are in a pre-capitalist stage of development must necessarily pass through a period of capitalism before achieving socialism. We are living in the epoch of the transition, on a world scale, from capitalism to socialism. The experience of the Soviet Asian Republics, of People's China, Vietnam, the People's Republic of Korea, and People's Mongolia, show that in our epoch it is possible for the people of colonial countries to advance along non-capitalist lines towards the building of socialism.

Recognising the tremendous attraction of socialist ideas in Africa,



various leaders have advanced the concept of a special kind of "African Socialism" different from Marxism-Leninism. These concepts are mistaken. It is true that the precise paths of the African peoples towards socialism will differ from those of peoples of other continents, due to differences of national tradition and history, to the long period of colonialist domination which, amongst other factors, has prevented the development of African societies along the same lines as those in Europe and Asia. But the whole of international experience has proved beyond any shadow of doubt, that the main truths of Marxism-Leninism are fully applicable to countries in every stage of social development. The only road towards a socialist and communist future is that indicated by Marxism. The innumerable attempts, in many parts of the world, to propound or practise "non-Marxist socialism", or to "revise", "modify" and "improve" Marxism-Leninism, have one and all ended in disaster and betrayal of the working class.

### **National Democracy**

The countries of Africa are in various stages of historical and social development. In some areas, such as the Republic of South Africa and the Congo, there is a relatively high degree of industrial development, of powerful monopoly capitalism and a numerically strong working class. Other areas have hardly been touched at all by capitalist development. There is little or no commodity production and exchange, and modern nations have not developed. Feudal and pre-feudal societies prevail. There is thus no common solution which would answer the needs of all the territories of Africa; each area needs to be studied specifically in the light of its own actual conditions. But, in most parts of Africa, the needs of the people will best be met at the present time by the formation of states of national democracy, as a transitional stage to socialism. The minimum essentials for a state of national democracy as indicated in the declaration of 81 Marxist Parties in December 1960, are that it: "consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory; fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital; rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government; ensures the people broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of the press, speech, assembly, demonstration, establishment of political parties and social organisations) and the opportunity of working for the enactment of agrarian reform and other domestic and social changes, and for participation in shaping government policy". The basis of a national democracy

is a leading alliance of workers and rural people. Such a state will provide the most favourable conditions for advance, along non-capitalist lines, to socialism.

In their advance towards national independence, democracy, unity and socialism the African peoples are seriously handicapped by the lack of understanding of socialist ideology—largely a result of the imperialists' censorship and distortion of Communist ideas—and by the absence in most parts of our Continent of independent, Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class. Socialism cannot effectively be built without socialist organisation guided by socialist theory. The development and growth of such parties, devoted to the people's struggle for freedom and independence, and building and forming part of the united front of all patriotic classes for national liberation, would be an important contribution to the cause of Africa. By making a profound study of scientific socialist theory and creatively applying it to the solution of the problems of their own countries, such Parties can play an indispensable role in carrying the African Revolution forward uninterruptedly to its consummation: the crowning of national independence with deep-reaching social revolution and the full emancipation of the African peoples from bondage.

The common struggle of the peoples of Africa against imperialism and colonialism in all its forms has brought the peoples of Africa closer together than ever before. The African countries which have already achieved independence render fraternal assistance to the freedom struggle of their brothers who still suffer under foreign or White minority domination. A powerful urge towards closer ties and solidarity exists among all Africans based upon the understanding that unity can best enable the African people to maintain and consolidate independence, overcome their grave social and economic problems, develop the resources of the Continent and raise their living standards. This urge finds its expression in the historic All-African People's Conferences and in regional groupings such as the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa: in the formation of the All-African Trade Union Federation; in joint economic and defence plans; in actual or projected regional Federations aimed at the ultimate establishment of a united African Commonwealth. This movement is progressive and anti-imperialist in character, reflecting the essential unity of the African Revolution. The frontiers of Africa were drawn by the imperialists. For the most part they record past conflicts and settlements among the colonialists. They do not reflect African interests, nor do they demarcate natural

geographical, linguistic or other divisions. Progressive elements in Africa will seek to re-draw these frontiers, to create larger and more viable communities, leading to a fraternal commonwealth of Africa as a whole. Because they are achieving independence in the epoch of the world transition to socialism, it is not inevitable that the African nations should follow the path of other continents by developing antagonistic nation states, each jealously guarding its frontiers. Such states are the product of capitalism. Provided all the African countries follow non-capitalist forms of development the achievement of a united Africa will become practical and desirable. But if this great historical process is to be effected without sowing the seeds of new conflicts, it must be based on consent and persuasion, not upon force.

**Communists recognise the right of all peoples and national groups to self-determination. They respect the languages and progressive traditions of all African peoples, and their right to independent development of their culture. While recognising the progressive elements in African nationalism and the movement for Pan-African unity, South African communists remain true to the principles of working class internationalism. They will fight against all expressions of racialism, isolationism, and the glorification and perpetuation of reactionary traditions, which have their roots in capitalist, tribal and feudalist outlooks.**

The struggle of the peoples of the rest of Africa and those of South Africa, against colonialism and for freedom are one and indivisible. White colonialism in the Republic of South Africa threatens the independence, peace and progress of the whole of Africa. It is a stronghold and refuge of reaction and imperialism threatening the gains of the African revolution; a breeding ground for plots and activities designed to restore colonialism throughout the Continent. A poor and backward Africa profits the South African monopoly capitalists, enabling them to exploit cheap African labour, both in their heavy investments in many parts of the Continent and by importing workers from other territories to mines and other enterprises in the Republic itself. The South African state and its military forces collaborate with those of the Portuguese, Rhodesian and other colonialists. In fighting against White supremacy, for the democratic revolution in South Africa, the people of our country are fighting for the cause of the African Revolution as a whole. In this fight they are greatly heartened by the victories of their brothers and sisters beyond their borders, and by their actions of solidarity with South Africa. They welcome the



decisions for the complete diplomatic and economic isolation of the Republic, the boycott of South African goods and the withdrawal of migrant labour from this country, and call for the strict implementation of these decisions. The liberated South Africa of the future will build ties of the closest fraternity and mutual assistance, based upon equal friendly relations, with all peoples of Africa. Its wealth, experience and skills will be a source of strength to the new Africa.

### 3

## COLONIALISM OF A SPECIAL TYPE

The White ruling classes, and especially the leaders of the Nationalist Party have manufactured a version of the past and present of this country which they systematically attempt to impose everywhere, from the schoolroom to international opinion. According to this picture the early White settlers penetrated peacefully into a virtually unoccupied country. The African population, who are depicted as savage barbarians without culture, achievements or history, are represented as relative newcomers who entered the country at about the same time as the Whites, and conducted aggressive wars and raids against them. The impression is given that African occupation was always more or less confined to the present Reserves—the “Bantu Homelands”. This version of South Africa’s past is entirely false.

From the time of the first White settlement, established by the Dutch East India Company 300 years ago, the pattern was set for the ruthless colonial exploitation of the non-White peoples of our country, the expropriation of their lands and the enforced harnessing of their labour power. The Dutch made war on the people of the Cape, whom they contemptuously called “Hottentots”, and rejected their appeals for peace and friendship. The so-called “Bushmen” were all but exterminated. Slaves were imported from Malaya and elsewhere. White settlers gradually penetrated into the interior. They drove the indigenous people from the best farm lands and seized their cattle. They subdued them by armed conquest and forced them into their service—at first through direct slavery, later through a harsh system of pass laws and taxation.

This pattern was not basically changed by the seizure of the Cape Colony from Holland by Britain in 1806. The British colonialists conducted a savage series of wars of conquest against the AmaXhosa people in the Eastern Cape and the Zulu people in



Natal. They imported more White settlers from Britain, and greatly extended the area of White domination. Through the agency of missionaries, traders, or armed bands of adventurers, they extended British sovereignty or "Protectorates" through Bechuanaland and Basutoland, and beyond the Limpopo River in Mashonaland, Barotseland, and other territories to the north, which they have named after the infamous adventurer and multimillionaire Cecil Rhodes.

The beginnings of the pass system were introduced under British rule. However, as the foremost capitalist country at that time, Britain was opposed to direct chattel slavery. In 1836 a law was passed abolishing slavery in the Cape Colony. In protest against this law, and to get away from British rule, large parties of Boers left the Cape and crossed into Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. In the course of this Great Trek, the Boers conducted continuous aggressive wars against the African tribes whom they found in possession everywhere. They usurped their lands, exploited their labour and even practised forms of slavery. They established new Republics founded on White domination and the racialist principle "No equality in Church or State".

Colonialist propaganda has emphasised the negative features of traditional African society: the relatively low development of productive techniques; the illiteracy, inter-tribal conflicts and wars, superstitions and poverty. It is true that such features existed in traditional African society just as they did among all peoples at the period of simple tribal economy. But hostile propaganda has presented a distorted image. Prior to the European conquest of Southern Africa, the indigenous peoples had developed their own independent culture and civilisation. They mined and smelted iron, copper and other metals and fashioned them into useful implements. They had developed a number of handicrafts. Their system of extensive agriculture and livestock breeding was well-suited to the type of country and the tools at their disposal. It produced a surplus sufficient to maintain full-time specialist workers, smiths, doctors and others. Their system of government, though simple, was essentially democratic and popular in character. The hereditary chiefs were assisted in their functions as law-givers and judges by the senior people of the tribe, and important decisions affecting the whole tribe were always referred to a general meeting of the people—the Tswana and Sotho Pitso, the Xhosa and Zulu Imbizo. Private property in land was unknown, and food and shelter were freely shared even with strangers.

When Whites first appeared they were welcomed courteously. But

when the colonists began their ceaseless acts of armed aggression, the African people resisted bravely to defend their cattle and their land from robbery and their people from enslavement. They took up spear and assegai against the bullets of the invader with his horses and wagons. The Xhosa people, under leaders such as Nqgika, Ndlambe, Hintsá and Makana, the Zulus using Chaka's battle tactics, under Dingane, Cetywayo and Bambata, the Basotho under Moshoeshoe, and in the North, the Tswana, Pedi and other African peoples, fought back bravely against the Boer and British invaders. The Coloured people, too, struggled valiantly. Revolts took place and the Coloured community led by the great Adam Kok, established their own independent Griqua Republic. But, tribal society and a rural economy could not provide the material basis for successful warfare against an enemy with a more advanced economy and more destructive weapons. The impact and penetration of White missionaries and traders paved the way for military conquest. Disunity amongst the various African peoples prevented the development of a common front of resistance. The farsighted vision of Moshoeshoe did indeed encompass this idea, and he sent emissaries to the Zulu and Xhosa people, and to Adam Kok, to propose such a united front. But Moshoeshoe's idea of a grand alliance came before its time. Time and again in their wars of conquest against African peoples, the British and Boer imperialists were able to play off one tribe against another and to enrol African auxiliaries.

The discovery of diamond fields at Kimberley and goldfields on the Witwatersrand had profound and far-reaching consequences. Foreigners flocked into South Africa. Great British and European finance houses exported vast sums of investment capital to South Africa. To seize complete control over the gold of the Transvaal, British imperialism invaded the two Republics, and after a cruel war, in which the Boers defended themselves with great heroism and resourcefulness, brought them within the British Empire. One of the pretexts for Britain's aggression had been the oppression of the African people under the Republics. Yet, following the British victory, the colonial status and subjugation of the indigenous peoples was continued and even intensified. The goldmining interests were now the true rulers of the country. They had only one interest in the African—to force him into labour on the mines at minimum rates of pay. They found the harsh colonial policy of the Republics admirably suited to this purpose. The poll tax and pass systems were intensified. Dispossession of the Africans from the land was speeded up. Not a single move was made to introduce into the northern colonies even the minimum citizen rights which had been conceded

to the non-Whites in the Cape. In the oppression, dispossession and exploitation of the non-Whites, British imperialism and Afrikaner nationalism found common ground. This was the basis for the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

Dominating the all-White parliament, the representatives of the wealthy Boer farmers and the imperialist mine-owners joined in an unholy alliance to squeeze the last drop of cheap labour out of the African people. The Land Act of 1913 ended African land ownership or tenancy except in the Reserves which were deliberately designed to be insufficient to support the population, so that the menfolk would be driven forth by hunger to work in White-owned enterprises. The state developed the contract system of migrant labour, separating the wage-earner from his family, so that the employer would not have to pay for the maintenance of the worker's wife and children. The democratic, co-operative basis of tribal society was broken down, and the entire African people turned into a rightless community of impoverished peasants and underpaid forced labourers in White-controlled farms, mines and factories.

**South Africa is not a colony but an independent state. Yet masses of our people enjoy neither independence nor freedom. The conceding of independence to South Africa by Britain, in 1910, was not a victory over the forces of colonialism and imperialism. It was designed in the interests of imperialism. Power was transferred not into the hands of the masses of people of South Africa, but into the hands of the White minority alone. The evils of colonialism, insofar as the non-White majority was concerned, were perpetuated and reinforced. A new type of colonialism was developed, in which the oppressing White nation occupied the same territory as the oppressed people themselves and lived side by side with them.**

A rapid process of industrialisation was set in train, especially during the two world wars. South African heavy industry and secondary industry grew to occupy first place on the Continent. This process had profound effects on the country's social structure. It concentrated great wealth and profits in the hands of the upper strata of the White population. It revolutionised the economy, transforming it from a predominantly agricultural into an industrial-agricultural economy, with an urban working class, mainly non-White, which is the largest in Africa. But no commensurate benefits of this industrialisation have been enjoyed by the masses of non-White people.



## Two South Africas

On one level, that of "White South Africa", there are all the features of an advanced capitalist state in its final stage of imperialism. There are highly developed industrial monopolies, and the merging of industrial and finance capital. The land is farmed along capitalist lines, employing wage labour, and producing cash crops for the local and export markets. The South African monopoly capitalists, who are closely linked with British, United States and other foreign imperialist interests, export capital abroad, especially in Africa. Greedy for expansion, South African imperialism reaches out to incorporate other territories—South West Africa and the Protectorates.

But on another level, that of "Non-White South Africa", there are all the features of a colony. The indigenous population is subjected to extreme national oppression, poverty and exploitation, lack of all democratic rights and political domination by a group which does everything it can to emphasise and perpetuate its alien "European" character. The African Reserves show the complete lack of industry, communications, transport and power resources which are characteristic of African territories under colonial rule throughout the Continent. Typical, too, of imperialist rule, is the reliance by the state upon brute force and terror, and upon the most backward tribal elements and institutions which are deliberately and artificially preserved. Non-White South Africa is the colony of White South Africa itself.

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

All Whites enjoy privileges in South Africa. They alone can vote and be elected to parliament and local government bodies. They have used this privilege to monopolise nearly all economic, educational, cultural and social opportunities. This gives the impression that the ruling class is composed of the entire White population. In fact, however, real power is in the hands of the monopolists who own and control the mines, the banks and finance houses, and most of the farms and major industries. The gold and diamond mines are owned by seven mining-financial corporations and controlled by a handful of powerful financiers. These seven corporations are closely linked with British and American imperialist interests. They control capital investment in mining alone of R490 million, and



employ almost 500,000 workers. In addition, they dominate large sections of manufacturing industries. They are linked with the main banks, two of which control assets of over R2,000 million, mainly in the form of loans to industry, commerce and estate. They own vast tracts of arable land and mining rights in almost every part of the country. In agriculture too monopoly dominates. Four per cent of the farms make up an area amounting to almost four-tenths of the total White-owned farmland. Thus, in mining, industry, commerce and farming, monopolists dominate the country's economy. They are also closely linked with *state monopoly capital* ventures, such as Iscor (Iron and Steel), Escom (Electricity) and Sasol (Petrol).

These monopolists are the real power in South Africa. The special type of colonialism in South Africa serves, in the first place, their interests. Low non-White wages; the reserves of poverty; the compound labour system and the importation of hundreds of thousands of contract labourers from beyond our borders; the pass laws and poll tax and rigid police control of labour and of movement—all are designed to keep their profits high. In 1961 these seven mining corporations and their subsidiaries made a working profit of nearly R212 million and paid out dividends of R101 million to shareholders.

The South African monopolists act as allies and agents of foreign imperialist interests. One-quarter of the capital of the seven mining-financial groups is owned abroad, mainly by British and American investors. In 1958, dividends of R43 million were paid out abroad. The two biggest banks are largely controlled from Britain, and in recent years United States capital investment in South Africa has grown rapidly, exceeding all other American investments in the rest of Africa put together.

Effective economic domination in South Africa is thus exercised by an alliance of local White monopoly interests in mining, industry and agriculture, together with foreign imperialists and representatives of state monopoly capitalism. These interests have conflicts among themselves, which are reflected in the main White political parties and groupings. But they find common ground in the perpetuation of the colonial-type subjugation of the non-White population.

The system of colonial domination over and robbery of the non-White masses is not in the genuine, long-term interest of the workers, small farmers, middle-class and professional elements who make up the bulk of the White population. White domination means

more and more police and military expenditure to burden the taxpayer and divert men and resources from useful production. It means that the poverty-stricken masses are unable to form an adequate market for South African industry and agriculture. It means more and more dictatorial police-state measures, the extinguishing of civil liberties for Whites as well as non-Whites. It means a South Africa despised and shunned by the whole world, subjected to economic, diplomatic, cultural and other forms of isolation, boycott and sanctions. It means a future of uncertainty and fear. The maintenance of White supremacy involves ever-increasing repression and violence by the government, resistance by the oppressed people and the steady drift to civil war. Only the complete emancipation of the non-White peoples can create conditions of equality and friendship among the nationalities of South Africa and eliminate the roots of race hatred and antagonism which are the greatest threat to the continued security and existence of the White population itself. The national liberation of the non-Whites which will break the power of monopoly capitalism is thus in the deepest long-term interest of the bulk of the Whites. Progressive and far-seeing Whites ally themselves unconditionally with the struggle of the masses of the people for freedom and equality.

On the whole, the White workers represent an "aristocracy of labour". The monopolists have extended numerous concessions to them. They receive relatively high wages. Non-white miners receive an average of R144 a year plus food and compound housing; White miners R2470. African male farm workers average R68 a year; Whites R1050. Whites have a monopoly of the best paid jobs, and of entry into skilled trades. They are invariably given positions of authority over non-Whites. The relatively high standards of life and wages enjoyed by White workers represent, in reality, a share in the super profits made by the capitalists out of the gross exploitation of the non-Whites. Systematically indoctrinated with the creed of White superiority, the White worker imagines himself to be a part of the ruling class and willingly acts as a tool and an accomplice in the maintenance of colonialism and capitalism. However, in reality, the White worker, like the non-White worker at his side, is subjected to exploitation by the same capitalist owners of the means of production. White workers' wages in general are high in comparison with those of non-Whites. But many categories of White workers are paid little more than non-Whites, and also struggle to support their families. The White worker is subject to the insecurity of the capitalist system, with its constant threats of depression, short-time and unemployment. The division of trade unions on racial lines

weakens all sections of workers in their constant struggle with the bosses for better pay and conditions and shorter hours of work. The fundamental interests of all South African workers, like those of workers everywhere, lie in unity: unity in the struggle for the day-to-day interests of the working class, for the ending of race-discrimination and division, for a free, democratic South Africa as the only possible basis for the winning of socialism, the overthrow of the capitalist class and the ending of human exploitation.

### **Non-White South Africa**

More than two-thirds of the South Africans are people of indigenous African descent. Living and working in all parts of the country, they form the basic population and are at the same time the main victims of colonialism; the most oppressed and exploited of all. The former divisions of the African people along tribal lines, and their classification into chiefs and commoners, are breaking down with the collapse of the tribal system. This system was suitable for the simple, self-contained economy of the past, based on subsistence farming and common ownership of land. There is no place for it in a modern exchange economy based on large-scale industry and mining, on the farming of products for sale on the market. The Nationalist Party government, following the maxim: "Divide and Rule", is attempting to revive tribalism and tribal divisions. Their attempts cannot succeed. The African people of this country are moving inevitably and consciously towards the formation of a single, modern nation.

There are no acute or antagonistic class divisions at present among the African people. Most of them are wage-workers in industry or agriculture. There are no large-scale African employers of labour. The professional groups, mainly teachers, do not, as a rule, earn salaries or live differently from their fellow-Africans. Even the people of the Reserves, especially the men-folk, spend much of their lives as migrant wage labourers on the mines, in agriculture or industry.

One-third of the African people live on the Reserves. The largest of these are the Transkei and Ciskei, in the Cape Province, but there are also other scattered areas widely separated in the other three provinces. The Nationalist government speaks of the Reserves as the "homelands" of the African people, but so far from being able to sustain additional population, they are grossly overcrowded already and far too small to maintain their present population of 3½ million. Most Africans on the reserves are not inde-



pendent peasants and have no land or insufficient to make a living. To support their families and avert starvation, most of the men in the prime of life are usually away working for White employers, and leaving the farming to old people and womenfolk. The smallness and the overcrowding of the Reserves leads to soil exhaustion. There is no opportunity for intensive farming, crop rotation, and scientific cattle pasturing, because there is not enough land. The Reserves are the most backward and undeveloped areas in the country, typical of colonial Africa. They lack industries, communications and power resources. There is no capital for improvements or mechanisation.

### **The “Bantustan” Fraud**

Under its preposterous “Bantustan” scheme the Nationalist government is proposing to partition South Africa. They pretend to be conferring “independence” and “self-government” on the Reserves, which they have rechristened “Bantu Homelands”, and thus to justify treating Africans in the remaining 87 per cent of South Africa as “aliens” and “temporary visitors”. They present this proposal as a concession to the African people and to world opinion. Africans and all freedom-loving people reject this proposal with contempt and indignation. There are no grounds, in history or in reality, for the Nationalists to claim any part of South Africa exclusively for Whites. Africans live in every part of our country; their labour has gone to develop its farmlands and its cities, its mines and industries, its railways and harbours; they claim every inch of South Africa as their homeland. The “Bantustan” scheme is not only undemocratic and opposed to every principle of self-determination, it is also fraudulent. Though they pretend they are giving land to Africans they are not giving them any additional land at all—in many cases they are actually taking away land from them. The Nationalist Party promises independence and self-government to the Reserves, but the so-called “Bantustan” schemes are both dishonest and impractical. The Nationalists have no intention of conferring any genuine independence on any group of non-White people. Even if they were compelled to make concessions in this direction, the land area of the Reserves is too small, the economy too backward, and completely lacking in capital to allow for the possibility of any real independence for these areas.

The government is attempting, through the “Bantu Authorities” system to enforce a return to tribalism, using chiefs who are pre-

pared to collaborate, and deposing and deporting those who refuse. The effect is actually to hasten the breakdown of tribal institutions. Those chiefs who collaborate with the government have become the most hated group in the countryside, relying on dictatorship and terror, contrary to African traditions, to enforce the laws of the White authorities on the unwilling people. The people of the Reserves are boldly calling the government's "Bantustan" bluff. They are fighting bitter struggles, including armed struggles, against the Bantu Authorities. The peasant in the countryside today is not the unsophisticated tribesman of the previous century. Millions have at some time or other come to work in the towns. They have come into contact with the challenging outlook and the advanced methods of organisation of the trade unions, the Congress movement and the Communist Party. These "new peasants" have awakened the countryside, transforming the African peasantry from a reserve of conservatism into a powerful ally of the urban working class in the struggle against White colonialism, and for freedom, land, equality and democracy.

Millions of agricultural labourers and labour tenants are employed on White-owned farms throughout the country. These are the most exploited workers in South Africa. They work without any protection from labour laws, from dawn to sunset, at hard and exhausting labour, for wretchedly low wages. The food they are given is too little, it is always the same, and it is an unhealthy diet. On most farms the housing for them is worse than what is provided for the farm animals. The use of convict labour, and compound labour, and other forms of forced labour, is common on farms in many parts of South Africa. Farmers and their foremen frequently employ physical violence against African farm labourers, beating them with sjamboks, often to death. Wages for farm labour are the lowest in the country. Agricultural labourers are not really free workers. They are tied, often for life, to a particular farmer because of the operation of the labour tenancy system, the pass laws and in particular the so-called "trek-pass", the Native Service Contract and the Masters and Servants Acts. Organisation of agricultural workers' unions and other bodies for farm workers is also made exceptionally difficult because of the close supervision maintained over them by the farmers.

The 400,000 African labourers working on the gold and coal mines have to do the most backbreaking, dangerous and unhealthy work, for wages which are a scandal and a disgrace in an industry

which distributes millions of rands annually to its shareholders. They are separated, for long periods, from their wives and families. A large proportion of them are "imported" from territories outside the Republic, the Protectorates, S.W. Africa, the Portuguese Colonies, Nyasaland, Tanganyika and elsewhere, although conferences of African states have decided to work towards ending this practice. The migratory labour system leads to a continual turnover of personnel, making the organisation of mine workers a difficult task, and the mine owners go to great lengths to stamp out the development of trade unionism among them. Especially since the great strike led by the African Mineworkers' Union in 1946, they are subject to constant surveillance by police, spies and informers.

**The special character of colonialism in South Africa, the seizing by Whites of all the opportunities which in other colonial countries have led to the growth of a national capitalist class, have strangled the development of a class of African capitalists. All positions of economic strength and influence are held as the jealously guarded monopoly of members of the White group alone. There are very few Africans who make profits by the exploitation of labour power. In some areas there are some independent African farmers, producing for the market along "capitalist" lines. But, as a rule, the holdings are so small that they can be and are cultivated by the farmer himself and his family. There is quite a substantial number of African traders and shopkeepers. Because they have to contend with innumerable colour bars and special restrictions, and because their capital is usually too small, their businesses are rarely very big or very profitable. In a great many cases, in fact, the shop is in the hands of non-African bondholders or wholesalers, of whom the shopkeeper himself is little more than an employee. African business men are not allowed to own fixed property. They may not trade in the centres of the cities, the main areas of commercial activity, but are relegated to the African townships and the outskirts. They are subjected to the pass laws and all the restrictions and insecurities imposed on all Africans. An African businessman is not allowed to open a branch elsewhere or to trade anywhere outside his place of residence. The interests of the African commercial class lie wholly in joining the workers and rural people for the overthrow of White supremacy.**

The intellectuals and professional groups among the Africans share with their people all the hardships and indignities of colonialism. The largest group, the teachers, receive salaries far below those



of their white colleagues, and comparing unfavourably with those of many African industrial workers. They have to work in appalling conditions, in overcrowded classrooms, lacking modern equipment, teaching half-starved children. The Nationalist policy of "Bantu Education" imposes upon them syllabuses designed to indoctrinate their pupils with servility and apartheid theories, and containing a minimum of genuine educational content. They are compelled to teach in the African languages although there are no adequate text books in these languages. Under the Nationalist regime there has been a catastrophic fall in the standard of African education. The few places once open to African students for professional training in some White universities, have been closed. The new "tribal colleges" set up instead by the Nationalist government are a travesty of institutions of higher education. They have no facilities to train architects, engineers, scientists, dentists or technicians in most fields. Passports for those who wish to study abroad are usually refused. Opportunities for cultural development among Africans are restricted to a minimum. Nearly all public libraries, theatres, concert halls and other cultural facilities are reserved for Whites and the few for non-Whites are inferior. The exceptionally sharp contradictions of South Africa, and their own conditions of life, which are a challenge to their self-respect and human dignity, face the African intellectuals with a clear-cut choice. Either they align themselves with the struggles of the masses, or else they accept the role of assistants and agents in maintaining White colonialism. To their credit, many African professional men, teachers and even chiefs have sacrificed all hopes of privilege and advancement in order to join wholly with their people.

The workers of the towns, the Africans employed in factories and in transport, in steel-works and power stations, in shops and offices, comprise the most dynamic and revolutionary force in South Africa. The wages of urban African workers, in relation to their high living costs, are scandalously low. They are forced to live far from their places of work, involving exhausting and expensive journeys by bus or train. In shops and factories they are relegated to the most arduous and least rewarding work. Pass laws and urban areas legislation make the tenure of their jobs and their residences precarious, and they are subjected to never-ending raids and surveillance by the police. It is illegal for African workers to strike and their trade unions are unrecognised and vigorously discouraged by the State. Even when employers are prepared to enter into collective bargaining with African workers, the State intervenes to

stop it. Despite these and many other disabilities, and the daily struggle for existence, this class, the most numerous and experienced working class on the African continent, has time and again shown that it is the vanguard of the African people. It has built up a number of stable and effective trade unions, devoted to the cause of African liberation and of workers' unity on our continent and throughout the world. **African workers constitute the core of the African National Congress and the Communist Party. They have repeatedly come out on nationwide political general strikes and have been the leading force in every major struggle of the liberation movement. Disciplined and taught the lessons of organisation and unity in the harsh school of capitalist production, driven by their conditions of life into united struggle for survival, this class alone is capable, in alliance with the masses of rural people, of leading a victorious struggle to end White domination and exploitation.**

The Coloured and Malay people, a population of 1½ million living mainly in the Western Cape Province, are a national group comprising workers, farm labourers, professional people and small businessmen. Like all non-Whites, the Coloured people are subjected to many forms of racial discrimination, reflected in low standards of living, education, housing, nutrition and health. Coloured workers, despite a tradition of craftsmanship which is the oldest in the country, find access to senior posts is withheld from them and given to Whites; Coloured farm labourers work and live under wretched conditions. Their pay is scandalously low, and on the wine farms is partly made up by a liquor ration—the “tot” system, which undermines their health. Coloured teachers and other state employees are paid much less than their White counterparts for doing the same work. Nevertheless, for many years, this community occupied a privileged position in relation to the Africans. The White ruling group extended various concessions—such as a qualified franchise, trade union rights, property rights—in order to prevent the emergence of a Coloured national consciousness, and the formation of a united front of oppressed non-White peoples for equality and the ending of White colonialism. This policy was not without success. But, with the deliberate removal by the Nationalist government, one after another, of all the privileges extended to the Coloured people in the past—the abolition of the common roll franchise, the introduction of apartheid and job reservation, White baasskap in the trade unions and separate university education—working class and democratic leaders have come to the fore. The Coloured people are rejecting apartheid and moving towards the

path of struggle, side by side with African and other freedom fighters.

The Indian community, of half a million, are mainly the descendants of indentured labourers who came to work in the Natal sugar fields a century ago. From the earliest times all sorts of degrading and discriminatory restrictions have been placed on South African Indians, restrictions which they have resisted in many historic struggles. Today there is a substantial class of Indian industrial and agricultural workers, especially in Natal, but also, increasingly in the Transvaal. There is also a considerable class of Indian merchants, factory owners and small shopkeepers. The Indian workers face appalling problems of unemployment and overcrowding in slum conditions. Indians do not enjoy voting and other democratic rights. Indian businessmen, and all sections of the community, are subjected to innumerable disabilities, especially relating to land and property ownership and economic and educational opportunities. They are not allowed to move from one Province to another without special permits, and are completely debarred from the Orange Free State. The Nationalist government has applied the Group Areas Act with particular ferocity against the Indian communities in the cities and small towns, uprooting them from their homes and livelihood and threatening to "resettle" them in isolated areas where they face complete ruination. The Indian people have turned their backs on the reformist bourgeois leadership which counselled paths of compromise with oppression and the seeking of sectional privileges regardless of democratic principle and the fate of the masses. They have unreservedly joined in the many united struggles of the African and other oppressed peoples over the past two decades.

#### 4

### **THE FORCES OF CHANGE**

The system of colonialism and racial oppression in our country is powerfully challenged and will be overthrown by the unified struggle of national liberation and working class movements that have grown, developed in experience and maturity and become steeled in many years of complex and difficult struggle.

The impact of capitalism destroyed the traditional economy and fabric of African tribal society. It scattered and disarmed the tribal armies. It turned the chiefs from people's leaders into instruments for implementing the laws devised by Whites. But the spirit



of the African people was not broken. Patriotic African intellectuals, with the backing of many chiefs, began forming a new type of organisation, a national political organisation of the African people. A number of such bodies was formed, and in 1912 these united to form the African National Congress. The establishment of the A.N.C. is a profoundly important landmark not only for South Africa, but for our Continent as a whole. It was the forerunner of similar bodies in very many other countries of the Continent, movements which led the African revolution, and today take part in African governments.

**As a national liberation organisation, the A.N.C. does not represent any single class, or any one ideology. It is representative of all the classes and strata which make up African society in this country. With the advance of members of the working class, together with revolutionary young intellectuals, to leading positions in the A.N.C., the organisation steadily developed and went forward in its policy and methods of struggle. Congress has steadfastly rejected narrow nationalism, Black chauvinism, anti-Communism and other outlooks which are harmful to the people's cause. It was precisely on these issues that the right-wing Pan-Africanist Congress broke away from the A.N.C. to form a rival organisation. The A.N.C. has formed a firm alliance between itself and patriotic organisations of the Indian and Coloured people, the democratic Europeans and the non-racial Trade Union movement—the Congress Alliance. Even though driven underground since 1960, the A.N.C. has carried on the struggle.**

The representative organisation of the Indian people is the South African Indian Congress. For many years, under the leadership of representatives of the wealthy commercial classes, the Indian Congress contented itself with sectional struggles, aimed at maintaining and improving the status of its community alone as a minority group. But, in the middle forties, a dynamic new leadership, representing the mass of exploited Indian workers and peasants, as well as radical intellectuals who had absorbed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and identified themselves with the working class, pointed out that the future of the Indian community in South Africa was dependent upon the establishment of conditions of true democracy for the country as a whole. The struggle of the Indian people was one with that of the African national movement for freedom and equality for all in this country. This new policy and leadership was accepted by the great majority of the members of the South African Indian Congress,

and since that time this Congress has taken full part in the major struggles of the Congress Alliance.

The pioneer Coloured political movement, the African People's Organisation, conducted militant campaigns and pursued a radical united front policy, but this tradition was not maintained. For many years, leadership of the Coloured people's organisations and trade unions was dominated by middle class elements, who either collaborated openly in the maintenance of White supremacy, or—under the cover of wordy denunciations of “Herrenvolkism”—preached a policy of abstention from political activity and hostility to the African national liberation movement. In recent years the Nationalist government's attacks on their longstanding rights have led to a revival of militancy among the Coloured people. The masses of Coloured working people and radical youth are turning increasingly towards the Coloured People's Congress, an ally of the African National Congress.

There has always been a minority of Whites in South Africa who fought against racial oppression and courageously came out for the rights of the oppressed. The African people will never forget the memory of such democrats, Christians, liberals and Communists as van der Kemp, Pringle, Olive and W. P. Schreiner, Ivon Jones and S. P. Bunting, who swam against the stream of racialism. From its formation in 1953 until it was outlawed in 1962, the Congress of Democrats represented the most advanced and progressive section of the White population. In spite of unceasing persecution by the State which banned and restricted the greater part of its membership, the C.O.D. joined all the major campaigns of the people for freedom, and shared all the trials and tribulations of the other members of the Congress Alliance.

This alliance headed by the African National Congress, which has been joined by the non-racial Congress of Trade Unions, has adopted a revolutionary democratic programme, emanating from the masses, the Freedom Charter, which envisages profound democratic changes in every field of South Africa's political, social, economic and cultural life. During the grim years of the Nationalist regime, the Congresses have conducted one stirring campaign after another—the May Day and June 26 strikes of 1950 and many general strikes in the years that followed, the campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws and the Congress of the People are examples. In its foreign relations, the Congress Alliance has done much to bring the outrages of apartheid to the attention of the outside world,

and to evoke acts of international solidarity which have greatly inspired and encouraged the peoples of our country.

The labour movement of South Africa has reflected, in an especially acute way, the profound international cleavage of the working class between reformists and revolutionaries, social-democrats and Communists. It began almost exclusively as a movement of the White skilled workers. During the first quarter of the present century the White working class fought many a bitter and stirring struggle against the monopoly capitalists. The miners and other White workers of the Witwatersrand formed armed commandos to defend themselves against the attempts of the Smuts government in 1922, to smash their strike by force. But, led by Right-wing renegades from socialism, and bribed by concessions and privileges extended to them by the monopolists, the great majority of the White workers repudiated the principles of socialism and working class unity. So far from joining hands with their oppressed and exploited fellow-workers of a dark skin colour, they have turned their backs on them and joined in an alliance with the White capitalists and wealthy farmers to maintain White colonialism and to subjugate and exploit the non-White peoples. The years since 1922 have seen a steady decline in the militancy and class-consciousness of the White workers. The once powerful Labour Party is dead. The White trade unions—with a few honourable exceptions—collaborated in the implementation of apartheid in industry and job reservation. In fact, most of these unions have become little more than societies to preserve a White monopoly of skilled jobs. For the most part, the White workers of this country support their capitalist rulers and exploiters in the maintenance of White supremacy and colonialism.

The labour laws of South Africa, accepted in the main by the White trade unionists, have compelled the African workers to form their own trade unions. In spite of all the disabilities under which they have to function, these unions have played a notable part in raising the wages and improving the conditions of the workers. They have educated the workers in the spirit of class unity and international solidarity. Following the exclusion of African trade unions from the White-dominated Trade Union Council in 1956, these came together with workers of other races who remained loyal to the principles of trade unionism, to establish the South African Congress of Trade Unions. S.A.C.T.U. has consistently campaigned to organise the hundreds of thousands of unorganised workers, particularly the Africans. It has opposed every



manifestation of racialism and White privilege in the economic life of the country and in the trade union movement. It has endorsed the Freedom Charter and played an important part in the Congress Alliance. The Congress of Trade Unions has consistently upheld the principle of working class internationalism as expressed by the World Federation of Trade Unions. It has opposed the efforts of the so-called International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to split the workers' movement in Africa and elsewhere. S.A.C.T.U. is a foundation member of the All-Africa Federation of Trade Unions.

### **The Communist Party**

Established on July 29, 1921, the Communist Party of South Africa was the first Marxist-Leninist Party on the African Continent. It was itself based mainly on the International Socialist League, which in 1915, under the leadership of men like Bill Andrews, had broken from the S.A. Labour Party over the issue of opposition to the imperialist war. It spread socialist teachings among the people and strove unceasingly against racialism and for the unity of the working class. It demanded complete freedom and equality for the African and other subject nationalities and led the workers and oppressed people in struggles, many of them historic, against pass laws and unemployment, against fascism at home and abroad, and for a democratic South Africa. The Communist Party brought about profound changes in the thinking, political outlook, demands, forms of organisation and methods of struggle of the oppressed and exploited people of this country. Members of the Party worked hard to build up the trade union movement, the African National Congress and other organisations of the people. Hated, slandered and persecuted by the ruling classes, the Party grew to become the outstanding champion of the oppressed and working people in every struggle against exploitation and national oppression. Nevertheless, despite its great achievements and struggles, the Communist Party of South Africa proved incapable of surviving under illegal conditions. Legalistic illusions had penetrated into the ranks of the Party, including its leading personnel. The Party was unprepared and unable to work underground. These errors culminated in the dissolution of the Party upon the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act by the Nationalist Government in 1950. Under this law hundreds of "listed" Communists were victimised, banned, banished and forced

to resign from organisations which they had given their lives to build.

**The Nationalists boasted that they had “destroyed Communism in South Africa”. It was an idle boast. Defying the Nazi laws of the Nationalists, the most steeled and determined Communists of South Africa came together in 1953 to form the South African Communist Party, to carry forward and raise still higher the banner of the Communist movement under the new and testing conditions of illegality. Combining legal mass work with the illegal work of building the Marxist-Leninist Party as the disciplined vanguard of the fight for freedom, democracy, peace and socialism, the South African Communist Party is the heir to the tradition created by the Communist Party of South Africa. It is a tradition of unflinching struggle against oppression and exploitation, for unity of the workers and freedom-loving people of our country, irrespective of race and colour.**

The South African Communist Party is the party of the working class, the disciplined and advanced class which has no property stakes in present-day South Africa and has been the core and inspiration of other classes in every struggle of our time. The working class seeks a close alliance with the rural people, and with the urban middle classes and intellectuals in the national democratic revolution. Only under its leadership can the full aims of the revolution be achieved. It is to enable the working class to fulfil this historic mission that the workers have founded and built their own political party, the South African Communist Party.

The historic task of the Communist Party is the abolition of the capitalist system, and through socialist transformation of the economy of the country, to attain a classless Communist society. However, at a time when the majority of the people are subject to the most vicious and degrading national oppression, when White colonialist reaction imposes a rule of terror on the whole population and sacrifices the people's living standards on the altar of White supremacy, the central and immediate task of the Communist Party is to lead the fight for the national liberation of the non-White people, and for the victory of the democratic revolution. The Party will strive continuously for the building and strengthening of a united front of national liberation, the unity of Communists and non-Communists, the unity of freedom-loving people of all nationalities and all anti-colonialist classes in the national democratic revolution.

The South African Communist Party is a part of the world Communist movement. It participates in meetings of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and abides loyally by their common decisions. True to the principles of working class internationalism, the Party works for unity of the workers of the whole world, and especially of the Marxist-Leninist parties. The Party works for the unity of all anti-imperialist and sane forces in the world in the life-and-death struggle against a devastating nuclear war, for peaceful co-existence of nations of whatever stage of social development, for universal and complete disarmament. This policy coincides with the fundamental interests of the people of our country. It is in harmony with the aims of the independence and integrity of our country and of all-African co-operation and unity.

The structure of the Party is based on the principles of democratic centralism. While demanding strict discipline, the subordination of a minority to the majority and of lower Party organs to higher organs, and the prohibition of all factions within the Party, it upholds the principle of democratic election of all leading organs of the Party, collective leadership and full debate of policy. The curtailment of some aspects of democratic procedure is inevitable under illegal conditions; this temporary situation must be compensated for by all members, regarding it as their duty to participate in the formulation of policy and by the leadership, encouraging and making it possible for them to do so.

## 5

### **THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION**

The Nationalist Party, which has governed South Africa since 1948, has brought this country to the verge of revolution. The Afrikaner nationalist movement, which was always corrupted by White chauvinism, has today lost all trace of the anti-imperialist element it once had, during the period of its struggle against British rule. Dominated by the Afrikaner capitalist class and large-scale farmers, the Nationalist Party is controlled by the fascist "Broederbond" secret society. Deeply influenced by the Nazi movement in Germany, it adopted many of Hitler's ideas and worked for a fascist victory in the second world war. The Nationalist Party has become the instrument of the most racialistic and imperialistic sections of the capitalist class. The declaration of a Republic in May 1961 in no way lessened the dependence of the



South African economy on British and American finance-capital. The Republic left the British Commonwealth not by choice of the Nationalist government but because the unpopularity of its racial policy among African and Asian member countries faced it with expulsion. In all major questions of international policy the Nationalist government identifies itself with the most aggressive elements of international imperialism in the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Japan. It is dependent on financial and armaments aid from these countries to maintain its rule in South Africa.

The Nationalist Party relies on violence and terror to maintain itself in office. It has disfranchised the few non-Whites who once enjoyed the vote and otherwise altered the electoral system to ensure that it cannot be removed by Parliamentary means. It has outlawed workers' and liberation organisations, meetings, newspapers and other publications, and resorted to arbitrary bannings, deportations, arrests, confinements and house-arrests of freedom-fighters. It has closed the door to every possibility of peaceful advance of the non-White peoples to social, political and economic rights. It is mobilising and arming the White population for the express purpose of "shooting down the black masses". Already its police have committed massacres of unarmed Africans, such as those of Sharpeville and Langa, which have shocked the whole world. A powerful international movement has developed, supported by African, Asian and socialist governments, for the diplomatic, economic, cultural and sporting isolation of South Africa, and for boycotts and sanctions against the Republic. The policy of the Nationalist government has brought about a state of permanent and deepening crisis in the country.

The other White parliamentary parties can offer no way out of this crisis. The United Party, traditionally the instrument of the goldmining interests and the English-speaking capitalists, laid the basis for all the excesses of the Nationalists during the many years in which it governed South Africa prior to 1948. As the main "opposition" group in Parliament it has steadily retreated before Nationalist reaction. It is compromised by its own anti-democratic class character and afraid lest genuine opposition to the government might result in disturbances which would adversely affect business and the confidence of foreign investors. It vies with the Nationalists in appealing to the racial prejudices of the White voters. It has actively or passively assisted the Nationalist Party at every stage of its march to fascism.

Disgusted with the surrender of the United Party and alarmed at the dangers to the country's stability and future presented by Nationalist policy, a number of former United Party M.P.s and members broke away in 1959 to form the Progressive Party. Backed by influential business interests, such as the Oppenheimer mining group, and supported by a section of urban, middle-class Whites, the Progressive Party seeks to avert the coming democratic revolution in South Africa by offering a "qualified" franchise to middle-class non-Whites and concessions to ease the intolerable burden of apartheid.

A more radical tendency among progressive middle-class and intellectual circles is represented by the Liberal Party. This Party proposes a universal franchise, but since it expressly confines itself to "parliamentary and constitutional methods", it suggests no realistic or convincing method to obtain this. Its insistence on anti-Communist and anti-socialist policies and its failure to attack the roots of race-oppression in the economy of the country seriously lessen the Liberal Party's usefulness and effectiveness. Its adherence to the "West" in the cold war continually conflict with its opposition-to the Nationalist government, and make the liberation movement doubt its reliability as an ally in the struggle.

The deep-rooted crisis in South Africa cannot be resolved by the Nationalist government, using methods of force and violence or attempting to deceive home and world opinion with fraudulent schemes of "Bantu self-government". Nor can it be resolved by a mere change of government to another section of the White ruling class which would make superficial concessions while leaving the essence of the colonial system and monopoly control intact. The crisis springs from the fundamental contradictions of South African society: between the oppressed people and their rulers; between South African colonialism and the world-wide movement against colonialism and imperialism; between the working class and the rural masses, together with the middle classes, on the one side, and the handful of monopoly capitalists on the other.

This crisis can only be resolved by a revolutionary change in the social system which will overcome these conflicts by putting an end to the colonial oppression of the African and other non-White people. The immediate and imperative interests of all sections of the South African people demand the carrying out of such a change, a national democratic revolution which will overthrow the colonialist state of White supremacy and establish an independent state of National Democracy in South Africa.

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

The main aims and lines of the South African democratic revolution have been defined in the Freedom Charter, which has been endorsed by the African National Congress and the other partners in the national liberation alliance. The Freedom Charter is not a programme for socialism. It is a common programme for a free, democratic South Africa, agreed on by socialists and non-socialists. At the same time, in order to guarantee the abolition of racial oppression and White minority domination, the Freedom Charter necessarily and realistically calls for profound economic changes: drastic agrarian reform to restore the land to the people; widespread nationalisation of key industries to break the grip of White monopoly capital on the main centres of the country's economy; radical improvements in the conditions and standards of living for the working people. The Communist Party pledges its unqualified support for the Freedom Charter. It considers that the achievement of its aims will answer the pressing and immediate needs of the people and lay the indispensable basis for the advance of our country along non-capitalist lines to a communist and socialist future. To win these aims is the immediate task of all the oppressed and democratic people of South Africa, headed by the working class and its party, the Communist Party.

### **Violence and Non-Violence**

In their long and difficult struggles the national liberation organisations of South Africa, including the Communist Party, have always sought peaceful methods of struggle. In the past they have counselled non-violent methods not because they are cowardly or believers in pacifist illusions but because they wished to avoid the bitterness and bloodshed of civil war. But the ruling class has invariably replied to non-violence with violence; to peaceful protests with suppression and police massacres of unarmed men, women and children. The Nationalist government has closed, or



is closing, every channel of legal protest and normal political activity. It is openly preparing for civil war.

In the face of these provocations, the liberation movement has had to reconsider its attitude towards "non-violence" as a universal principle. The patience of the people is not endless. They are determined to win freedom in our lifetime. They would prefer to achieve their liberation by non-violent means. But today they are left with no alternative but to defend themselves and hit back; to meet violence with violence. The Nationalists are forcing a solution upon South Africa in which patriots and democrats will take up arms to defend themselves, organise guerilla armies and undertake various acts of armed resistance, culminating in a mass insurrection against White domination. In such a conflict, however long and costly, the fighters for freedom must win, for they will enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of our country and the whole world.

**The Communist Party considers that the slogan of "non-violence" is harmful to the cause of the democratic national revolution in the new phase of the struggle, disarming the people in the face of the savage assaults of the oppressor, dampening their militancy, undermining their confidence in their leaders. At the same time, the Party opposes undisciplined acts of individual terror. It rejects theories that all non-violent methods of struggle are useless or impossible, and will continue to advocate and work for the use of all forms of struggle by the people, including non-collaboration, strikes, boycotts and demonstrations.**

The Party does not dismiss all prospects of non-violent transition to the democratic revolution. This prospect will be enhanced by the development of revolutionary and militant people's forces. The illusion that the White minority can rule forever over a disarmed majority will crumble before the reality of an armed and determined people. The crisis in the country, and the contradictions in the ranks of the ruling class, will deepen. The possibility would be opened of a peaceful and negotiated transfer of power to the representatives of the oppressed majority of the people.

Whether its end is brought about through such a peaceful transition or by insurrection, the vicious type of colonialism embodied in the present Republic of South Africa cannot long endure. Its downfall and the victory of the South African democratic revolution are certain in the near future.

The Communist Party unreservedly supports and participates in the struggle for national liberation headed by the African National

Congress in alliance with the S.A. Indian Congress, the Congress of Trade Unions, the Coloured People's Congress and other patriotic groups of democrats, women, peasants and youth. With them, it demands the immediate summoning of a sovereign national convention to draw up and promulgate the constitution of a state of national democracy in South Africa. It considers that it is important and urgent for all the forces and movements for freedom to agree upon all their main goals and aims of this time.

It is in this situation that the Communist Party advances its immediate proposals before the workers and democratic people of South Africa. These are not proposals for a socialist state. They are proposals for the building of a national democratic state. These proposals are put forward within the framework of the Freedom Charter which the Party considers to be suitable as a general statement of the aims of a state of national democracy. Our proposals are not directed towards communists and socialists alone, but are submitted as a basis for discussion for all democratic and patriotic people, and in particular for members and supporters of the national liberation and trade union movements.

## 6

### IMMEDIATE PROPOSALS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

#### ● State Structure

The Party stands for a unitary South African state with a Republican form of government. All local and national representatives in legislative bodies should be subjected both to election and recall by universal, equal, direct adult franchise, without regard to race, colour, sex or property, educational or other qualifications whatsoever. The Party declares that the revolutionary people of South Africa cannot merely take over existing State and government institutions designed to maintain colonialism, but must destroy them and create new people's institutions in their place. The Senate and all institutions based on property or other undemocratic qualifications must be abolished.

New territorial administrative regions should be established enjoying full powers of local government corresponding to the progressive traditions and the wishes of the people of each area, but conforming to the overall character and laws of the people's democratic state.

Every vestige of apartheid and racial discrimination should scrupulously be removed from every field of state service and

public life. Every rank of the Civil Service, of the army, navy and air force, of the judiciary, police, municipal services and other public institutions should be open to all South Africans. The aim of the state should be to replace all officials who are disloyal to democratic non-racial principles. Special measures should be taken rapidly to promote African and other non-White personnel, so as to ensure that all state institutions are fully representative of the nature of the population of South Africa.

### ● **Civil Rights and State Security**

The state must guarantee the fullest liberty of speech and thought, of the press and of organisation, of conscience and religion, to all citizens. The people's freedom of movement must be guaranteed. Racialistic and counter-revolutionary propaganda must be forbidden. People must be free to discuss and debate all schools of democratic and progressive opinion.

In order to preserve and extend the gains of the revolution, particularly in the conditions of South Africa, the utmost vigilance must be exercised against those who would seek to organise counter-revolutionary plots, intrigues and sabotage, against all attempts to restore White colonialism and destroy democracy.

While extending the greatest measure of democracy to the people, and ensuring their fullest participation in the public life of the country, a vigorous and vigilant dictatorship must be maintained by the people against the former dominating and exploiting classes. Towards this end, the Party will propose the disbandment of the police and military forces maintained by White colonialism. A new people's militia and people's liberation army, composed of and led by trusted representatives of the people, must be created.

The Party will work unceasingly to oppose the development of any form of cult of individual leadership, of illegal and arbitrary methods, or of misuse of power in any way. It will uphold proper legal and judicial procedures, and fight to protect the security of the citizen, the inviolability of his home, his privacy and his correspondence.

### ● **Economic Development**

In order to ensure the rapid development of South Africa as a well balanced industrial-agricultural country, overcoming the lopsidedness caused by colonialism, to abolish unemployment, and to ensure continuously rising material and cultural standards of the people, the Party advocates the large-scale, planned development



of the economy of the country, controlled and directed by the state.

In order to ensure South Africa's independence, the Party will press for the strengthening of the state sector of the economy, particularly in the fields of heavy industry, machine tool building and fuel production. It will seek to place control of the vital sectors of the economy in the hands of the national democratic state and to correct historic injustice, by demanding the nationalisation of the mining industry, banking and monopoly industrial establishments, thus also laying the foundations for the advance to socialism.

At the same time, the state should protect the interests of private business where these are not incompatible with the public interest. It should offer assistance, by way of state loans, to non-monopolist producers, in return for a state share in their undertakings, thus paving the way for a gradual and peaceful transition to socialism.

The state should encourage and develop the initiative, talents and crafts of the people and provide opportunities and the fullest encouragement for those who show inventiveness, mechanical skill and other socially useful talents.

### ● Agriculture

In order to rally the support of the great masses of rural people, to raise their living and cultural standards and to rectify the injustices committed by the colonialists in seizing most of the land of South Africa, the revolutionary state must take immediate and drastic measures to restore the land to the people. The Reserve system, and any laws restricting land ownership on a racial basis, must be abolished.

All land must immediately be confiscated which is in the hands of financial monopolies and land speculators, absentee-owners, farmers who use convict labour or indentured compound labour, and other idlers, exploiters and parasites who allow the land to lie idle while the masses starve. This confiscated land must be placed in the hands of those who live and work upon the land. At the same time, the state should guarantee security of tenure to peasant farmers and smallholders who fruitfully cultivate the land by their own labour. All agricultural land transactions should be regulated to avoid accumulation of land once again in the hands of the rich.

Radical reform must be undertaken in regard to all communally held and tribally held lands, with respect to land tenure and social relationships. Backward tribal and other relationships should be replaced by democratic institutions. Special attention should be given to building industries in these areas, electric power stations,

modern roads and railways, and all other things required to enable them soon to catch up with the economic and cultural development of the rest of the country. Advanced and efficient agricultural methods and techniques should be introduced.

The state should encourage the widespread development of democratically administered co-operative and collective farms rather than individual peasant smallholdings. Vigorous measures should be taken to mechanise and electrify farming operations, to conserve water supplies and create large-scale irrigation schemes, to encourage scientific livestock breeding and the diversification of crops. The state should aim at the development of a prosperous cultured and progressive rural community, close in its standards of living and education, social outlook and interests, to the people of the towns and cities.

### ● Labour and Social Welfare

As the party of the working class, the Communist Party demands the protection and substantial advancement of the workers' standards of living, housing, working conditions, wages, leisure and recreation. It proposes that all workers, including farm, mine and domestic workers, be entitled to full trade union rights and the protection of labour laws, including a national minimum wage, annual paid holidays, sick leave, unemployment and workmen's compensation benefits for all, and adequate safety regulations in all mines, factories, farms and other places of work.

The Party demands that the state provide special protection for women workers, the removal of all restrictions against married women employees, and the provision of adequate maternity leave before and after birth. The Party will fight for full and equal rights for women in every aspect of state, social and private life. It will work for the elimination of polygamy. It will fight vigorously against all vestiges and manifestations of contempt for or unequal treatment of women, or their being regarded as mere cooks, domestic servants, nannies and housekeepers. It will fight for the admission of women on an equal basis to every sphere of state, industrial, commercial, agricultural, scientific, academic and professional life.

The Party proposes that a state medical service be instituted providing free preventative and curative medical and health services to all, including hospitals, medicines, spectacles, dentures and all other aspects of a comprehensive health service.

The Party proposes the provision of free meals at school to all children; that all workers be guaranteed cheap transport to and

from work and that the state provide adequate pensions, without discrimination, to all old people. It demands adequate allowances for all who are unemployed; disabled, orphaned, or otherwise unable to earn a living.

The Party demands the abolition of all residential segregation and the provision of adequate housing for all, with special attention to the needs of those living in slums.

### ● Education

There must be no segregation in education. All children must receive free primary and secondary education from the state. Standards of education must be the same for all children, irrespective of race, home language or economic status, and designed to develop citizens imbued with a love of their people, their country and humanity.

There must be equal opportunities for all to receive higher education and specialised technical training. However, in order to correct the legacy of colonialism, priority must be given to the training of African and other non-White specialists in every field.

The state must organise a campaign among the masses for the complete elimination of adult illiteracy.

All teachers must be guaranteed decent standards of living and the right to take part in public life. They must be enabled to attain the highest qualifications and their remuneration and promotion must be on the basis of qualifications and merit alone.

### ● National Rights

In view of the ravages wrought by the White colonialists, the Party demands exceptional measures to uphold the rights, dignity, culture and self-respect of all national groups inhabiting our country.

All languages used by the people of South Africa should enjoy equal rights and status. In local administrative regions, organs of local government, laws, and courts, the language used should normally be that spoken by the majority of people in that region.

The state should encourage in particular the unity of the African people and foster the spirit of unity of all South Africans. At the same time it should encourage and stimulate the development of healthy, non-antagonistic national consciousness and legitimate pride among all sections of the people. It should encourage the development of national cultures, art and literature.



While standing for a united South African state, the Party recognises the rights of all national groups in the country to develop and to determine their own future. To enable these rights to be realised, the Party demands the abolition of the Reserve system and the even development of agriculture, industry and communications throughout South Africa.

Freedom of movement must be an inviolable right of all citizens and all citizens must enjoy equal rights and status in every part of the country.

Vigorous measures must be taken to train and promote non-Whites, especially Africans, as managers and directors of industrial, agricultural, mining and commercial enterprises; as professors, doctors, chemists, architects, scientists and engineers; as leading personnel of every sort.

While regarding as its main task in the sphere of national rights, as being to correct the injustice and crime perpetrated against the African majority, the state must also safeguard and guarantee the rights of minority groups, whether of European, Coloured, Indian, Chinese or any other descent. The state must protect the rights of all citizens equally, and vigorously oppose and suppress all senseless acts of revenge which have their roots in the past. All manifestations of racialism, including the use of derogatory terms to designate people of various national groups, must be prohibited by law.

### ● Foreign Relations

The national democratic state of South Africa should be fully independent. It should base its policy on the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. South Africa should aim to strengthen the United Nations and make it more democratic and effective as an instrument of peace. It should work for universal disarmament and the abolition of war as a means of settling disputes between nations.

South Africa should not join any imperialist military alliance or power bloc, or allow imperialist bases to be set up on its territory.

A democratic South Africa should aim at the closest and most fraternal relationships between all African states, towards a united Africa.

Democratic South Africa must seek the closest and most brotherly relations upon a basis of complete equality between our country and its neighbouring territories of South West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Mozambique and Rhodesia. It must

proclaim and scrupulously observe the right of self-determination and independence of South West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

A free South Africa will render every assistance to all other Africans in their struggles to liberate themselves from colonialism.

A democratic South African state should enter into diplomatic, cultural, commercial and economic arrangements with all countries, irrespective of their social system, seek to conclude equal and mutually beneficial agreements with them and to strengthen the ties of friendship and brotherhood amongst the peoples of the whole world.

# THEY CANNOT FORGET LUMUMBA

By I. Cox

Since the foul murder of Patrice Lumumba in January, 1961, the situation in the Congo has gone from bad to worse. The imperialists of the United States, Belgium and Britain have been concocting schemes to impose a firmer grip on the rich resources of this African territory, but have reached no agreement on the division of the spoils. Within the United Nations the spokesmen of these countries have faced one crisis after another in the application of their "remedies" for the mutilated body of the Congo.

When Lumumba was alive they condoned and encouraged the secession of Katanga, and successfully prevented Lumumba from taking effective steps to build a united Congo. Because Lumumba strove to achieve this aim he was brutally murdered. These imperialists feared more than anything else a united Congo under Lumumba's leadership.

After ridding themselves of Lumumba there was still another serious obstacle, Lumumba's successor Gizenga, who continued the fight for a strong and united Congo. Exactly a year after Lumumba's murder he was "handed over" to Mobutu and others who had usurped the powers of the Congolese Government. Since January 1962 Gizenga has been held in illegal captivity on the Bolabemba island in the mouth of the Congo River, without trial, without any examination of alleged charges against him, and without medical treatment. Who knows that by the time these lines are printed he may be dead, without a word of protest from the United Nations—least of all any step to secure his release.

It is in this situation that a new book "CONGO MY COUNTRY" purporting to have been written by Lumumba in 1956-57 has appeared in Britain. It is a translation of one which appeared in Belgium late in 1961. The Belgian publishers give no proof that Lumumba wrote this book, except a photostat copy



of the first and last part of a letter apparently received by them from Lumumba in February 1957.

The Belgian publishers do not explain why publication was delayed for nearly five years. They declare that they deem it their "duty" to pass it on to "posterity". Could they not have discharged this "duty" before Lumumba's death? It would have been extremely interesting to have had a preface written by Lumumba in 1961 which would explain the enrichment of his political outlook since 1957 as a result of his unique experiences in the struggle for a united Congo. This is certainly what some people would have most detested. What we have instead is a foreword by Colin Legum, Foreign Editor of the London *Observer* who gives vent to anti-Communist spleen and does a great deal to denigrate Lumumba.

Like several reviewers in British capitalist journals, Legum expresses surprise at what he describes as Lumumba's "moderate" views in this book. During his lifetime, especially in the last year before his murder, many writers had described him as an "extremist", as "a Communist stooge", as completely inexperienced, and quite "irresponsible". In his foreword Legum asks how Lumumba's earlier concern for "social and political reforms" could be consistent with his later struggle for Congolese unity.

How blind can some people be? Although Lumumba was not a Communist, he was a militant African leader, anxious to achieve unity and prosperity for his beloved country. Is not this the aim of every genuine African liberation leader, and every Communist leader? There is nothing inconsistent in combining the struggle for "social and political reforms" with the basic fight to achieve African liberation and to advance to socialism. It is by representing the position incorrectly that there may arise the impression of a contradiction.

Assuming that Lumumba actually did write this book five years ago there is nothing strange about the rapid development in his political outlook since that time. In 1957 there was no organised political movement in the Congo. The Belgian colonial rulers saw no threat to their domination. Even after the great revolutionary upsurge in the Congo in January 1959 they were still thinking in terms of self-government fifteen or twenty years later.

It is true that in 1956-57 Lumumba had pathetic faith and trust in the good intentions of the Belgian colonial rulers. In the Congo the White Belgian colonists as well as Black Africans were denied the right to vote. Belgian rule was administered by professional civil servants and governors. It was not surprising that this system

of "paternalism" created illusions among the peoples of the Congo.

Already, six years ago, Lumumba was beginning to throw off these illusions. In his book, facts and figures are presented to expose the low starvation wages and the vast contrast with the higher standards of living of the Europeans in the Congo; and the demand is put for higher wages for Africans and the principle of equal pay for equal work.

While in theory neither Africans nor Europeans were allowed political rights, Lumumba provides ample evidence in this book that Europeans were able to impose their domination. The representatives whom the Government appointed to the provincial and works councils were out of touch with the people. Though still not won over for a system of universal suffrage, Lumumba advocated a more democratic system in which representatives were chosen by the people.

Revealing also is the exposure of the system of land robbery by which the European colonists were able to grab the best land and the biggest estates:

"The Whites have taken hold of our rights—our lands—and now wish to sell them to us for money, as if we were strangers in the country. They have become owners of our land and we, the 'natives', have become mere immigrants, because our land is now to be sold to us." (p. 101.)

In spite of this, Lumumba did not become a victim of "black racialism", but argued this could be avoided only if Belgium instituted a more democratic system in the Congo. At that time his strong belief in the prospect of good relations with Belgium was expressed in these words:

"Let us work together, White and Black, to construct Africa in harmony and mutual affection; these are the indispensable conditions for any firm union."

Lumumba's aim in 1956-57 was to achieve internal autonomy for the Congo, an autonomous republic which "would form a federation with Belgium", placed under the command of a Belgian High Commissioner, and "administered jointly by Congolese and Belgians in accordance with mutually agreed conditions".

While this reveals his political immaturity at the time it also brings out the fact that Lumumba at an early age was trying to grapple with the actual day-to-day problems of a Congo under direct colonial rule. The essence of this book consists of the positive proposals to end racial discrimination against the Africans, to raise living standards, to improve education, reform the police

and the prison system, and to establish better relations with Belgium.

It was after the first All-African Peoples' Conference at Accra in December 1958 that the Congo was drawn into the revolutionary upsurge sweeping throughout Africa. Lumumba was present at Accra, and after this experience there was a rapid growth in his political maturity. The gigantic revolt of January 1959 led to a situation in which the Belgian colonial rulers (despite all their manoeuvres to prevent it) were driven from one retreat after another, until finally forced to concede independence in June 1960.

The history of the past two years makes it clear that this was only a tactical retreat. "Independence" was a cover to conceal other methods of striving to maintain Belgian colonial domination. It was during 1959 and 1960 (after writing the book) that Lumumba became recognised as Congo's outstanding national leader. He was hated and feared by the colonialists, who were determined to prevent the creation of a united Congo under his leadership. The events in the Congo from June 1960 to March 1961 also made a profound impression on the third All-African People's Conference in March. This was the main factor which prompted its historic resolution on the dangers of "neo-colonialism".

In his foreword Colin Legum reveals himself as one of the chief apostles of "neo-colonialism". In an earlier book "Congo Disaster" written in December 1960 he revealed where he stood as between Kasavubu's aim of a federal Congo and Lumumba's consistent fight for a united Congo: "Experience may yet show that federalism is the only way to build viable societies in the larger African countries." (p. 97.)

The foreword fails to draw the attention of the reader to the betrayal of the Congo by Dag Hammarskjöld, to the return of Belgian troops to the Congo, and the attitude of the United States spokesman in U.N.O. It completely underestimates Lumumba's strength of character and his consistent fight for a united Congo, and unfortunately goes on from error to error.

It is argued that the United Nations resolution of July 14, 1960, did not empower Hammarskjöld to end Katanga's secession, despite its extremely clear terms "to take the necessary steps, in consultation with the Government of the Republic of the Congo, to provide the Government with such military assistance, as may be necessary . . ."

Everyone now knows that Hammarskjöld obstructed every step to implement this resolution, and did his utmost to sabotage



Lumumba in his tireless efforts to make Congolese unity and independence a reality. Legum declares: "It was Lumumba's decision to call directly for Russian support that led to his downfall." Nothing could be further from the truth, and Legum himself contradicts it.

In his own earlier book he explains that the United Nations had used British and United States planes to fly troops to the Congo, but not Soviet planes, and that the Soviet Union was legally entitled to send Soviet planes to assist transport in the Congo, in response to a request from the Congolese Government. In his present foreword, Legum asserts that Lumumba did this "behind the backs" of his colleagues in the Government, but in his earlier book "Congo Disaster" he reported that Lumumba succeeded "in getting his Cabinet to agree to a resolution appealing to the Russians or to any Afro-Asian bloc country to send troops unless the United Nations got the Belgians out of the country." (p. 132.)

Most of the space in the foreword of twenty pages badly misrepresents events in the Congo after June 1960. For example, on page XXI of the foreword there is the text of a letter, alleged to have been sent by Lumumba to the presidents of all the provincial governments in the Congo, except Katanga. This alleged letter urges them to apply "an absolute dictatorship . . . terrorism . . . arrest of Ministers . . . revive the system of flogging" and a whole number of other despicable measures. *After* giving all these gruesome details, it is stated that no proof that this letter was authentic was ever established, and that a United Nations enquiry declared the document to be a forgery!

On occasion the truth is stumbled upon as if by accident. After Lumumba's arrest, the situation is described thus:

"There are two reasons to explain the anxiety of Lumumba's opponents to rid themselves of him. The first is that they were terrified of his power; his uncanny ability to dominate any group of which he was a member was a real threat to his rivals, and, secondly, there was a constant danger of a coup (to release Lumumba) by Lumumba's supporters . . . the authorities became greatly alarmed by signs of a new rising tide of support for Lumumba."

And a further passage:

"The simple truth of the matter is that Lumumba had an electrifying effect on the Congolese; he was capable of arousing enthusiasm in a way that could not be matched by any other leader in the Congo. That was his strength. The strength of his opponents

depended on their ability to neutralise him, or, if necessary, to destroy him.”

If further proof were required of Lumumba's courageous fight for unity and real independence in the Congo it is contained in his last letter to his wife. In his foreword Colin Legum reproduces this letter, but does not seem to grasp one iota of its political significance. This letter breathes a spirit which has become even more powerful throughout Africa since his cowardly murder:

“I am writing these words not knowing whether they will reach you, when they will reach you, and whether I shall still be alive when you read them. All through my struggle for the independence of my country, I have never doubted for a single instant the final triumph of the sacred cause to which my companions and I have devoted all our lives. But what we wished for our country . . . was never desired by the Belgian imperialists and their Western allies, who found direct and indirect support . . . amongst high officials of the United Nations . . . They have corrupted some of our compatriots and bribed others . . . ”

Yet there was not a word of despair. His indomitable spirit expresses the advance in his political outlook since 1956-57, and the relation of the struggle in the Congo to the world-wide advance of national liberation:

**“We are not alone. Africa, Asia and the free liberated people from all corners of the world will always be found at the side of the Congolese who will not abandon the struggle until the day when there are no longer any colonialists and mercenaries in their country.”**

What deep inspiration lies in his final words before his assassins shot him dead:

“History one day will have its say, but it will not be the history that is taught in Brussels, Paris, Washington or in the United Nations, but the history which will be taught in the countries freed from imperialism and its puppets. Africa will write her own history, and to the north and south of the Sahara it will be a glorious and dignified history.”

**The real life-story of this great African leader has still to be written. But enough is already known for his courageous record to be enshrined in history for many generations to come, when the Kasavubus, Mobutus, Tshombes, Welenskys, Adoulas and their capitalist press hacks and reviewers will long be forgotten.**

# THE CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION



Burying  
the Corpse

by **A. Cohen** and **A. Lerumo**

“Federation is a stinking corpse fit only to be buried.” The words are those of Dr. Banda, and he was referring to the so-called Central African Federation of Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This political monstrosity was set up by and in the interests of British imperialism, the White “Rhodesian” colonialists and the mining magnates of the Copperbelt—closely linked to Johannesburg and New York. It was set up against the will and the interests of the great majority—the Africans. History is moving swiftly in Africa today, however. The will of the people cannot be denied. Soon the “Federation” will disappear from the map of Africa, and also the names of the three territories which comprise it.

The name “Rhodesia” (whether North or South of the Zambesi River) is a standing insult to the people of these territories. It perpetuates the name of Cecil Rhodes, the infamous imperialist adventurer who engineered the wars of aggression which led to the theft of these vast and wealthy areas from the indigenous inhabitants. It seems likely that after independence the people will choose the popular names Zambia (for N. Rhodesia) Zimbabwe (S. Rhodesia) and Malawi (Nyasaland).

Let us sketch in some salient facts about each of the territories in the ill-fated “Federation”.

## **1. Nyasaland**

Though the smallest in size of the three, Nyasaland has the largest population. There are 2,709,300 of whom 8,300 are Whites and 11,000 of Asian descent.

This lush and beautiful land lies stretched out along the western shore of Lake Nyasa, touching Tanganyika in the north, bordered



by Northern Rhodesia in the north-west, and, southwards, dangling deep into Portuguese-dominated Mozambique.

As a result of colonialism under British rule, the people of Nyasaland are the poorest of the poor. Economic development is practically nil, and the menfolk—like those of the British protectorates in South Africa—are faced with the choice between starvation and leaving their country to find work. So heavy is the draining away of the labour force—Nyasaland's main "export"—to the mines of South Africa and the copperbelt of North Rhodesia, as well as to farms in South Rhodesia, that vast stretches of this lovely territory have up to 80 per cent of their able-bodied men away at any given time. According to official statistics, Africans' earnings were as low as £46 a year. (Those for Whites were nearly 20 times as much—£889 a year.)

The main political force in the territory is the Malawi Congress Party, of which Dr. Banda is the President. During the 1959 "Emergency" the British attempted to suppress the people's struggle with ruthless terror and violence. But the people supported the Banda leadership with rock-like unity, embracing all classes (the Devlin Commission reported that of the 35 African graduates in the territory 34 were detained in concentration camps and jails). Because of the courageous resistance of the people, and also because there is no substantial White population to undertake the usual police and garrison duties, the British were compelled to retreat. Despite noisy protests from Sir Roy Welensky, they had to concede fairly democratic elections which enabled the Malawi Congress Party to win a majority and take over the administration (excepting, of course for those key powers "reserved" by the colonialists).

Dr. Banda and his men have made good use of these concessions to press forward strongly for complete independence and secession from the Federation.

## **2. Northern Rhodesia**

N. Rhodesia has a population of 2,300,000, of whom 72,000 are Whites.

By far the largest of the territories (twice the area of S. Rhodesia and 8 times that of Nyasaland), it has common borders not only with these two but also with the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique (south-east) and Angola (west). In the north it has a common frontier with the Katanga Province of the Republic of the Congo, illegally governed as an "independent state" by Belgium's stooges Moise Tshombe and Godefroid Munongo.

The mineral-rich copperbelt which runs through into Katanga,

is the main source of wealth in the territory. Fabulously wealthy, the copper mines pay out millions every year to their shareholders—who do not live in Rhodesia and have never been there, but are mainly in Britain, and also in the United States, South Africa and elsewhere. The Africans of N. Rhodesia see very little of the vast wealth of the copperbelt. In 1958 their average earnings were £99 for the whole year. By contrast, Whites earned just over £100 *per month*—so a White man earned more in one month than an African did throughout the year.

The British South Africa Company, established by Cecil Rhodes, extracts profits out of both N. and S. Rhodesia. It gets royalties of over £10 million a year from the Copperbelt mining companies. Giant monopolies are linked up with Union Miniere, the Belgian octopus that runs Katanga and Mr. Tshombe. They are also linked with the B.S.A. Company, so to some extent they take the “royalties” out of one pocket and put them in another.

For some years the African national liberation and trade union movements were held up in their development by colonialist agencies such as the British Trade Union Congress and Moral Rearmament, making use of leading African politicians and others who were prepared to make themselves available for this purpose. Of recent years, however, the United National Independence Party, under the dynamic leadership of Kenneth Kaunda, has won the support of the great majority of the people, and forced the British to make concessions. Roy Welensky, with the backing of Lord Salisbury and his other pals in London, fought hard to see that N. Rhodesia did not get a democratic constitution. They succeeded to a large extent—the constitution with its complicated “upper” and “lower” (African) voters’ rolls is a monstrosity which hardly anyone can understand, and is specially designed to maintain Welensky and Federation. Nevertheless, even under this shocking constitution, UNIP won a sweeping political victory in last month’s elections, getting 20,000 more votes than all the other parties put together. Only 152, out of 100,000 African voters, voted for Welensky’s United Federal Party. Nevertheless, owing to the crook constitution, the UFP got 15 seats and UNIP only 14 in the first round of elections—with 11 seats to be decided early in December. Realising it had no hope of gaining African support itself, the UFP backed up Nkumbula’s splinter organisation, the so-called “African National Congress”.\* With this backing it won sufficient

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\* This organisation, of course, has no connection with the militant African National Congress of South Africa.

seats to hold a balance of power, but proved a serious disappointment to the UFP. Under tremendous pressure from the African masses, Nkumbula deserted Sir Roy and agreed upon a coalition with UNIP to form an all-African administration.

It is very much to be hoped that the price for such a coalition will not be a watering down or compromise on UNIP's militant policies. The African masses who voted for UNIP voted for complete independence, one-man-one-vote democracy, and a clean break with the Federation. They are not interested in an administration, even if it consists of Africans enjoying high salaries, which will merely carry on with the Welensky and Downing Street policies.

### **3. Southern Rhodesia**

S. Rhodesia has a population of 2,641,500, including 2,420,000 Africans and 207,000 Whites—far more than the other two territories.

It borders on Mozambique in the east, Bechuanaland in the south-west, and to the south on the Republic of South Africa.

Southern Rhodesia is the most economically developed—and the most politically backward of the three territories. There are large towns, developing industries and commerce, large-scale agriculture and ranching on capitalist lines. But all these advantages are firmly in the hands of the White minority which—as in Verwoerd's Republic—dominates the political structure of the country. The best farmland has all been appropriated by Whites, and African living-standards are scandalously low.

Despite the many resemblances between Whitehead's Rhodesia and Verwoerd's South Africa—and their close collaboration in economic, police and other matters—the S. Rhodesians do not (they dare not!) carry out apartheid and White supremacy policies as openly and brazenly as their counterparts across the Limpopo River. The general rule in Africa is that the more numerous the Whites are the more blatantly and arrogantly do they preach and practise racial discrimination. And 200,000 Whites in Rhodesia are but few, compared with 3 million in the Republic.

Instead of "baasskap" they preach "partnership"—with the Whites, of course, as "senior partners". It has been aptly described as the sort of "partnership" that exists between a horse and its rider!

In the face of rising mass struggles for political rights by the African people, the S. Rhodesian and British authorities proposed



an outrageously undemocratic franchise (the so-called Whitehead-Sandys constitution) which would give the Africans (90 per cent) 15 seats and the Whites (10 per cent) 50 seats in Parliament.

At first Joshua Nkomo, the foremost African leader in the territory, made the mistake of accepting this proposal as a "step forward". In this he lagged behind the political consciousness of the masses of working people, who are uncompromisingly demanding full independence and one man one vote. It says a good deal for Mr. Nkomo's strength of character and closeness to his people that he openly admitted his error and called for the rejection of this fraudulent constitution and mass struggle for freedom. The people responded by boycotting the registration of voters and launching a wave of strikes and other forms of political struggle.

The reaction of the Whitehead government was a series of vicious bannings and repressions modelled on those of the Nazi Verwoerd-Vorster regime across the border. The S. Rhodesian African National Congress was banned in 1959—but the people fought back. The National Democratic Party was formed in its place, with Joshua Nkomo as President. At the end of 1961 Whitehead banned the N.D.P. Eight days later Mr. Nkomo publicly launched the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). And now, within a year, ZAPU has been banned too. A state of emergency has been declared, and hundreds of ZAPU leaders placed under restrictions. 30,000 troops were called up and thousands of Africans arrested. But the struggle goes on throughout the country, becoming more and more militant. Africans have carried out a number of acts of sabotage and violence.

The farther South one gets in Africa, the more Whites one finds—and the more bitter the struggle as they seek to defend their unjustifiable privileges with force and violence. But Whitehead will learn (and Verwoerd too) that the appeal to the sword is a dangerous argument for a minority to resort to.

The December 1962 elections in Southern Rhodesia were a tremendous demonstration of solidarity by the African people, who boycotted them almost completely. The White electorate struck another nail in the coffin of Federation by rejecting the Welensky-Whitehead United Federal Party in favour of the "Rhodesian Front". This reactionary Right-wing Party advocates a policy which is nothing but a thinly disguised version of Verwoerd's apartheid and White supremacy, but it rejects Federation in favour of a "go-it-alone" policy for S. Rhodesia, relying, no doubt, on support from the Republic.

Thus Sir Roy Welensky occupies a wholly untenable position as “Prime Minister of the Federation”. Always rejected by the masses of the African people, his Party now stands glaringly exposed as repudiated by the electorate in each of the constituent territories. Even under the fraudulent constitutions and rigged elections the United Federal Party is now out of office in every one of the three legislatures. His resignation is overdue.

### **After the Funeral, What?**

When the Central African Federation was planned, nine years ago, it seemed to be an excellent arrangement for everyone—except the Africans. It would strengthen British imperialism’s hold in Central Africa. It would enable the White colonialists in Salisbury to lay their hands on the rich revenues of the Copperbelt and the vast labour reservoir of Nyasaland. But the planners of this cosy little plot reckoned without one thing: the rising strength and militancy of the African people. The Africans were never consulted about Federation. They never wanted it; they fought it bitterly; and now they are going to bury it. It has been a hard struggle, well fought. There will be few to mourn at this funeral and millions to rejoice at the burial of a stinking corpse, which if not disposed of quickly threatens to spread a dangerous infection all around it.

The dismemberment of the Federation and the establishment of democratically elected governments enjoying full political independence is only the first step—although a very important and absolutely necessary step—towards freedom, progress and prosperity in Central Africa.

The fight against Federation is only the beginning. As the bitter experience of the Congo should warn us, the next stage, the fight against neo-colonialism, the fight to restore the wealth of Africa to its people, is every bit as complex and difficult. It requires a profound understanding of modern political and economic theory; it needs militant and independent working-class organisations prepared to play a leading role in the united freedom struggle; it requires boldness and courage.

Above all, it needs unity. Just as Kaunda, Nkomo and Banda stood together against Welensky’s Federation, so their people must stand together now—and also together with their brothers of the Congo and of East and South Africa, against the common enemies of freedom here.

We should not underestimate these enemies, or forget that *they* are united against us. Salazar, Welensky, Verwoerd, Whitehead,

Tshombe—they are all linked together in a plot against African freedom. You cannot do a deal with any one of them without helping them all and stabbing your fellow-Africans in the back. And behind them stand yet more sinister and powerful forces: certain of the mining companies backed by British, United States and Belgian imperialism.

The people of East, Central and Southern Africa are strong enough to meet and defeat all these enemies, to win and consolidate freedom and independence everywhere. But to win we must stand together, helping one another and presenting a common united front against the oppressors, robbers and despoilers of Africa.



# WHAT OUR READERS WRITE

## Thirst for Knowledge

There is a great thirsting all over Africa for Marxist books, the writings of Communists. In South Africa where the Communist Party has been illegal since 1950 the Government, spearheaded by the Minister of "Justice" Mr. Vorster, has in recent months launched a great offensive against Communism. Night after night, for over a week, Radio South Africa broadcast State Information, Special Branch and police versions of what Communism stood for. The idea was to make the flesh of South Africans creep, to awaken them to this "danger" in their midst. Some of the broadcasts drew on documents and writings of Communists and the underground Communist Party. The extracts broadcast were taken out of context, were slanted and distorted. But the broadcasts had the exact opposite effect that the Government intended! Where documents and declarations of Communists were quoted in a reasonably accurate form—like the newly adopted Programme of the South African Communist Party, shortly to be widely circulated throughout Africa—listeners clustered close to their radios and enthusiastically approved aspects of the Communist programme presented to them. The ideas that make the South African government tremble with apprehension, inspire South African workers and patriots to greater resistance to the tyranny of the government and greater support of Communists, foremost in the struggle for national liberation, and foremost with the blue-print of a new society which will banish oppression.

The letters which come to this Journal from all over Africa reflect this intense interest in Marxism.

"Increase our order from 50 to 150 copies," writes a book distributing depot in Nigeria's Eastern Region.

"We will do our best to make the journal read widely and distributed throughout our Republic. Our library will ever remain at

the service of *The African Communist* writes a library in Mogadiscio, Somaliland.

A supporter from the same country, the Somali Republic, has sent a rough map of his country, for the purpose of planning better distribution of the journal, and detailed proposals for newspaper and radio advertising of the magazine. His plans are ambitious and large-scale, as befits our journal with the grandeur of its ideas for social change.

From Nyasaland has come a letter "My friends and I are interested to read all about Communism and anti-imperialism, also neo-colonialism. I must get copies of your journal and lots of my friends too."

From Accra, Ghana: "Our willingness to undertake the distribution and sale of this journal is the contribution we want to make towards African solidarity. To begin with we shall start with 500 copies of each issue and we hope it should be possible for us to increase the quantity. . . ."

Letters ask not only for a regular, and larger supply of copies of our Journal, but also for other Marxist publications, many by name, seen on bookshop catalogues but tantalisingly unavailable in most countries of Africa who try to fight the ideas of socialism by physically banishing its writings from bookshops and libraries. "I thirst for knowledge of Communism" writes a *Cape Town* reader, asking for other books, and this is echoed from Northern Rhodesia's copperbelt, from Nyasaland, from Nigeria and other West African states. AND from *Canada* "Please send me a bundle of 20 copies, going back to the February 1962 issue" (Saskatoon); the *United States*: "Your contents are inspiring . . . I am a student here but my place of birth is Kenya, and above all Africa"; from *India* "We are very happy to arrange for the circulation of your journal; the people of India are very much interested in African developments and watch them closely"; and from *Germany* "Your journal is very useful for my work. I am writing my university thesis on South Africa, also Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies, trying to analyse the interests of the different groups of the bourgeoisie . . . the links and differences between it and international finance capital. Now you know why your journal is of much value to me. . . ."

### LESOTHO

A courageous letter from a high school pupil of *Basutoland* puts its finger accurately on official fears of communism and the steps taken to try to banish its force and influence:

"I am in the bounds of school, which rather incapacitates me,

because our country seems to have a natural hatred of communism, partly through lack of understanding and partly through sheer dislike. The punishment for communism might be expulsion for me. Ever since last year someone got a scholarship from the Soviet Union for education there, the government decided to take up the rival, opposite side. Sometimes those particular students' passports would not be signed, or if signed they were threatened that there would be no work for them after their studies. The result of this among students is that they have been taken up with politics. Many act rashly because their main aim and target is to revenge themselves and show the government its misdoings. . . ."

This cry for education, and the chances of education both in socialism and in a socialist country, echoes from many corners. For second to imperialist propaganda about the "evils" of communists and socialism, is the effort to stop young people of Africa at all costs from tasting its benefits and influences at first hand . . . and realising that the hostile propaganda is a desperate—but dishonest—last manoeuvre to throw a concrete wall between socialism and Africa. This manoeuvre, like so many of the other, fails too. We have had a letter from a leading Rhodesian, addressed from Czechoslovakia: "At last I have a scholarship to study in the socialist camp, a thing I was longing for. The evils of capitalism can never be forgotten and I am determined to fight for the attainment of a socialist society in Africa. There is nothing that can unite the young states of Africa but scientific socialism. White or Black capitalism has no room in young Africa. Socialism caters for the interests of the masses. Send two copies of the journal. . . ."

The emergence of a strong trend of socialist thinking and, more, pressures for organisation of a socialist movement, is the newest feature of the Rhodesian scene. Much of the organisation has to go on outside Rhodesia for there, the Welensky government is trying to stave off its collapse by the suppression of the African movement. A letter from a group forced into (temporary) political exile says: "One of our friends at home is already serving a prison sentence of two years in connection with our movement. . . . He was also found with political literature. Another is being hunted by the police as though he had committed murder! We understand several false charges have been made against him. He is reported to be in hiding and no one knows where he is. . . ."

## NIGERIA

Rhodesia is not the only place where Africans working for socialism and socialist principles are intimidated and persecuted.



From Nyasaland a letter appeals: "Please do not send your publication to me; I am liable to be prosecuted for having it in my possession"; and from Nigeria: "The atmosphere in Nigeria is charged with suspicions of communist tendencies". But this is not the only side of the coin. Let another letter from Nigeria have the last word here:

"This is the second time of my being in contact with your idealistic magazine; the articles therein are interesting, educative and enlightening. Apart from that, it represents the most instant need and inspiration of the present generation.

"My colleagues in the Northern Nigeria who are as well ardent advocates of principles and teachings of Marxism-Leninism, join me to express our appreciation and full support in your struggle not only to wipe out the yoke of imperialism and neo-colonialism from the continent of Africa, but also to spread the ideas of communism throughout the continent. We say go ahead with the struggle and that the socialist youth in Nigeria are forever with you in your fight for freedom and social justice in South Africa. It is our belief that imperialism and all their reactionaries have no future; and that their momentary rampancy is only an indication of the last kicks of their deathbed struggle.

"Furthermore, the imperialist and their moribund forces think they are still in the darkened-days when they can carry the bible under their armpit and deceive the people that they came to preach the gospel, yet rob them of their richness and place economic reliance on them. The imperialist exploited us by taking away all the minerals; gold, diamond, iron, copper, timber etc., they occupied the most fertile land and left the unfertile for us. For this we the patriotic youth in Nigeria like others in Africa, shall never grow tired in our effort to instil into the people the principles and ideals of communism. Communist-society which provides better living conditions for all and not for a handful few; it is also a society which stressed that even before God all men are created equal, and finally a society where what counts much are men and not profits.

"Countrymen and general readers, I say without the teachings and ideals of communism, mankind particularly we the Blacks shall fall tyranny to imperialism and neo-colonialism; without them we fall tyranny to political slavery or the tyranny of crass materialism and selfishness. Let us not grow tired in our struggle to liberate Our Africa; it is through this decisive struggle that victory could be achieved."

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