

# UMSEBENZI



VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

## GIVE BOTH A NO SPACE!

**There are two main dangers we must guard against in the coming months.**

- 1. We can close our eyes to the new conditions created by the regime's counter-offensive and merely shout slogans about 'action and more action'.**
- 2. We can sink into a purely defensive mood which underestimates the people's capacity to hit back and think only of holding on rather than working out ways of advancing.**

Of these two dangers the second needs the most attention. It leads to inaction and political paralysis. It provides the enemy with the space he so desperately needs to get on top of the people; something he has clearly failed to do.

AWAY WITH  
THE NEW  
LABOUR BI



It is therefore not enough just to hold the line. We must be orientated towards going forward. The enemy remains deep in crisis and vulnerable. The situation makes it possible to deliver selective blows against him. **The real question is not whether to go forward but how to go forward.** And to answer this question we must, in the first place, know our strength.

### **Know Our Strength!**

The enemy cannot govern without black collaboration. Simple arithmetic tells us that with each passing day this dependency grows. The economy, the public administration and, ultimately, even the army and the police, cannot function without black participation.

Black participation cannot, in the long run, be assured with the gun. It requires political legitimacy. **And so long as this legitimacy is denied the essentials of governability are denied;** the crisis will continue to fester and the seeds of upsurge and revolt will remain.

The ruling class has found no credible black group to rescue it from its crisis of legitimacy. Despite close to three years of mounting terror, the mass of the oppressed are less ready today than ever before in our history to play along with constitutional mechanisms for their subjugation.

### **Boycott October!**

**Time is running out for Botha.** There has been a forced retreat from the bantustans as a final solution. The tri-cameral parliament is dead as an intended substitute for real democracy. The proposed National Council remains a non-starter; even Buthelezi cannot, for the moment, be sucked in.

**The road back to governability now hinges almost completely on the October local elections to launch the ethnic Regional Services Councils (RSCs).** This has become the regime's immediate priority. It now hopes to impose a new version of apartheid from the bottom up. The main task is in the hands of South Africa's military-dominated secret government — the National Security Management System — with its local instruments — the Joint Management Centres (JMCs) doing the softening-up.

The JMCs (by offering some crumbs for local services) have been trying to build up the credibility of puppet councillors in areas such as Soweto, Alexandra and Crossroads, which are regarded as key revolutionary centres. This has been combined with a merciless onslaught on

the local people's structures which mushroomed in the post-1984 upsurge. **And their failure to hammer the people into submission explains the latest clamp-down on the legal mass democratic movement and the projected Labour Relations Bill against its most powerful rock — organised black labour.**

The purpose of this latest gamble, which even embarrasses Botha's Western friends, was spelt out by the 'verligte' Minister of Information, Stoffel van der Merwe. 'It's no use', he told the *Financial Mail* (18.3.88), 'trying to get the National Council off the ground unless there is a climate conducive to participation ... By restricting these groups we have freed the people to participate (in the October elections) ... It is a move to get reform going ... to normalise the political climate'. This is the sick reasoning of a ruling class on its way out.

We must not allow the Van der Merwe's to 'normalise' the political climate and to 'free' the people to participate in their own enslavement! We must, and we can, defeat the enemy's new manoeuvres to achieve racist governability. October can become the trigger for a new thrust in the struggle for people's power.

**Mass mobilisation in support of rejection must begin now. The whole movement must gird its loins against the Labour Relations Bill. Plans for selective actions must be discussed and implemented in every locality. This is no time to hold back. We must systematically and persistently harass the enemy.**

We must know our strength. Our oppressed millions remain ready to take the fight to the enemy. But knowing our strength is, by itself, not enough; we must learn how to use it in the new conditions. The present situation demands, above all, that we should be guided by the following Ten Commandments of struggle.



**2 BOYCOTT THE OCTOBER ELECTIONS!**

- Thou shalt** ever seek ways of broadening the base of anti-racist opposition and not reject those who may not agree with everything you believe in.
- Thou shalt** divide your enemies and not be afraid of dialogue with whomsoever genuinely wishes to hear you.
- Thou shalt** combine legal with illegal work and ensure that another layer of leadership is ready to take the place of the last one when it is taken in.
- Thou shalt** practice democracy, halt all factionalism and ensure that structures are created which make possible effective consultation among all key sectors of the democratic movement.
- Thou shalt** build the underground leadership and other structures of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.
- Thou shalt** make all racist structures unworkable and preach the gospel of defiance, resistance and rebellion wherever people come together — in the factories, mines, farms, schools, churches etc.
- Thou shalt** ensure unity and comradeship within the revolutionary camp, end all factionalism and regionalism, reject all approaches which divide young from old, men from women, urban folk from rural folk and modern culture from traditional culture.
- Thou shalt** shun all collaborators, puppets, traitors and turn-coats and make them feel the wrath of the people. Those among the oppressed who wear the enemy's uniform must be mobilised to turn their guns against our common oppressor.
- Thou shalt** build and defend the power of the trade union movement, gather all organised labour in one federation — COSATU — and fight on all fronts to defeat the Labour Relations Bill.
- Thou shalt** strengthen the defence formations of the people and ensure that its army — Umkhonto we Sizwe — delivers more and more wounding armed blows against the enemy and his installations.

**DEFEAT THE LABOUR RELATIONS BILL!  
NO PARTICIPATION IN THE OCTOBER RSC ELECTIONS!  
ORGANISE THROUGH ACTION & ACT THROUGH ORGANISATION!**

# LESSONS OF THE BOPHUTHATSWANA UPRISING

The February 20th uprising of black soldiers in the Bophuthatswana bantustan underlines in a dramatic manner the crisis within apartheid structures of rule. This crisis is a direct result of the people's upsurge. Black soldiers, police, civil servants, chiefs and other forces in puppet structures are not — and cannot be — shut out from the stirrings within the community. As the struggle intensifies, its impact will be felt more and more keenly among these forces.

The depth of political understanding among the soldiers who took part in the Bophuthatswana revolt was impressive.

Some weaknesses showed themselves. For example, weak links existed between the patriotic soldiers and other democratic forces. There was also a confused belief in the 'independent' status of the bantustan. Both these factors undermined the thrust of the revolt and militated against the necessity to plan for the SADF 'invasion'.

Yet, in general, the events of February 20th clearly exposed the fallacy of bantustan 'independence'. Further, the patriotic soldiers — by their demands and actions — showed that they are of the people, and share their sufferings and aspirations.

The decision to invite the anti-apartheid People's Progressive Party to take the reins of government reflects the soldiers' sentiments. Their grievances included: Mangope's corrupt and despotic rule, the baasskap and privilege of white officers, deployment in Namibia and low wages. Issues like these agitate thousands of black soldiers and police in every part of our country.

The fact of their oppression and exploitation as blacks does not disappear simply because they have been recruited into the regime's murder machine. The regime will always want to keep them under reliable guard, and therefore will need whites to supervise them. Pretoria cares less about their lives and therefore it will always use them as cannon fodder in battles everywhere. The bulk of state funds for salaries is allocated to the upper crust of the puppet administrations and their white supervisors. The black soldier and policeman are always last in line.

Above everything else, it is the intensification of mass and armed actions which has sharpened the crisis among enemy forces, including whites. Umkhonto we Sizwe and the people in general are responding in kind to the murderous campaign of the regime. The black forces in particular feel the people's pressure in their daily lives, even within their families.

The soldiers' uprising in Bophuthatswana, the mutinies in Angola and Namibia and among municipal police in the townships, are a product of heightened struggle.

**To the revolutionary movement, these events clearly show the possibilities for organisation and mobilisation among black troops and police.** They also show the original and creative manner in which the revolution will unfold. The regime is forced to recruit from among the oppressed people and to arm the recruits. This can be turned against the racists. In other words, this force can be won over in large numbers to the democratic camp. But it will not fall into our laps on its own; the process has to be cultivated and encouraged.

**We have to constantly take the politics of struggle to all sectors within the enemy forces.**

Clandestine units should be formed within and without these machineries to carry out organisational, educational and agitational work. Decisive actions should be undertaken against those who are actively involved in the murder of our people. Those who, like our compatriots in Bophuthatswana, dare to rise against the system, should be supported and defended by the people as a whole. Where forces with genuinely patriotic sentiments are in control, mass organisation, mobilisation and action against the main enemy — the Botha regime — must be intensified.



**BLACK SOLDIERS — TURN YOUR GUNS AWAY FROM YOUR PEOPLE!**

# MISTAKES IN THE UNDERGROUND

For me, this is a painful story. Why? Because it is about my own mistakes. But I am encouraged to speak up by what Lenin has said. He says a revolutionary is not someone who never makes a mistake, but rather someone who, having made a mistake, tries to correct it, analyses the reasons and seeks to draw lessons from it. So here is my story.

The first time I was arrested by the security police I had actually spotted them hiding in the bushes around my house. I was driving a car. When I saw them I just drove on. It was clear they had not seen me.

But, as I stopped a few blocks away, my heart was pounding and my throat was dry. I was in a state of shock, shaking like when you have just survived a bad accident. I knew the situation must be serious. In those days I didn't have any political profile. So the police outside my house could only mean that they had uncovered my underground connections.

I was immediately aware of some basic errors on my part. The comrade who recruited me always said: 'Carry at least R50 in your pocket for emergencies. If you're using a car, always keep the tank full of petrol'.

But you know how it is. I'd been working underground for over three years. After a while I'd stopped being so careful. Here I was, only a few cents in my pocket and a nearly empty fuel tank.

Also, because it is uncomfortable to think that you might get caught, I had pushed emergency plans into the back of my mind. In all the years I kept postponing setting up proper fall-back safe houses, places where I could have left some spare clothes, money, my passport. I'd let myself concentrate only on the exciting immediate tasks, saying always that I'd arrange things next week.

For underground work it is very important to keep up a network of good acquaintances. Maybe old school friends, or distant family. People who do not have a political profile, but who know you and you can trust. With my heavy underground involvement I had neglected old friends like this.

So there I was, a few blocks away from the cops, and cursing myself for my failure to prepare for this. But my worst mistake was still to follow.

I had under-estimated the cops over the past three years by not thinking seriously about the fact that I might get uncovered one day. I was now about to over-estimate them as well. There are times when you must make split-second decisions. But not always. If you possibly can, give yourself time to think. Go somewhere where you can have a cup of coffee to think a problem through. Especially if you are in a shocked state.

Where could I go? This was the question thumping in my head. I needed money, a place to lie low. And now I started over-rating the security cops. I imagined that, if they were surrounding my house, it was also hopeless to go to my mother-in-law in the same neighbourhood. Now it's true that her place was not a good long-term hideaway. The cops would get round to her eventually. But of course I was completely wrong to think they could be everywhere all at once, or that I should solve all my problems all in one go. I should have used her house for a few hours.

Anyway, in my confusion, made worse by my earlier lack of preparation, I made a stupid decision. Since everything seemed hopeless, I decided to risk going back to my own house for money, clothes and to tell my wife. I knew a hidden way over the back wall. I succeeded in getting safely into the house. But in trying to slip out again I was captured.

Well, I had a long spell on Makana's Island to think about my errors! In the years since my release I have returned to the underground, and I've had one or two narrow misses when the cops nearly got me. And don't think that it's no longer frightening, just because I've had the experience before. My heart still thuds and my throat goes dry.

But now I'm better prepared. I've always got two or three safe-houses to go to. And, yes, I always carry this R100 in my trouser pocket, just in case. I don't say I always remain ice-cool when the cops are hot on my tail. But I have found that precautions before time help me to avoid my shock becoming confusion, as it did once before.

In the Bible a story always ends with a moral. Here's mine: Neither shall you over- or underestimate the cops. Which is to say: Be bold, comrade, but not rash.

# A NEW DEAL WITH BUSINESS

The Labour Relations Bill is more than just a threat to the trade unions: it is part of a deal with capital to suppress the militancy of the mass movement. In return for the regime's attempts to get out of its crisis and reverse the Wiehahn reforms, it has made new overtures to business.

Apartheid regulated the labour market and established deeply entrenched practices that make the racial division of labour possible. Capital has both benefitted from this and, at times, been constrained by it.

Politically, the unions (comprising 40% of the economically active population) have challenged the state and capital. Three times as much work time was lost through political stayaways than in economic strikes during 1986. The opposite occurred in 1987, when the strike wave cost the economy eight times as much work time as the political stayaways. Cosatu, representing over one million members, has not only confronted the bosses but also the racist power bloc.

The Labour Relations Bill is intended to confine the trade unions to disputes relating only to wages and working conditions; to restrict their right to strike; to curb the power and jurisdiction of the Industrial Court; prevent closed shop agreements and dismiss workers without recourse to law.

It is hoped that legal strike action will become so complicated and laden with bureaucracy that workers will no longer take strike action. Solidarity strikes will be illegal; capital will have a free hand to continue with unjust practices since workers will be prevented from striking on the same issue within twelve months.

The bosses will have the courts behind them. The Industrial Court will generally have less power and new rules will decide what is fair and what is not. It will not be unfair to victimise workers after a strike by selective re-employment, or fire a worker without a disciplinary hearing.

The Bill will splinter unions and reverse the unity process that Cosatu has set in motion. Majority membership will not entitle a union to negotiate on behalf of the whole workplace: this

will now constitute an unfair labour practice! A special court will review the Industrial Court's decisions. The bosses will have a free hand to negotiate with white's-only unions or other unions which are not representative of the workers. Big business will have the power to cripple the unions financially. The Bill makes the unions responsible for all strikes and gives the state the right to confiscate its assets to compensate the bosses for lost profits. The minister can change the rules of what an unfair labour practice is by altering the definition, without parliamentary approval.

Cementing the alliance between big business and the state demands a price from both sides. The cost for capital is its silent support for repression and its stamp of approval to a revamped apartheid. The state's part of the deal involves wholesale concessions to capital. Government will sell off Escom, Sats, Telecommunications, Iscor, Foscor, the Mossel Bay gas project and other fruits of the nation's wealth.

Big business could, if it wanted to, refuse to let the apartheid regime off the hook and decline to support the attempts to solve the economic and political crises.

The Labour Relations Bill is part of Botha's deal with the industrialists. The strategy is to win new allies who will help the regime finance its war in the sub-continent and pay for apartheid.

In entering the new deal, capital has gone back on some of its previously expressed reform options and plunged into a blood partnership with the apartheid state — at the expense of the working class.

**Defend Cosatu!**  
**Campaign Against the Labour Bill!**

**READ THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST**  
*Theoretical quarterly journal of the*  
**South African Communist Party.**  
Available from **Inkululeko Publications**  
**39 Goodge Street, London W1P 1FD, UK**

# UWUSA — AN INSTRUMENT OF THE OPPRESSOR

Trade unions evolved historically as mass vehicles for the protection and advancement of the conditions of the working people. Trade unions were created and controlled by the workers themselves for uniting trades and crafts into an organised and self-conscious 'class-for-itself'. Trade unions are thus democratic and militant in character.

The history of the class struggle also contains examples of the ruling class itself creating and imposing 'trade unions' which are really instruments of the bosses. UWUSA falls into this category. It is a 'trade union' created and controlled by the Inkatha leadership which is in alliance with the Bothas and big business. It represents the interests of the exploiting class rather than the exploited. That is why it declares that 'strikes are vehicles of economic chaos'.

The danger the oppressed face is that through the new Labour Relations Bill such fake unions will be smuggled through the back door into the labour field. The bantustans are another outlet for imposing such unions on the people. The objective of UWUSA is to divide the organised, to undermine their gains (especially the formation of COSATU) and to tie the oppressed to Inkatha.

To date UWUSA has not organised nor taken part in a single campaign for solidarity action. Democratic participation and discussion has given way to the knobkierie, the panga and impi marches. Like its predecessors in Hitler's Brownshirts, its main activities are strike-breaking, attack and

murder of unionists, and shameful scabbing. The biggest lie spread by UWUSA is that it is trying to 'keep politics out of trade unionism'. UWUSA itself arose out of the political events which date back to the November 1984 stayaway. This stayaway gave impetus to the unity of forces ranged against apartheid and, in practice, firmly placed the black workers at the head of the struggle. It also intensified the crisis gripping the ruling class. In an attempt to save the day for capital, Buthelezi created UWUSA. UWUSA is one hundred percent a creation of political necessity by a political organisation, Inkatha.

The history of UWUSA proves that its slogan of 'keeping politics out of trade unionism' really means barring the workers from the politics of the ANC, UDF and SACP; from the politics of Mandela, Luthuli and Mabhida. It means tearing away the Freedom Charter from the people, the document which embodies the aspirations of the oppressed people and is the brightest beacon of people's politics. 'Keeping out of politics' does not imply neutrality because no human being can remain neutral to life. 'Keeping out of politics' in reality means following the politics of Buthelezi and his protectors, Botha, Thatcher and the big monopolies. How otherwise do we explain force used against the people to support Buthelezi and UWUSA?

## **Economics are Linked to Politics**

Talk of separating politics from economic issues is the oppres-

sors' trap to keep the workers forever in a state of oppression. Apartheid is indivisible from the conditions of life and work of the oppressed; the low and unequal wages and opportunities; the hazards of unemployment, disease, hostels, indeed all the ills of South African life that we reject. The struggle for the betterment of people's lives is inseparable from the struggle to destroy apartheid and for the creation of a united, democratic state.

It is no coincidence that UWUSA supports the line of Botha, Thatcher and big business against sanctions and disinvestment. This line expresses the interests of the monopolies and the imperialists. To support investments and to campaign against sanctions is to strengthen our oppressors.

The history of our people has been a history of unending resistance to colonialism and oppression. We made enormous sacrifices. We have shown a readiness to lay down our lives — our single most precious possession — for freedom. That history is irreversible. The victorious conclusion of our resistance to oppression demands that we, the working people, sharpen and jealously guard our two vital weapons — our **organised unity** and our **tried and tested leadership** of the ANC-led liberation alliance.

Let us do all we can to separate the few misguided workers from UWUSA and the reactionary Inkatha leadership.

**DEFEND THE TRADE UNIONS!**

# PEN PICTURES OF SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS

## SP BUNTING



An Oxford graduate, SP Bunting came to the Transvaal as a lieutenant in the British army to fight the Boer republics. Rejecting his class background and the rewards offered within colonial society, he joined the Labour Party, heading its Rural Committee, and was commissioned to recruit Afrikaners into the Party. In 1914 he won the Bezuidenhout provincial council seat for Labour on a manifesto that attacked the ruling class for suppressing the unions. He joined the War-on-War Movement and subsequently the International Socialist League. At the League's first congress in 1916, he moved the adoption of a Petition of Rights, which called for the abolition of pass laws, indentured labour and mine compounds, and demanded equal rights for Africans.

A founding member of the Communist Party, he attended the unity conference which formed it in July 1921, and continued to edit *The International*. SP Bunting played a leading role in concentrating the attention of the Party on the African working class. The Party became predominantly African, including outstanding figures such as Moses Kotane, Josie Mpama, Edwin Mofutsanyana, JB Marks, Johannes Nkosi and Gana Makabeni.

In 1928 Bunting led a delegation to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, which adopted the 'Black Republic' resolution. This has since gained widespread acceptance in all sections of the liberation movement. The annual conference in December 1928 approved a programme drafted by Bunting which included the demand for majority African rule, and elected a new executive committee which had Bunting as chairman and Albert Nzula as organiser, who, in 1929, became the first African Assistant General Secretary of the Party.

The years that followed were difficult years, with many leading activists expelled from the Party on the grounds that they were 'right wing deviationists'. Bunting, amongst those unjustly accused and expelled, failed to recover from the effects of the vendetta against him. He died on May 25, 1936, remembered by thousands of exploited and oppressed South Africans as a staunch fighter, and one of the first to recognise the importance of Africans in the struggle against imperialism, racism and capitalism.

## ALPHEUS MALIBA

Alpheus Maliba, leader of rural and peasant resistance, was born in 1901 in Nzhelele in the Northern Transvaal. He went to Johannesburg in 1935, became a factory worker and enrolled in classes at a Party-run night school. He joined the CPSA in 1936, and from 1939 to 1950 served on the Johannesburg District Committee. He was a founder member of the Zoutpansberg Cultural Association, and a leader of the associated Zoutpansberg Balemi Association in the Reserves. He also became the editor of *Mbofolowo*, the Venda language section of *Inkululeko*. In 1939 he became a leader of the Non-European United Front.

One of the main areas of Party work was in the

northern Transvaal. Despite the banning of the Communist Party and the ANC, Alpheus Maliba stuck to his post and continued to mobilise and organise against the apartheid regime. He was banned in 1953 and in late August of 1967 he was detained by the security police under the Terrorism Act and taken to Pretoria Central Prison for interrogation.

Three weeks later, on September 19, 1967, he was reported to have committed suicide in his cell. The police chief, Colonel F van Niekerk, reported that he had died from asphyxia due to hanging. His comrades have no doubt that he was one of the many political prisoners tortured to death by the security police.



Extracts from the official press release by TASS of a meeting which took place between EK Ligachev, Member of the Politbureau, Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union CC, AF Dobrynin, Secretary of the CPSU CC, and a delegation of the SACP led by Joe Slovo, General Secretary of the SACP.

## COMPLETE SUPPORT FROM THE CPSU

... It was noted in the course of the discussion that as a result of the powerful thrust of the liberation movement, the apartheid regime in South Africa is in the throngs of a deep and irrevocable crisis. Under these conditions it is high time for the rulers of Pretoria to have understood that the attempts to save apartheid are doomed and to agree to a political solution to the problem, accepting the just demand of the ANC and other patriotic forces to transform South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial state.

Such a solution, the SACP and the CPSU are convinced, would be in the interests of all those who live in South Africa — black and white alike. It would contribute to peace in the country and in the region, to the improvement of the international situation as a whole.

However, facts show that South Africa's rulers refuse to listen to the voice of reason and have embarked upon the war path against their own people, against the neighbouring independent states. Their policy finds support from the imperialist circles of the United States as well as other Western countries. In the situation which emerged the anti-racist forces are determined to step up the liberation struggle in all its forms.

The General Secretary of the SACP expressed heartfelt thanks to the CPSU and the Soviet people for diversified assistance and support to the South African patriots. It was stated by the Soviet side that our solidarity with the struggle for South African freedom remains unchanged.

The participants in the meeting spoke for utmost internationalisation of the movement against apartheid, for the creation of the situation of total condemnation and rejection of this criminal system all over the world. They called for the intensification of the international campaign to save the 'Sharpeville Six', for the liberation of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners in South Africa.



## PRELUDE TO PIETERMARITZBURG

When Buthelezi repeatedly claims that he and Inkatha are committed to non-violence, he speaks the truth — in part. His non-violence is reserved for the enemy. But his commitment to non-violence is a sham when it comes to the people. For when the people, through united mass action, challenge the apartheid regime, he defends Inkatha members (including those who are in his Central Committee and are MPs in the KwaZulu legislature) for their part in using unbridled terror and violence against the people.

The carnage in Maritzburg is not an isolated incident in the record of the vigilantes drawn from Inkatha ranks.

- By April 1980 over 100 000 students were on boycott against racist education. They included over 6 000 students in KwaMashu and Umlazi townships which were already under KwaZulu administration. Buthelezi attacked the boycotters. Inkatha members organised armed gangs to terrorise the students and parents.

- On 29 October 1983 over 500 Inkatha members armed with spears, *kieries* and axes attacked students at Ngoye Univeristy. Five students were brutally murdered.

- Lamontville's struggle against the community councils and the bantustans saw Inkatha firmly aligned against the people. Inkatha vigilantes waged a campaign of terror and violence.

- This was followed up by a campaign of sustained terror against the people of Hambanathi for opposing incorporation into KwaZulu. Several people were killed.

- On 7 August 1985, at the memorial service for the murdered UDF leader Victoria Mxenge, more than 300 armed men led by leading Inkatha officials attacked the mourners. The SADF and police were at hand to fire teargas into the mourners, while Inkatha vigilantes set about beating and killing. On 24 August 1985, at the burial of the eight victims of this attack Inkatha vigilantes descended on the people once more. They were led by Winnington Sabelo, Prince Gideon Zulu and M Nzuzza, all members of the Inkatha Central Committee and KwaZulu MPs.

By this time two aspects emerged very clearly. The first was the involvement of leading members of Inkatha in organising and leading the vigilantes. The second was the open alliance between these vigilantes and the SA police and SADF.

# THE WAR LORDS



## PIETERMARITZBURG DIARY ...

A brief chronology of events tell their own story.

- **July 1984-August 1985:** Koornhof visits Imbali township. In protest students boycott classes. Boycotters clash with police. One youth is killed. An increase in bus fares sparks off a bus boycott. Protest against apartheid education mounts. Community and youth organisations develop in Imbali, Edendale and Ashdown. The Imbali Civic Association leads the struggle against rent evictions and affiliates to the UDF.

*September-October 1984:* SFAWU launches a successful consumer boycott of Simba Chips. Ccawusa also launches a successful boycott of Spar. In April workers at Sarmcol in Howick strike over union recognition. The unions call a popular stayaway on 18 July. This is followed by a boycott of white shops in Pietermaritzburg. *July/August 1984:* Botha declares a state of emergency on 20 July. The boycotts (consumer and schools) are extended. *1985:* Pietermaritzburg becomes the centre for the UDF Treason Trial in 1985.

- **August 1985-April 1987:** Vigilantes attack first UDF activists and then indiscriminately. Robert Duma, chairperson of the ICA, is one of the first victims. Vigilantes led by Inkatha members try to break the school boycott, attack bus boycotters and taxi drivers. On 20 August they murder a young Cosas member, Matshweshwe Zondi. The youth fight back, but the vigilantes enjoy greater firepower and the police leave the vigilantes to their own devices. The notorious Patrick Pakkies and the local KwaZulu MP, VB Ndlovu, demand the closure of the Federal Theological Seminary.

The community closes ranks. But the vigilantes break the consumer boycott and community organisations collapse as they try to operate under this terror.

But resistance is not crushed. Cosatu is launched in December 1985. 8 000 people attend the COSATU-UDF rally at Wadley Stadium in Pietermaritzburg on May Day 1986. Botha imposes the second state of emergency on June 12, 1986. Over 200 community activists are detained in the Pietermaritzburg region.

People's resistance breaks out yet again with the UDF/COSATU/SACC 'Christmas Against the Emergency' campaign. Vigilantes attack indiscriminately.

**In the eyes of the vigilantes, you either belong to Inkatha or you must be UDF and therefore fair game. Far from the struggle being Inkatha against the UDF, it is evident it is Inkatha against the entire people.**



# OF NATAL

## BEHIND THE CARNAGE ...

During the past two years more than 500 people have been killed, countless homes burnt down and hundreds driven to seek refuge outside the strife-torn townships of Pietermaritzburg. And the reign of terror against the people continues.

What the racists call black-on-black violence, what many liberals and misguided people call Inkatha-UDF-Cosatu fighting, is in fact a form of state-sponsored terrorism against the people.

With our people's refusal to be governed, the Botha regime was becoming like a king without a kingdom. 'Crush the people!' became Botha's rallying cry. Side by side with all the repressive measures Pretoria began to sponsor vigilantes from among the community councillors rejected by the people and other collaborationist elements, including criminals especially released from long-term imprisonment. To these were added the *kitskonstabels*.

A special role was assigned to the vigilantes in this spiral of repression. They were set up as the cloak under which state terror would be disguised as black-on-black violence.

This evil scheme has caused untold pain and destruction. And yet our people continue to fight back successfully. In the midst of the carnage it has not been easy to give flesh to our call to 'make peace among the people and war against the enemy'. The need to defend themselves and to intensify the onslaught against the apartheid state has required boundless creativity in organising the masses and death-defying daring and heroism on the part of the defence committees. Success has depended on our capacity to unite the people, isolate the puppets who are the recruiting agents of the vigilantes, and win over the cannon fodder of Botha who are made to wield the spear, the panga and the gun against their own people.

There was Soweto, where they called it Azapo-UDF violence; there was the eastern Cape, where again it was said to be Azapo-UDF; there was the A-Team in Natal, the *witdoeke* at Crossroad, the Imbokodo in KwaNdebele...

In Natal there are the Inkatha vigilantes and warlords who have plunged township after township into a horrendous orgy of killings. There is much blood on Buthelezi's hands.

These vigilantes, whatever the label they may wear and whatever the colour of their skin, are surrogates of Pretoria — the hidden arm of Botha's state terror directed against the people.

● **May 1987-September 1987:** As the community organisations are re-established, defence committees emerge. The national stayaway on May 5 and 6 is supported by 64% of the African workforce in Pietermaritzburg. This and the re-emergence and spread of youth organisations to Hanley Dam, Taylor's Halt and Mgwagwa are seen by Inkatha as a direct challenge to it. Inkatha launches campaign to assert its presence in Edendale through forced recruitment. Residents rename Harewood 'Moscow' and set up defence committees to repulse the vigilantes. These committees spread to other areas. They are strongest where the entire population of an area is organised at the civic, trade union and youth levels.

**Ashdown, under vigilante control since mid-1985, drives the vigilantes out within three weeks. The regime rushes to the side of the vigilantes and puts the blame on ANC/UDF. Archbishop Tutu holds a prayer service for peace in Edendale. Inkatha attacks Tutu by linking his prayer with his support for sanctions against apartheid South Africa.**

● **November 1987-January 1988:** Inkatha/state control is broken down in outlying areas. Inkatha is on the retreat. The state weighs in by detaining large numbers of UDF rank and file and leaders. Two UDF secretaries involved in discussions with the Chamber of Commerce are detained. Botha-Malan move in more police, including *kitskonstabels*, but fail to reassert control. The vigilantes step up their attacks.

Inkatha pulls out of 'peace talks'. The state refuses to act against the warlords.

● **February 1988 onwards:** Inkatha members march from Sweetwaters, under police protection, to Ashdown and go on the rampage. The people repulse the vigilantes. On 3 February a busload of Inkatha youth members let loose in the Pietermaritzburg city centre.

To date, although the police have refused to prosecute these warlords, through civil action the courts have granted injunctions against several leading Inkatha members requiring them to desist from acts of violence and murder. More than 70 members of the *kitskonstabels* have been exposed as Inkatha/vigilante members. In the course of struggle many members of Inkatha have become critical of the Inkatha leadership and the warlords. In the process, the warlords are also directing their violence against Inkatha members.

# ACT THROUGH ORGANISATION!

# LENIN'S WARNING ON STALIN

We have heard a great deal recently about Stalin's crimes against socialism which comrade Gorbachev said were 'unforgettable and unforgiveable'. As early as 1922 Lenin was already convinced that Stalin was unfit to be General Secretary of the CPSU. He suggested that the Congress of the CPSU should remove Stalin from that position. We print below extracts from Lenin's Letters which deal with Stalin and other important figures of the revolution.

By stability of the Central Committee I mean measures against a split, as far as such measures can at all be taken ... I have in mind stability as a guarantee against a split in the immediate future and I intend to deal here with a few ideas concerning personal qualities.

I think that the prime factors in the question of stability are such members of the CC as Stalin and Trotsky. I think relations between them make up the greater part of the danger of a split, which could be avoided, and this purpose in my opinion would be served, among other things, by increasing the number of CC members to 50 or 100.

Comrade Stalin, having become Secretary General, has unlimited authority concentrated in his hands, and I am not sure whether he will always be capable of using that authority with sufficient caution. Comrade Trotsky, on the other hand, as his struggle against the CC on the question of the People's Commissariat for Communications has already proved, is distinguished not only by outstanding ability. He is personally perhaps the most capable man in the present CC, but he has displayed excessive self-assurance and shown excessive preoccupation with the purely administrative side of the work.



TROTSKY ... excessive self-assurance

These two qualities of the two outstanding leaders of the present CC can inadvertently lead to a split, and if our Party does not take steps to avert this, the split may come unexpectedly.

I shall not give any further appraisals of the personal qualities of other members of the CC. I shall just recall that the October episode with Zinoviev and Kamenev was, of course, no accident, but neither can the blame for it be laid

upon them personally, any more than non-Bolshevism can upon Trotsky.



BUKHARIN ... the favourite of the whole party — executed

Speaking of the young CC members, I wish to say a few words about Bukharin ... Bukharin is not only a most valuable and major theorist of the Party, he is also rightly considered the favourite of the whole Party, but his theoretical views can be classified as fully Marxist only with the greatest reserve, for there is something scholastic about him (he has never made a study of dialectics, and, I think, never fully understood it) ...



STALIN ... should be removed

Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us communists, becomes intolerable in a Secretary General. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post and appointing another man in his stead who, in all other respects, differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may appear to be a negligible detail. But I think that from the standpoint of safeguards against a split and from the standpoint of what I wrote above about the relationship between Stalin and Trotsky, it is not a detail, or it is a detail which can assume decisive importance.

(Written on December 23 and 24, 1922)

# HOW TO MASTER SECRET WORK



## 13. Personal Meetings

In our last issue we began to discuss the methods members of an underground unit should use when communicating with one another. The most important requirement that must be solved is how to meet secretly and reliably.

Let us suppose that comrade A has the task of organising an underground unit with B and C. In the interests of secrecy they must, as far as possible, avoid visiting one another at home or at work. (Such links must be kept to a minimum or even totally avoided so that other people do not have the impression that they are closely connected).

First of all they need to have a **regular** or **main meeting** — let's say every two weeks. For this meeting A lays down three conditions. These are: **place, time and legend.**

### Place of Meeting:

This must be easy to find, approach and leave. It must be a safe place to meet, allowing privacy and a feeling of security. It could be a friend's flat, office, picnic place, beauty spot, beach, park, vehicle, quiet café etc. The possibilities are endless. It is essential that the meeting place be changed from time to time. Sometimes, instead of indicating the meeting place A might instruct B and C to meet him at different **contact points** on the route to the meeting such as outside a cinema, bus stop etc. This can provide a greater degree of security. But it is best to begin with the most simple arrangements.

### Time:

Date and time of the meeting must be clearly memorised. Punctuality is essential. If anyone fails to arrive at the meeting place within the pre-arranged time the meeting must be cancelled. As a rule the time for waiting must never exceed ten minutes. Under no circumstances must a comrade proceed to the meeting if he or she finds themselves under surveillance.

### Legend:

This is an invented but convincing explanation (**cover story**) as to why A, B and C are always together at the same place at the same time. The legend will depend on the type of people who are meeting. Suppose A and B are black men and C is an older, white woman. Since it would look unusual and attract attention if they met at a park or picnic place, A has decided on an office which C has loaned from a reliable friend. They meet at 5.30pm when the office is empty. C has told her

friend that she requires the premises in order to interview some people for a job or some story to that effect. On the desk she will have interview notes and other documents to support her story and B and C will carry job applications or references. If anyone interrupts the meeting or if they are questioned later, they will have a convincing explanation for their meeting.

### Order of the Meeting:

At the start of the meeting A checks on the well-being and security of each comrade, particularly whether everything was in order on their route to the meeting. Did they check for possible surveillance? Next A will inform them of the legend for the meeting. Then, before business is discussed, A will explain the time and place of the next meeting. This is done in case they are interrupted and have to leave the meeting in a hurry. In such an event they already know the conditions for the next meeting and continuity of contact is assured.

### Reserve Meeting:

In arranging the regular meeting of the unit, A takes into account the possibility of one or more of them failing to get to that meeting. He therefore explains the conditions for a **reserve meeting**. These also include place, time and legend. Whilst the time for a reserve meeting may be the same as a regular meeting (but obviously on a different day), the place must **always** differ. A instructs them that if a regular meeting fails to take place they must automatically meet two days later at such-and-such a time and place. The conditions for a reserve meeting might be kept constant, not changing as often as those of the regular meeting, because the need for such a meeting may not often arise. But A takes care to remind the comrades of these conditions at every regular meeting.

Having arranged conditions for both regular and reserve meetings, A feels confident that he has organised reliability and continuity of such contact. It is necessary for all to observe the rules of secrecy, and to be punctual, reliable, disciplined and vigilant about such meetings.

But what if comrade A needs to see B and C suddenly and urgently and cannot wait for the regular meeting?

**Next Issue:** Emergency and other personal meetings.

The first twelve articles in this series are now available in pamphlet form from Inkululeko Publications



## PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD

### 6. The Role of Trade Unions in a Liberated South Africa

As with most questions of the transition, the role of trade unions after liberation will, to a large extent, depend on the precise correlation of forces existing at that time. The concrete conditions of the forces of production — whether we inherit a functioning economy or a wasteland — will also impose objective constraints which cannot be ignored.

The Freedom Charter envisages profound economic transformations — including transferring the monopolies to the ownership of the people as a whole and sharing the land among those who work it — as well as the establishment of a democratic, non-racial political and social order.

Communists will naturally be in the vanguard of those seeking to push these transformations forward in the most effective manner possible. Such a process can only be implemented in phases, taking account not only of the concrete correlation of class forces existing at each moment, but also the imperative need to maintain reasonable levels of output and avoid the disasters of the type associated with Pol Pot.

This is why our movement said frankly that for some time after liberation we will have a 'mixed economy'. There will be a state sector, co-operatives and small scale family production. But there will also be a significant private capitalist sector. In other words, the immediate post-liberation period will be a transitional stage combining remnants of the old defeated, but not yet transformed, system with elements of the new society we want to create.

In the specific circumstances of a transitional phase still containing remnants of the old exploitative system, **trade unions will have to continue organising workers to defend their immediate interests against bourgeois employers and managers, who will include, for some time, individuals accustomed to the methods and practices of the apartheid period.** That is why it will be necessary to constitutionally guarantee workers the right to independent trade union organisation and to strike.

At the same time, however, if the national democratic revolution is to achieve its objectives, trade unionism will also have to assume a key role in the struggle to build a new democratic order. It will have to become involved in the struggle to transform the organisation of production to serve the interests of the people as a whole and the working class in particular. This task will have to begin in those enterprises which are still privately owned as well as in those which are taken over by the people's state.

Workers will have an important role to play in monitoring and supervising the actions of the bourgeois managers and technicians we will partly have to rely on to maintain production in the initial phases of the revolution. Trade unions will increasingly have to be involved in mobilising the talents and experiences of workers to contribute towards resolving production problems and influencing managerial decisions.

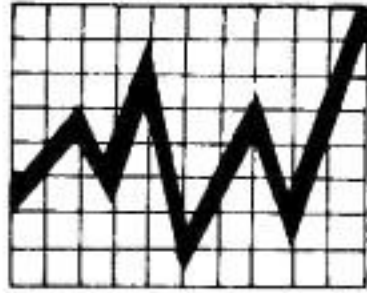
The unions will have to become what Lenin called the working class 'schools of administration and technical management of production'. In this way they will be able to contribute to shifting the locus of control in enterprises from bourgeois managers to the people, thereby helping to create objective conditions favourable to a transfer of enterprises to ownership of the people without disastrous disruptions to production.

Bringing about a correct balance between the tasks of defending the immediate interests of workers in a system including remnants of capitalist production relations, and organising workers in the struggle to transform these relations, will not always be easy. **It will be necessary to guard against any tendency seeking to reduce the role of unions to mere transmission belts for directives from state officials or bodies merely to exhort workers to increase production.** The danger with such a narrow conception of the role of unions is, as Lenin pointed out, that it tends to go hand in hand with the promotion of bureaucratic, undemocratic practices.

Our trade union movement in South Africa has developed on the basis of principles of participatory democracy and a recognition of the link between economic and political struggle necessitating alliances. These are practices and traditions which will have to be built on and developed if our unions are to effectively take on the tasks that will be demanded of them in a liberated South Africa.

If the unions are to become frontline organisations of the working class at the point of production, they will have to include in their ranks the overwhelming majority of workers; be united among themselves and promote the fullest possible democratic participation by members.

At the same time, of course, it will be necessary to recognise that unions will not be the only form of working class organisation required. **The class will continue to need a vanguard party such as the SACP to organise the continuing struggle to maintain working class leadership in the national democratic phase, and eventually to lead the struggle to build socialism in our country.**



# UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY ECONOMICS

## 8. The Budget

In March the Minister of Finance, Barend du Plessis, stood up in the regime's parliament to announce the government's budget for the next year. This event occurs every year and attracts much attention. It is widely discussed, especially in the media and in business circles. But the Budget affects all South Africans, including the working class.

What is **the Budget**? It is simply a statement about the state's income and spending. On one side it shows how much the state plans to obtain from taxes and other revenue, and it details what changes will be made to the tax laws. On the other side it outlines how much money the state plans to spend over the next year and what it plans to spend it on.

Why does the Budget matter? Taking the Budget as a whole, one way to judge the significance of the Budget is to examine whether planned spending is greater than planned receipts. If it is, the state will have a Budget Deficit. The size of the Budget Deficit has a special significance which can be seen by comparing it with a family's finances. If a family spends more than it receives, it runs into debt. That may cause problems for the family, or even great hardship, but it does not have much impact on the rest of the economy.

The state is different. If the state has a Budget Deficit it, too, has to borrow and it can usually do so quite easily (especially if it borrows from banks, firms and individuals in South Africa instead of from foreigners). But that has two effects on all the firms and people in the rest of the economy.

First, the state's own spending is a major element in the demand for goods and the employment of labour in the economy. It is a large injection of spending power into the economy. Taxation partly offsets it because when people pay taxes they have less money left for their own spending, so private spending is reduced by taxes while state spending rises. If there is a Budget Deficit, more spending power is injected into the economy through state purchasing than is being taken out in taxation. Total spending in the economy is boosted and this could lead to

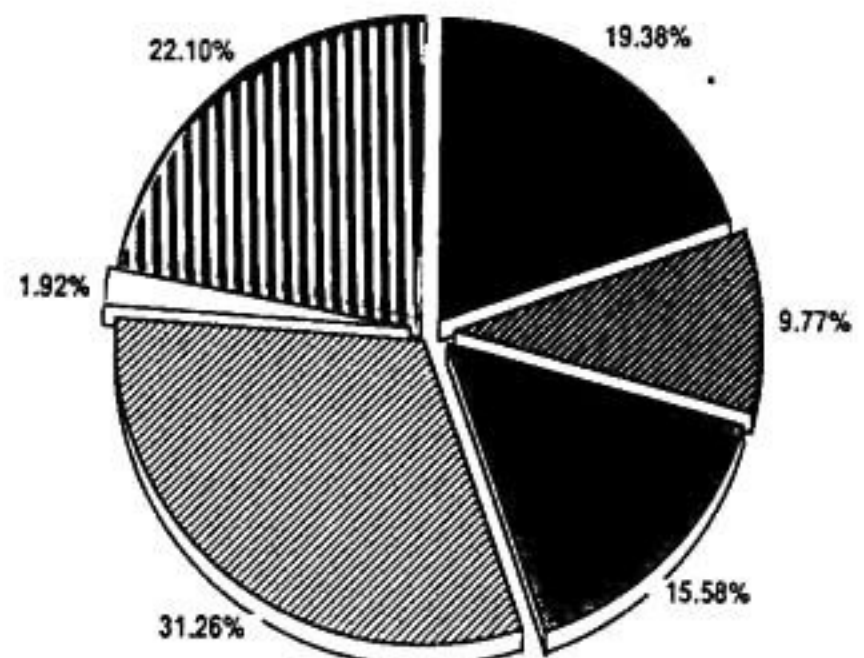
a rise in firms' output, a rise in their prices, or a rise in imports to meet the increased demand.

The second effect is that when the government borrows to pay for its deficit, its huge need for credit affects the financial sector in a number of ways. It can mean that interest rates go up as banks and financiers take advantage of the increased demand for credit to push up the price they charge for it. That leads to a rise in the cost of credit for everyone, including house-buyers and expanding firms.\*

The deficit announced in Du Plessis' Budget this March is intended to be R10-billion. That is equivalent to one twentieth (5%) of the output of the whole economy.

Apart from the deficit, much of the Budget's significance lies in the details of the taxes and spending planned by the government. For example, will a rise in taxes affect rich and poor equally, or will it be designed to increase the burden on one group more than another?

In the next two issues of *Umsebenzi* we will look in detail at, first, taxation, and then state spending.



Budget allocation: 1985-6

- Public order
- ▨ General
- Economic
- ▨ Social
- Domestic
- ▨ Other



# MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

## 8. The Critique of Religion

Marxist-Leninists are materialists. Their philosophy, Dialectical Materialism, defends materialist positions against idealist ones. One of the chief aims of this series of discussions has been to stress this theme. What, then, is the correct communist attitude towards religion? This is a vital practical question which our Party has had to face and will have to face in all its complexity at every stage of our struggle for national liberation and for socialism.

We can understand the complexity of this issue simply by observing the conditions of our own struggle. On the one hand, some churches, particularly those whose members are predominantly drawn from the ranks of the white class alliance, have at times adopted backward and even openly racist and hostile attitudes to the ANC and its allies. On the other hand, the vast mass of our heroically struggling people are not communists but Christians, Moslems, Hindus or adherents of the ancient indigenous religions which are part of our country's rich heritage.

Comrades who hold deep religious convictions have always been and are in the foremost ranks of our revolutionary leadership and many have given their lives for the principles embodied in the Freedom Charter. Our national anthem is a religious hymn, and the Party expects its members to sing it with the same passionate sincerity and respect as do the rest of their compatriots.

Obviously, then, the correct Marxist-Leninist attitude towards the religious beliefs of those who are genuinely our comrades can never be a sectarian or a patronising one. On the contrary, all members of the broad National Liberation Movement have a duty to respect one another's beliefs and to learn from one another's attitudes to the struggle. Communists have a special duty in this regard, since it is we who claim to have a theory of history and a world outlook which gave us special insight into the changing ideologies produced by the ever-changing relations of production.

But how are we to carry out this task of creative

learning and understanding while still maintaining our materialist position and scientific point of view? This is just the sort of practical question that Marxist philosophy is designed to help us solve. Let us consider some of the things Marx had to say about religion in one of the greatest of his philosophical texts, the *Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right'*. In his famous *Introduction* to this work, Marx says:

'The wretchedness of religion is at once an expression of and a protest against real wretchedness. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world and the soul of soul-less conditions. It is the opium of the people. The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is a demand for their true happiness ...'

Notice the careful dialectical balance of these statements. Marx calls for the abolition of religious beliefs that involve illusions. But he does not say that all religious beliefs are illusory. He says, moreover, that religion can serve both to give expression to the feeling of being oppressed and to positively protest against that oppression. There are, therefore, progressive as well as negative features attached to religion.

This makes good sense in the light of what we have been saying about the character of Marxist philosophy. For that philosophy, we saw, is a practical struggle **between Materialism and Idealism, not between religious and irreligious groups of people.**

The struggle between Idealism and Materialism knows no boundaries. It is carried on, not only between Marxists and 'the rest', but **within** the various and constantly changing bodies of religious belief.

For example, the great Christian philosopher, Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) counts as a materialist when judged by the standards of his time. What makes Marxist philosophy a specially valuable weapon in this struggle is not only its dialectical method of reasoning, but its **critical** character. We will examine the meaning of this important word in our next issue.





# PARTY LIFE

## 3. Membership

'Communists have but one privilege', Comrade Moses Mabhida, the late General Secretary of our Party was fond of saying, 'and that is to take their place in the front trench of struggle, to lead by example and sacrifice and to guide and teach from a thorough understanding of the theory and practice of revolutionary struggle'.

The Party is the fighting organisation of the working class, the class that has nothing to lose but its chains. Our stated aim is to lead this class and its allies to democracy and socialism. This is only possible if the Party's revolutionary ideology reflects the class interests of the workers. Its membership must be made up mainly of workers. In addition to the working class the Party's membership is drawn from the ranks of the peasantry and revolutionary intellectuals. But the Party is not a mass organisation. Its membership is made up of fighters who are, as Lenin stated, 'the vanguard of the revolutionary class ... the finest representatives of that class ... of fully conscious and staunch communists'.

It is for this reason that Party members are recruited with care. Our constitution provides that they must undergo a period of probationary membership in the course of which they must prepare themselves to be Party members — by undertaking practical Party tasks and undergoing theoretical training.

Members of the Party must support and defend the Programme and Policy of the Party. The unity and cohesion of the Party rests clearly on this fundamental principle. Party members must also try to deepen their understanding of Marxist revolutionary theory and its application in our situation.

The working class Party is a Party of action. It must always try to unite word and deed. It is at its strongest when its membership is united in mind and action. Thus Party members must actively participate in every arena of the liberation struggle — in the ranks of our heroic people's army, MK, in the work of our national democratic movement the ANC, in the mass formations of legal, democratic and underground struggle; in short, wherever the demands of the struggle require them to be.

But more than this, Party members have to

undertake to carry out all binding decisions of the Party and work in a Party organisation in any place and under any conditions. It is only within the Party, under its leadership and discipline, accountable to and working within a collective, that a communist is strengthened ideologically and gains the skills and qualities worthy of a Party member.

**'We do not need fictitious Party members even as a gift', Lenin said. 'It would be better if ten who do work should not call themselves Party members (real workers don't hunt after titles) than that one who only talks should have the right and opportunity to be a Party member'.**

In the performance of their duties Party members are accountable to their Party collectives. Party members must be standard bearers for the Party — exemplary in their commitment to the struggle and in their personal conduct.

Party members must also pay membership dues. This is not only an important source of funds for the running of the Party. Regular payment of dues not only demonstrates the basic commitment of the individual member to the work of his collective but also to the authority of the Party.

But in addition to their duties Party members have important rights — to take part in discussion and formulation of policy and to participate in the democratic election procedures of the Party.

It is only when the working class are led by a workers' Party armed with a revolutionary science of struggle that they can defeat the ruling class of exploiters. This is why throughout history and all over the world communist parties have been the first targets of vicious attacks by the bourgeoisie and the state apparatus which serves to protect their ill-gotten gains. This is why, in conditions of fascist repression such as our own, the membership of the Party must remain a closely guarded secret.

Socialism will bloom and flower in our country. All of us who wish to bring that day closer must build the Party and bring into its ranks the most committed fighters.

# THE ISSUE OF LAND HUNGER

In developing our understanding of the land and agrarian question, we are trying to find answers to difficult and complex questions which directly affect the interests of all South Africans. It is from this knowledge that we can initiate and develop a strategy to meet both the needs and the demands for land, food and work. Having a strategy, an end goal, is essential. Agrarian and land reform are not acts, they are processes. Every choice we make has a bearing on our objective of totally transforming relations on the land.

The starting point to develop a strategy for agrarian and land reform must be the people whose needs and demands have to be met. Here it is very important to remember that we are dealing with two questions — the land question and the agrarian question.

Resolving the land question first of all means redressing the colonial injustices of African dispossession of all land, urban and rural, as well as the natural wealth on and below it. **The demand for land, therefore, is not exclusively a call for land on which to work. In our conditions it is also a demand for land on which to live and a call for rights over mineral and other natural resources.**

Solving the agrarian question, however, is both narrower and broader than the land question. It is narrower in that it concerns land in the countryside only. But it is broader since it does not only deal with distribution of the land, but also must tackle how production is organised. The principles on which agricultural production relations are reorganised will be shaped by those whose needs and demands are to be met. And this in turn will depend on the balance of forces in a newly liberated country.

Whatever the outcome of this struggle, the legacy of forced labour on farms demands that the people whose needs and demands have to be met are those who work the land or who are hungry to work the land. Who, then, works the land? And who is hungry to work the land?

We know that agricultural production in South Africa rests almost completely on the sweat and toil of black farm workers. But it would be wrong to presume that these workers, the agricultural proletariat, who are also the backbone of the rural proletariat, are a homogeneous mass. Farmers use all natural, social and apartheid-created divisions to maximise exploitation. As a consequence there are divisions of colour created by the bantustan/'coloured labour

preference' policies. There are divisions of sex and age. These cut across divisions between full-time and part-time employment, and between workers who live and work on the farms 'permanently' and those who have been made into migrant and casual workers.

In short, the work-force on the farms is extensively destabilised, fractured and fluid. It is also extremely repressed and tightly controlled. And, for the most part, it has been robbed of the historical experience of building a resident, solid working class community. Organisation is the key. By taking the full complexity of the agricultural proletariat into account, the very difficult task of developing a farm workers' union will be made easier and more effective.

Much research still has to be done to determine the extent of land hunger. But we know that the process of land dispossession over the past 30 and more years has generated a land-for-production hunger. What are the demands of this largely dispossessed peasantry? Should they be understood as demands for individual family production units, and what will be the standing of women and children in relation to, and within, family units? Would the demands and needs of all sections of this dispossessed peasantry not be better met by co-operative production? How should co-operative production and distribution be organised?

These and many more related questions need to be answered. Not all these questions can be answered now by pure research. Some of the questions can only be addressed in the concrete state of the correlation of forces in the post-apartheid phase. Ultimately they must be answered by the revolutionary vanguard, through political organisation and social mobilisation around revolutionary slogans, making possible what seemed impossible under the old order.

The way we meet the demands and needs of agricultural workers and dispossessed peasants must not, of course, contradict the demands made on the countryside by the economy as a whole. It should ensure a more effective solution to many of the political, economic and social pressures which will face a newly liberated South Africa in the transition period. And it should begin the process of closing the gap between town and country. But this will only be achieved in struggle.

**We demand land, bread and freedom!**

# ENDS AND MEANS IN MARXISM

I take issue with the author of Marxist Philosophy in *Umsebenzi* Volume 4, Issue No.1 on the following questions:

## 1. The Liberal Philosophical Error

'The end justifies the means' may derive from Benthamite Utilitarianism, but to Marxists it is unexceptional. The author fails to draw a distinction between the two following distinct statements: 'The end justifies the means' and 'the end justifies **any** means'. It is the latter which the red-baiting liberals attribute to Marxists.

The distinction I draw between the two derives from the dialectical principle that means and ends do not stand opposed to each other, but are moments in a continuous process. This implies a consonance between the two. We shall return to this later.

## 2. Revolutionary Violence and Repressive Violence

John Stuart Mills' principle that there is no eternal 'objective' good or evil is absolutely sound in terms of historical materialism though non-Marxists might also subscribe to it.

One of the objects of Marxism is the humanisation of mankind's existence by, among other things, abolishing the need for violence in society. Marxism therefore does not uphold violence as a virtue. But neither does it indulge in sweeping denunciations of violence as a vice. It draws a distinction between revolutionary violence and repressive violence, which distinction is based not on the proclaimed intentions of the actors but rather on the probable consequences of their action.

To illustrate the point: The October insurrection in Petrograd was one of the great turning points in human history. Unlike similar major events — the French Revolution, the American Civil War — the total number of losses on both sides did not exceed ten! In contrast, the uprising in Moscow, one or two days later, though less historically important, entailed heavy casualties on both sides.

Petrograd was analogous to a well-honed surgeon's scalpel, whereas Moscow was akin to a blunt butcher's knife. But the application of the 'butcher's knife' was as necessary as the employment of the 'scalpel'. Morally, both events may be placed on the same plane because the consequences they led to were the same.

## 3. The Innocent Civilian

How 'innocent' is a white civilian who has consistently voted for apartheid policies in municipal, provincial and national elections, who is employed by the racist civil service and meticulously applies himself to the enforcement of these laws by efficiently removing thousands of African families from Cape Town to Dimbaza?

How 'innocent' is a second white civilian who has a different voting record, but nevertheless insists on the protection of his 'group rights' and therefore upholds the Group Areas Act and consequently applauds the destruction of District Six, who gives money to Gatsha's Inkatha, who assists the police to crush democratic trade unions and whose factories manufacture ammunition for the SADF?

The concept of 'innocent civilian' is very slippery once you get down to cases. Our movement is waging a just war and is sworn to uphold the Geneva Conventions. It distinguishes between **combatants** and **non-combatants** in consistence with its adherence to the principles of humane conduct of war.

## 4. Mastering Necessity

A morality based on supposedly 'eternally valid' ethical categories and an 'objective' good and evil in our terms is misleading. The Christian church, i.e. the institution, not individual adherents, (whether sincerely or insincerely) has, for almost 2 000 years, proselytized such concepts. Has it in reality contributed one iota to their realisation?

In fact the record of the Christian church in this regard is abysmal! The Papacy gave its blessing to the African slave trade; the episcopate allied with feudalism till the mid-19th century; the Russian Orthodox Church was the ideological staff that supported Tsarism; the Papacy allied itself to Franco, signed a Concordat with Mussolini, etc.

Radical democrats, socialists, communists and other 'atheistic' Marxists, who do not subscribe to such concepts, accept certain actions as necessary evils which have to be committed in pursuance of human freedom. Violence is justifiable as an instrument of policy only in so far as it creates the preconditions for the elimination of violence.

This does not translate as 'the end justifies **any** means'; it is saying 'the end justifies **these means** because **these means** are the only route by which we can arrive at **this end**'.



*Hendrik Witbooi*

# NAMIBIA



*Sam Nujoma*



*Herman ja Toivo*

At the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, the colonial powers of the day carved up Africa and divided the spoils of our rich continent between them.

Among the lands that Germany stole for itself was Namibia. Over one hundred years on, Namibia remains a colony, ruled by the apartheid regime backed by at least 100 000 soldiers.

At the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, which followed Germany's defeat in World War One, the map was again carved up. This time the victorious powers handed Namibia (or South West Africa as it was then called) over to South Africa for 'trusteeship', in accordance with a League of Nations mandate that it must prepare the people of the territory for self-determination. Instead, the South African government of the day, and Western investors in Namibia's rich natural resources, interpreted this as permission to continue to plunder Namibia's wealth, repress the Namibian people and rob them of their right to freedom and independence.

But along with these ill-gotten gains South Africa was to inherit something which had given problems to Namibia's colonial thieves from the start — the unyielding resistance of the Namibian people to colonial domination and their determined fight for independence.

The vanguard of resistance is the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo). It is recognised by the UN, and by progressive governments, organisations and people as the sole, authentic and legitimate voice of the Namibian people.

Swapo's origins lie in the Ovambo People's Organisation, formed in the late fifties under the leadership of Sam Nujoma and Herman Toivo ja Toivo. The OPO successfully mobilised the masses and resistance grew. In 1959 thousands of Windhoek's African population were forcibly removed to Katatura township. The confrontation with the police left over 20 Namibians dead and hundreds more injured. This bitter experience taught the OPO that the apartheid regime had to be resisted on all fronts, and it broadened its agenda accordingly. Launched as a national liberation movement in 1960, Swapo began to

prepare for armed struggle in 1962, having seen all avenues of peaceful resistance ruthlessly crushed. The first shots were fired in 1966, and the armed struggle continues to this day.

Through organisations like the National Union of Namibian Workers, the Swapo Youth League, the Namibian Students' Organisation and the Swapo Women's Congress, Swapo has consistently challenged the apartheid regime. It has successfully organised the mass boycott of South Africa's puppet governments, including the present so-called Multi-Party Conference, and exposed them as desperate attempts by Pretoria and its Western backers to paint a thin veneer of 'independence' through so-called 'elections'.

Swapo has the enormous task of caring for and educating the more than 80 000 Namibians who have fled South Africa's repression. Swapo's military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) has continued the heroic resistance that great Namibian patriots like Hendrik Witbooi and Samuel Maharero began. It must not be forgotten that in the national resistance to German rule (1903-1907), 75% of the Herero population was exterminated and, by 1907, 60% of the entire population of central and southern Namibia had been wiped out. More than half of the Nama and Damara population had been murdered.

This bloody legacy was inherited and perpetuated by the present-day occupiers of Namibia, who have used its people as a stock of cheap labour. A further crime committed against the Namibian people is using Namibian soil to arm, train and deploy Unita bandits against the sovereign state of Angola.

South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia is backed not only by the Western powers but by multinationals which have reaped huge profits from the plunder of Namibia's natural resources.

Namibia must be free! UN Resolution 435, calling for the recognition of Swapo and the holding of free and fair elections in Namibia, must be implemented. Only then will we begin to see the end of colonialism and imperialism in Namibia.

