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REVOLUTION
IN THE SOUTH
a report on the conference at the African National Congress in South Africa at Morogoro Tanzania AprilJune 1968
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A report on the critical Consultative Conference of the African National Congress, South Africa, Conference held at Morogoro, Tanzania from April 25 to May 1. This article describes the background spirit and political line adopted; outlines the main decisions, and the gist of the stirring call to unity delivered by Acting President-General, O. R. Tambo.

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ALEXANDER SIBEKO

South Africa's Students are alive and well, and not uninfluenced by world events, declares the author. Following his previous study of the student movement in many parts of the world, he presents the exciting development of the student movement in the South African police state, and links it with the revolutionary process under way in the country.

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JOE SLOVO

Widespread interest was aroused by Joe Slovo's article in a recent issue of this journal on 'The Theories of Regis Debray'. Reissued by us in pamphlet form, it was translated and reproduced in many parts of the world. It was for this reason that our Editorial Board approached him to contribute his reflections on the 'Bolivian Diaries'

MAIN DOCUMENT

Tasks at the present stage of the struggle against imperialism and united action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces.

The meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers’ Parties took place in Moscow at a very important juncture in world development. Powerful revolutionary processes are gathering momentum throughout the world. Three mighty forces of our time--the world socialist system, the international working cia _, and the national liberation movement—are coming together in the struggle against imperialism. The present phase is characterised by growing possibilities for a further advance of the revolutionary and progressive forces. At the same time, the dangers brought about by imperialism, by its policy of aggression, are growing. Imperialism, whose general crisis is deepening, continues to oppress many peoples and remains a constant threat to peace and social progress.

The existing situation demands united action of communists and all other anti-imperialist forces, so that maximum use may be made of the mounting possibilities for a broader offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war.

The meeting discussed urgent tasks of the struggle against imperialism and problems of united action by communists and all other antiimperialist forces. As a
result of the discussion, held in a spirit of democracy, equality and internationalism, the participants in the meeting reached common conclusions concerning the present world situation and the tasks arising from it.

I

IMPERIALISM

Mankind has entered the last third of our century in a situation marked by a sharpening of the historic struggle between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and imperialism. This clash is world wide and embraces all the basic spheres of social life: economy, politics, ideology and culture. The world revolutionary movement continues its offensive despite the difficulties and setbacks of some of its contingents. Notwithstanding the counter offensives launched by it, imperialism has failed to change the general relationship of forces in its favour. It has been possible to prevent the outbreak of a world war, thanks to the growing economic, political and military might and the peace loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist states; to the actions of the inter-

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of Ernesto Che Guevara. In a spirit of deep respect for the great revolutionary martyr, the writer nevertheless submits his ideas to comradely but searching re-examination.

57 THE I.C.U.

TERESA ZANIA

The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union was the first mass organisation of South Africa's black proletariat. It flourished during the twenties and became a powerful force. In this fascinating glimpse of South Africa's history, the first in a series which will appear from time to time approaching the fiftieth anniversary of the South African Communist Party, the writer describes the rise and fall of the 'I.C.U.' She also adds some useful lessons for today.

75 BOOK REVIEWS

81 LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

national proletariat and of all fighters against imperialism: to the struggle for national liberation; and also to the massive peace movement. Socialism, which has triumphed on one third of the globe, has scored new successes in the worldwide struggle for the hearts and minds of the people. The events of the past decade bear out that the Marxist-Leninist assessment of the character, content and chief trends of the present epoch is correct. Ours is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

At present there are real possibilities for resolving key problems of our time in the interests of peace, democracy, and socialism and to deal imperialism new blows. However, while the world system of imperialism has not grown stronger, it remains a serious and dangerous foe. The United States of America, the chief imperialist power, has grown more aggressive.

Aggressive policy
The core of the aggressive policy of imperialism is the drive to use all means to weaken the positions of socialism, suppress the national liberation movement, hamstring the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries and halt the irreversible decline of capitalism.

Global in scale, the basic contradiction between imperialism and socialism is growing deeper. Under conditions where the struggle between the two world systems is becoming sharper, the capitalist powers seek, despite the growing contradictions dividing them, to unite their efforts to uphold and strengthen the system of exploitation and oppression and regain the positions they have lost. US imperialism strives to retain its influence over other capitalist countries and pursue a common policy with them in the main spheres of the class struggle.

The spearhead of the aggressive strategy of imperialism continues to be aimed first and foremost against the socialist countries. Imperialism does not forego open armed struggle against socialism. It ceaselessly intensifies the arms race and tries to activate the military blocs organised for aggression against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It steps up its ideological fight against them and tries to hamper the economic development of the socialist countries.

In its actions against the working class movement imperialism violates democratic rights and freedoms and uses naked violence, brutal methods of police persecution and anti-labour legislation. Moreover, it has recourse to demagogy, bourgeois reformism and opportunist ideology and policy, and is constantly in quest of new methods to undermine the working class movement from within and "integrate" it into the capitalist system.

In its struggle against the national liberation movement, imperialism stubbornly defends the remnants of the colonial system on the one hand, and on the other uses methods of neo-colonialism in an effort to prevent the economic and social advance of developing states and of countries which have won national sovereignty. To this end it supports reactionary circles, retards the abolition of the most backward social structures and tries to obstruct progress along the road to socialism or along the road of progressive non-capitalist development, which can open the way to

Editorial Notes:
The World Communist Conference
The international conference of Communist and Workers Parties held in Moscow in June was a great, historic landmark in the centuries-old struggle for the liberation of mankind. The conference brought together revolutionaries from 75 countries of Europe, Africa, Asia, North and South America and the Caribbean, from every corner of the world. Leaders of the governments of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, well-known public figures of mass workers' parties who play an important role in the public life of countries where the people have won democratic rights, representatives of illegal parties conducting a fierce and bloody fight against fascist and colonialist terror... all met together as comrades and equals to hammer out a common approach and plan of action in the world-wide struggle against imperialism, and for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.
The main item before the meeting was the strengthening of the unity of the Communist movement, and of all antiimperialist forces, in action against imperialist aggression and domination. The document adopted on this question, which was worked out collectively over more than a year of preparatory work with the democratic participation of all the Parties that wished to do so, is a remarkable Marxist-Leninist thesis which demands careful study and implementation by all Communist and other revolutionaries. Together with other documents and materials of the Conference it appears as a supplement to this issue of The African Communist.

The international conference took place on the eve of the socialism. The imperialists impose on these countries economic agreements and military political pacts which infringe on their sovereignty; they exploit these countries through the export of capital and unequal terms of trade; the manipulation of prices, exchange rates, loans and various forms of so-called aid; and pressure by international financial organisations.

The gulf between the highly developed capitalist states and the majority of the other countries of the capitalist world is growing wider: hunger is an acute problem in a number of the latter. Imperialism provokes friction in the developing countries and sows division between them by encouraging reactionary nationalism. Through anticommunism it tries to split the ranks of the revolutionaries in these countries and isolate them from their best friends—the socialist states and the revolutionary working class movement in the capitalist countries.

Through military political blocs, military bases in foreign countries, economic pressure and trade blockades, imperialism maintains tension in some areas of the world. It provides reactionary organisations with financial and political support and intensifies political oppression. It resorts to armed intervention and savage repression—especially in countries where the struggle acquires the most acute forms, and where the revolutionary forces fight arms in hand—counter-revolutionary conspiracies, reactionary and fascist coups, provocations and blackmail.

In face of the strengthening of the international positions of socialism, imperialism tries to weaken the unity of the world socialist system. It uses the differences in the international revolutionary movement in an effort to split its ranks. It places its ideological apparatus, including mass media, in the service of anti-communism and its struggle against all progressive forces.

In these past years, imperialism has time and again provoked sharp international crises which have pushed humanity to the brink of a thermo-nuclear conflict. However, US imperialism has to take into account the relationship of forces in the world, the nuclear potential of the Soviet Union and the possible consequences of a nuclear missile war, and it is becoming more and more difficult and dangerous for it to gamble on another world war. Therefore the ruling circles of the United States, without abandoning preparations for such a war, lay emphasis on local wars.
However, the contradiction between the imperialist "policy of strength" and the real possibilities of imperialism is becoming ever more evident. Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class and all the revolutionary forces.

Historic significance of Vietnam
The war in Vietnam is the most convincing proof of the contradiction between imperialism's aggressive plans and its ability to put these plans into effect. In Vietnam US imperialism, the most powerful of world-wide celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the birth of that towering genius of the Communist movement, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The stirring 'address' adopted on this memorable centenary rightly calls not only for the popularisation of the facts of Lenin's great contributions to human liberation, but also for the distribution and study of his immortal writings on a mass scale.

Likewise the documents on Vietnam, the Peace appeal and other written records of this Conference constitute a guide to action to anti-imperialists of all countries. Apart from its records the fact of its having taken place successfully, overcoming so many difficulties along the way, and uniting closer than ever so many millions of Communists, the vanguard of the world's working people, was in itself a triumph; a shattering blow to imperialism; an earnest that this greatest of all revolutionary movements of human history is consolidating its ranks, preparing for fresh big advances, eliminating all varieties of opportunism.

We are proud that our own South African Communist Party, as well as other Marxist-Leninist Parties of the African continent played an active and positive part in convening this conference, preparing its documents and participating in its deliberations. We declare that we shall undeviatingly strive for the translation of its decisions into reality.

People's Power in Sudan
Imperialism and local reaction suffered a sharp setback in the Sudan on 25th May when, backed by powerful forces among the population and in the army a new anti-imperialist government took power, headed by Babikar Awadalla, former Chief Justice, who resigned his post in protest against the unconstitutional banning of the Communist Party. He had previously played a leading part in the overthrow of the Aboud dictatorship.

The new government corresponds to the aspirations of the Sudanese people for radical change and non-capitalist development towards socialism. In one of its first statements, the revolutionary government announced its immediate tasks as including:

- the imperialist partners, is suffering defeat, and this is of 'historic significance.

The armed intervention in Vietnam holds a special place in the military and political designs of US imperialism. The aggressor planned to destroy an outpost of socialism in Asia, block the way for the peoples of South East Asia to freedom and progress, strike a blow at the national liberation movement, and test the
strength of the proletarian solidarity of the socialist countries and the working people of the whole world.

Despite the huge quantity of armaments which it has brought into play, US imperialism has been compelled to cease the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unconditionally, and to send its representatives to sit at the negotiating table with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

This has been brought about by the unexampled heroism of the Vietnamese people, the far-sighted policy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the many forms of assistance rendered to the Vietnamese people by the socialist countries, by the Soviet Union in particular, and the militant and ever growing international solidarity throughout the world, including the United States itself. The criminal intervention in Vietnam has resulted in considerable moral and political isolation for the United States. It has turned ever greater numbers of people, of all social strata and political forces against imperialism and has speeded up the involvement of millions of young people in many countries in the anti-imperialist struggle. It has aggravated existing contradictions between the imperialist powers and created new ones. The successes of the heroic Vietnamese people are convincing proof that in our day it is becoming increasingly possible for peoples resolutely using all means to defend their independence, sovereignty and freedom, and enjoying broad international support, to defeat imperialist aggression.

In the Middle East a grave international crisis has been precipitated by the Israeli aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan. Through this aggression, imperialism, that of the US above all, tried to crush the progressive regimes in the Arab countries, undermine the Arab liberation movement, and preserve or regain their positions in the Middle East. This they have failed to do. Nevertheless, supported by world reaction, including Zionist circles, the ruling forces of Israel continue to ignore the demands of the Arab states and of the peace loving peoples, and the United Nations decisions on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, persist in their policy of expansion and annexation, and ceaselessly commit fresh armed provocations. This policy is opposed by the Communist Party and other progressive forces of Israel.

The Arab peoples resolutely continue the struggle to uphold their freedom, independence and national progress, to recover the occupied territories and for recognition of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The resistance movement against the occupation is growing, assuming

to put an end to unemployment;
fight inflation;
ensure compulsory elementary education;
adopt a new democratic constitution;
achieve a peaceful normalisation of the situation in the South.
The Democratic Republic of the Sudan will consolidate relations with all states fighting against imperialism and strengthen its ties with the United Arab Republic.

The new Cabinet reflects the broad basis of the revolutionary movement. It covers a wide spectrum of democrats, socialists, and communists. Among the new Cabinet Ministers is Comrade Joseph Garang, whose article on the Southern Sudan appeared in the last issue of The African Communist.

A similar preponderance of revolutionary democrats prevails in the 10-man Council of the Revolution, headed by the new Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, Gaafar Nimiere, the Minister of Defense.

In a radio speech, Premier Awadalla called for national unity behind the new government and made a passionate indictment against the 'five lean years' of rule by reactionary party politicians who had exploited the people's revolution for personal ends.

One of the first acts of the revolutionary government was to disperse the undemocratically elected 'Constituent Assembly' which was plotting to saddle the country with a reactionary so-called 'Islamic Constitution'.

All reactionary, bourgeois and feudalist parties have been banned, including the former government party, the selfstyled United Democratic Party, the UMMA Party, the Moslem Brotherhood and the secessionist Southern Parties, 'SANU' and the 'Southern Front', whose links with imperialism were exposed in our last issue.

Massive support for the revolutionary government has been expressed by Sudanese trade unions, the Communist Party, and other democratic organisations. A broadcast on Sudan Radio announced that all local armed forces had expressed their fullest support.

diverse forms, and is enjoying ever greater support. On the side of these peoples are the USSR and other socialist states, the international communist movement, the solidarity of the forces of national liberation, and ever wider public circles in the capitalist countries.

US imperialism has not abandoned its plans to strangle revolutionary Cuba. It continues to threaten the independence of the Republic of Cuba and, in flagrant contravention of international law, tries to blockade it economically and carries on provocative and subversive activity against it. But the courageous people of Cuba, led by their Communist Party and supported by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the progressive forces of Latin America and the entire revolutionary movement, staunchly defend their sovereignty and freedom and thereby the outpost of socialism on the American continent.

In Europe the North Atlantic bloc, the chief instrument of imperialist aggression and adventurism, continues to be active. The axis of this bloc is the alliance between Washington and Bonn. Contrary to the will of the peoples of Europe, the ruling circles of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain are doing their utmost to prolong the existence of this bloc, strengthen its organisation and maintain the military presence of the United States in Europe.

West German militarism, the main source of the war danger in the heart of Europe, was revived and grew strong mainly with NATO assistance. The
imperialist ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, where neo-nazism and militarism are gaining strength, persist in their revanchist programme of revising the results of the Second World War and of changing the frontiers of a number of European countries. This policy, aimed primarily against the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist workers' and peasants' state in German history, threatens the security of all European peoples and the peace of the world. The Mediterranean countries occupy an important place in the plans of imperialism. US imperialism, which has important military bases in Spain, continues to support the Franco regime, thereby helping it to survive in opposition to the struggle of the fighting Spanish people. The US Sixth Fleet and the system of military bases, which are a threat to the peoples and to peace in this area, serve as a permanent instrument of political and military pressure in the Mediterranean. The repeated exacerbation of the situation in Cyprus and the fascist coup in Greece are likewise the handiwork of the imperialists, who support the Colonels' Junta.

South-East Asia and the Far East are one of the main areas of imperialist aggression and military gambles. In addition to SEATO, ANZUS and the so-called Security Treaty between the United States and Japan, there is the virtual occupation of the South Western Pacific and the Indian Ocean by US armed forces. This entire system is spearheaded primarily against the socialist countries of Asia, against the national liberation movement, as well as against the neutral and unaligned states in this area. The US imperialists continue to occupy Taiwan, which is an integral part of the People's Republic of China and obstruct the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United

Swift measures were taken to replace suspected officers at all levels of the army with those loyal to the revolution.

It would be hard to overestimate the significance for the African revolution of these radical developments in this huge area of Africa, populated by 14 million souls, and bordering on Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia, Chad, the Central African Republic, Congo-Kinshasa, Uganda and Kenya. No doubt the imperialists, in collusion with local reaction, will do everything in their power to subvert People's Sudan from within and without. We look to the leaders and the masses for the utmost vigilance and energy to consolidate the gains of 25th May; and to all revolutionary and patriotic forces in Africa to render our Sudanese brothers the utmost support.

Socialist Germany

Within a few days of its establishment, the revolutionary government of the Sudan established diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic, joining Cambodia and Iraq in what is bound to become an irresistible trend among other Afro-Asian states as well. This was a crushing blow for the bullying tactics of imperialist West Germany, which sought through its 'Hallstein Doctrine' to prevent any recognition by other countries of the other, socialist German state. On 7th October the German Democratic Republic celebrates the twentieth anniversary of its foundation. This was an event of deep significance for Africans and other freedom-loving peoples.
Our people are well acquainted with German imperialism. We remember the atrocities committed in Namibia (SouthWest Africa) and Tanganyika under German rule. We remember the vicious anti-African racist ideas of fascist Germany under Hitler, carried forward today by Hitler's former disciples, the Nazi Vorster clique in the Republic of South Africa. We are aware that Vorster's ally, the Federal German Republic, is carrying forward those evil traditions of German imperialism in the changed conditions of present-day neo-colonialism.

Nations. The US imperialists continue armed provocations against the Korean Democratic People's Republic and maintain the military occupation of South Korea and exercise arbitrary rule, suppressing progressive forces striving for freedom and the unification of the country. They commit acts of aggression against Laos and provocations against Cambodia. They have set up and are enlarging strong military bases in Thailand. They persist in their attempt to pressurise India to abandon her path of non-alignment and independent economic development. The imperialists supported the anti-popular coup in Indonesia, carried out by reactionary circles who have physically destroyed hundreds of thousands of communists and other democrats and continue to commit bloody outrages; all this leads to the destruction of all the gains of the Indonesian revolution and threatens to deprive the country of her independence.

Imperialism has become more active in a number of African countries. It tries to halt the growth of the liberation struggle and preserve and strengthen its positions in that continent. The British and French imperialists, and the imperialists of the USA, West Germany and Japan, are making extensive use of neo-colonialist methods of economic, political and ideological infiltration and subjugation. The armed intervention in the Congo (Kinshasa), the reactionary coups in Ghana and some other countries, imperialist moves designed to dismember Nigeria, the political and military support given to reactionary and anti-national cliques and to the fascist and racialist regimes in the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the fomenting of inter-state conflicts and inter-tribal strife, economic pressure and monopoly expansion—all serve to further the imperialist plans. The Portuguese colonialists, backed by NATO, try to keep their possessions by force of arms.

US imperialism continues to step up its economic penetration, as well as its political, ideological and cultural intervention in the Latin American countries. In alliance with the local reactionary forces it has been pursuing a policy designed to prevent the peoples from following the example of Cuba. It suppresses any step leading to economic and genuine political independence. To promote this policy the US imperialists put forward the Alliance for Progress programme and resort to new, camouflaged forms of domination. They use the Organisation of American States and the inter-American military alliance, exert efforts to set up the so-called "Inter-American Peace Forces", and have claimed the right to intervene militarily against any Latin American country, as they have done against the Dominican Republic and against Panama.

The US imperialists maintain or install reactionary dictatorships, often by way of military coups, intensify splitting activities in the trade union movement, extend
their influence over the armed and police forces and inspire repressions against the popular movement. They have taken a direct part in military operations against the guerrilla movement in some Latin American countries. However, the policy of US imperialism is encountering great difficulties. It is failing to stabilise reactionary regimes or secure the agreement of all the govern-

But there was always another Germany: working class Germany, the mortal enemy of German imperialism and staunch friends of Africans and all oppressed peoples, the Germany of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Ernst Thilmann, Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl and Walter Ulbricht. It is this other Germany that finds its expression in the present-day German Democratic Republic, the first socialist state of the German nation. During the past twenty years, this state has made giant's strides, transforming the lives of the working people, and standing firmly on the side of peace and relentless struggle, together with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, against imperialism and its war provocations.

It is this Germany which has given and is giving evidence of its concrete support and assistance for African and other newly-independent states, and for the fighting liberation movements of our people.

From Africa, therefore, we send warmest greetings to the German Democratic Republic. Long live Socialist Germany!

Zambia in the FrontLines

IN ZAMBIA’S recent general election - the first since independence in 1964 - the governing United National Independence Party (UNIP) won 81 out of the 105 elective seats. The so-called African National Congress of Zambia headed by Nkumbula won 23 of the remaining seats, and one went ko an independent candidate. Three Cabinet Ministers lost their seats. Mundia, a restricted leader of the banned United Party, won his seat despite the fact that he campaigned from the restriction camp.

* Local reaction is working hard to weaken the leadership of UNIP and thus play into the hands of imperialism and its agents and allies, the white minority regimes of Southern Africa. It is significant that all three Ministers who were defeated were standing in constituencies in Barotseland -

mements to the setting up of the "Inter-American Peace Forces". The Alliance for Progress programme has failed.

Other imperialist powers, particularly West Germany and Japan, likewise seek to entrench themselves on that continent.

Growing resistance

This policy of imperialist aggression, which threatens world peace and the security and independence of nations, is facing growing resistance in the capitalist countries from the working class, peasantry, young people, students and from the widest sections, irrespective of their political views and ideology. The mighty protest movement against US aggression in Vietnam strengthens the militant
actions of the democratic forces against US imperialist policy as a whole and the policies of the governments supporting it.
The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has stimulated in Japan and other Asian countries the movement for closing US military bases, and the renunciation of the treaties which bind these countries to the policy of the Pentagon. In the USA itself—which is the main source of aggression—a militant mass movement against war and militarism has developed.
In Western Europe the movement against the aggressive NATO bloc, for the normalisation of relations and the development of cooperation between states and for safeguarding European security, encompasses ever wider strata of the population. Forces actively opposed to revanchism and militarism are growing in West Germany too. In countries where the USA maintains military bases, demands for eliminating these strongpoints of aggression are becoming more articulate.
The Latin American peoples are fighting against the oppression and brazen interference of US imperialism in their internal affairs. The strike movement of the workers and the actions of the peasants, students and other strata show that great numbers of people throughout the continent are intensifying resistance to the dictates of the USA and its military designs. In some countries the revolutionary forces are resorting to armed struggle against the domination of the oligarchy and imperialism. The national feelings of the peoples and economic difficulties might compel even some governments to take important measures against imperialism; this determines the tendency to establish or extend relations with socialist countries, including Cuba. The Communist and Workers’ Parties are heading the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle, and despite persecution by reactionary camarillas they are fighting with dedication and courage for the demands of the masses and for revolutionary changes.
The upsurge of the national liberation movement of the Afro-Asian peoples has been a telling blow at the positions of imperialism on these continents. Despite serious difficulties, these people are continuing to struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism and are contributing to the general offensive against imperialism.
The events of the past decade have laid bare more forcefully than ever the nature of US imperialism as a world exploiter and gendarme, as the

which borders on Angola and Namibia (South West Africa). In this province Nkumbula's opposition party won 8 of the ten seats. Barotseland was long an undeveloped labour reservoir for South African mines and agriculture. Soon after independence, in accordance with OAU decisions to isolate South Africa, Zambia banned all recruitment of labour for mines and farms in that country - it was this decision which no doubt caused some temporary hardship, together with the fanning -off tribal and local differences, which enabled the opposition to make some headway in Barotseland. But more sinister forces are at work. Portuguese violations against Zambia are becoming daily occurrences. Threats against Zambian independence are rumbling from Pretoria, on the grounds that Zambia, is allegedly encouraging African freedom fighters in Zimbabwe - it
would indeed be strange if any independent African state should fail in its duty to assist liberation movements in the South. Pretoria's stooge, Banda of Malawi is making absurd claims to Zambian territory.

The lesson and the warning are clear. Zambia must be considered as falling within the war zone in Southern Africa. The government shows signs of recognising this objective reality; it is struggling against local reaction and showing increased vigilance against provocations from the Portuguese and white minority regimes. But much remains to be done.

Historically Zambia's fate is inseparable from that of the oppressed struggling peoples of Southern Africa whose fight is fundamentally directed against imperialism as a whole, the mainstay of the oppressive fascist regimes. Zambia, pioneer of independence and freedom in the area; is a source of enormous strength and significance to our people; but her contribution must remain limited while she herself remains within the orbit of imperialism.

A welcome step forward has been the termination of the military agreement under which more than 110 British air and army officers had been seconded to train Zambian army personnel. It is to be hoped that this move will extend to the withdrawal of Zambian army cadres from British

sworn enemy of liberation movements. The US monopolies have penetrated the economy of dozens of countries, where they are increasing their capital investments and seeking to gain control of key positions in the economy.

West German imperialism is increasing its economic strength, building up its war machine, reaching out for nuclear weapons and intensifying its drive for domination over Western Europe. It opposes all steps leading to disarmament and the easing of international tension, and pursues a policy of neo-colonialism and expansion in relation to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Despite the weakening of British imperialism, Britain remains one of the major imperialist powers and strives to maintain its positions in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the Middle East by neo-colonialist methods and sometimes by direct military intervention. On the principal issues of world politics Britain acts as one of the most active partners of the United States. It is a leading aggressive force in NATO and seeks a closer alliance with West Germany.

Japanese imperialism is gaining in strength, intensifying its expansion, especially in Asia. Militarism is again rearing its head in Japan. Linked by many ties with US imperialism, the ruling circles of Japan have virtually turned the country into a US arsenal in the war against the Vietnamese people, and are taking part in conspiracies against the Korean people.

French imperialism tries to maintain and consolidate its positions in the world economy and politics. It persistently continues to build up a nuclear strike force and refuses to join in measures that would promote disarmament. It retains its colonial domination over the peoples of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Reunion and some countries of Africa and Oceania and refuses to recognise their right to self-determination and to govern their own affairs. It uses the influence it still has in its former colonies and, employing new methods of colonialist policy, is particularly active in Africa.
Italian monopoly capital is likewise stepping up its expansion. Inter-imperialist contradictions

Economic development is becoming more uneven among the various imperialist powers and in the capitalist world as a whole. Life demonstrates the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory of struggle between the imperialist powers and between the capitalist monopolies for spheres of influence. Industrial and commercial competition is growing sharper, and the financial and currency war is spreading. Competition is growing in Western Europe including the Common Market, and also between the capitalist countries of Europe and the USA. Japanese imperialism is energetically joining this struggle for markets and maximum profits. The inter-imperialist contradictions are manifest not only in the economic sphere. NATO is undergoing a serious crisis. The aggressive blocs established in Asia-Cento and SEATO-are beginning to crack up. Western Europe is becoming an arena of discord among the capitalist countries. This weakens the world system of imperialism and upsets US imperialism's plans for hegemony.

military academies where even President Kaunda's son is currently undergoing military training.

Unfortunately this progressive step forward must be balanced against a recent agreement reported to replace the departing British officers with Italian ones. Zambia is already to buy military helicopters from Italy worth nearly £1 million sterling. In mid-January President Kaunda stated in London his intention to recruit British men to fight in Zambia. By increasing her ties with NATO powers, Zambia is limiting her potential to advance to complete and genuine national independence and to throw her full weight behind the fight for Southern African liberation, key to Africa's advance as a whole.

Let our People go!

Thousands of South African political prisoners are still rotting in jails, under abominable conditions, on Robben Island and other prisons throughout the country. Recently a letter smuggled from this hell-island exposed some of the frightful conditions prevailing there. Since last year 'four of our men died, mainly through negligence', the letter states, drawing attention to the extremely inadequate medical services. 'The food quality is extremely poor.' The recent release of Mr. R. Sobukwe, six years after his term of three years imprisonment had expired, was long overdue and is warmly to be welcomed, although he will remain under 12-hours-a-day house arrest and is restricted to Kimberley.

Perhaps the fascist government was hoping that by this release of a minor political prisoner, head of a breakaway organisation which has long been discredited and has disintegrated, it would blind the world to the terrible plight of those thousands who still remain in its jails, under house aрест and other forms of lawless restriction. It hopes to present a totally false image of a more 'enlightened' and 'liberal' turn in its policy.

The real picture is shown by the brutal suppression of the
Contradictions are also growing deeper within the ruling circles of the imperialist countries, between the most belligerent groups who gamble on extreme measures, on war, and those who, taking into account the new relationship of class forces in the world and the growing might of the socialist countries, tend to take a more realistic approach to international problems and to solve them in the spirit of peaceful coexistence between states with different systems. The ruling circles of some countries realise the need to reckon with the real situation which has taken shape in Europe as a result of the war and of post-war development, and are beginning to see that the German Democratic Republic must be recognised. A number of countries have recognised the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of China, despite US pressure. The Communist and Workers' Parties, the working class and the anti-imperialist forces take into account all the contradictions in the enemy camp, and strive to deepen and utilise them in the interest of peace and progress. Each imperialist power pursues its own aims. At the same time together they form the chain of the world system of imperialism.

Present day imperialism, which is trying to adapt itself to the conditions of the struggle between the two systems and to the demands of the scientific and technological revolution, has some new features. Its state monopoly character is becoming more pronounced. It resorts ever more extensively to such instruments as state stimulated monopolistic concentration of production and capital, redistribution by the state of an increasing proportion of the national income, allocation of war contracts to the monopolies, government financing of industrial development and research programmes, the drawing up of economic development programmes on a country-wide scale, the policy of imperialist integration and new forms of capital export. However, state monopoly regulation exercised in forms and on a scale which meets the interests of monopoly capital and is aimed at preserving its rule, is unable to control the spontaneous forces of the capitalist market. Practically no capitalist state has been able to avoid considerable cyclical fluctuations and slumps in its economy; in some countries periods of rapid industrial growth alternate with periods in which there is a slowdown and often a drop in production. The capitalist system is in the grip of an acute monetary and financial crisis.

The scientific and technological revolution offers mankind unprecedented possibilities to transform nature, to produce immense material wealth and to multiply man's creative capabilities. These possibilities should serve the general welfare, but capitalism is using the scientific and technological revolution to increase its profits and intensify the exploitation of the working people. The scientific and technological revolution accelerates the socialisation of the economy; under monopoly domination this leads to the reproduction of social antagonisms on a growing scale and in a sharper form. Not only have the long standing contradictions of capitalism been aggravated, but new ones have arisen as well. This applies, in particular to the contradiction between the unlimited possibilities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution, and the
strike, in March, of 3,000 Durban African dockworkers who demanded better pay and conditions, of the student demonstrations. The real picture was revealed by Police Minister, S. Muller, when he revealed in Parliament that over a thousand specially trained police from the Republic were concentrated in Rhodesia on the borders of Zambia.

South Africans and their friends abroad will continue to press forward with all their might the demand for the unconditional release of all political prisoners. In the words of the resolution of the recent Morogoro Consultative Conference of the African National Congress:

Conference vehemently condemns the continued imprisonment, detention and persecution of thousands of our gallant Freedom Fighters by the Vorster fascist regime.

Conference salutes our gallant leaders languishing in Robben Island and other prisons, such as Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, Dennis Goldberg, Andrew Mlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba, Wilton Mkwayi, Abram Fischer as well as numerous ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe men and women.

Conference pledges never to rest until these comrades are released.

obstructions raised by capitalism to their utilisation for the benefit of society as a whole. Capitalism squanders national wealth, allocating for war purposes a great proportion of scientific discoveries and immense material resources. This is the contradiction between the social character of present day production and the state monopoly nature of its regulation. This is not only the growth of the contradiction between capital and labour, but also the deepening of the antagonism between the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation and those of the financial oligarchy.

Even in the most developed capitalist countries, millions of people suffer the torments of unemployment, want and insecurity. Contrary to assertions about the "revolution in incomes" and "social partnership," capitalist exploitation is in fact increasing. The rise in wages lags far behind the growth rates of labour productivity and the intensification of labour, behind the social needs and even more so behind the growth of monopoly profits. The position of the small farmers continues to deteriorate, and the living conditions of a considerable part of the middle strata are becoming more difficult.

Growing crises

The instability of the capitalist system has increased. Social and political crises are breaking out in many countries, in the course of which the working people are becoming aware of the necessity of deep going and decisive changes. This became primarily evident from the events in France in May and June 1968, from the powerful strike movement there, in which the communists played an important role and the working people made considerable gains. A serious clash took place in that country between the working class and considerable sections of the intellectuals and students on the one hand, and the Gaullist regime and
monopoly rule, on the other. This clash opened up new possibilities for the
struggle for democracy and socialism.
In Italy the steady growth of the strike movement on a national scale, the big
political battles and the electoral successes of the left wing forces strongly shook
the policy of the Centre Left, which the ruling classes reckoned on using to
stabilise capitalism.
In Spain, the struggle of the masses continues to undermine the fascist
dictatorship of Franco, which was compelled to introduce emergency measures;
despite these repressions, the struggle is expanding, and new social strata and
broad social circles are joining the antiFranco opposition.
In Great Britain major class battles are unfolding, including political strikes in
defence of the trade unions and of the right to strike, which are under attack by
the Labour government.
Class battles, strikes and other actions by the working people, students and other
sections of the people have been stepped up in Japan, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina,
the Federal Republic of Germany, Uruguay, Belgium, Portugal, Chile, India,
Pakistan, Turkey and other countries, and also in West Berlin. The growth of the
democratic movement has also been reflected in the electoral achievements of the
communists and

Resolutions of the African National Congress.
(Adopted at Morogoro, 1st May, 1969.)
The Consultative Conference of the African National Congress approves the new
administrative structure of the organisation.
It affirms the necessity to integrate all oppressed national groups and
revolutionary forces and individuals under the banner of the A.N.C.
It instructs the National Executive Committee to work out the means by which
this can be done so as to mobilise all revolutionaries in functioning -nits of the
African National Congress.
Conference expresses its 'unanimous approval of the Political Report -of the
N.C., -the Strategy and Tactics of the ,Revolution, and the Programme of the
Conference extends revolutionary greetings to brother Fighters for Freedom in
Africa, Vietnam, the Middle East and elsewhere who, arms in hand, are fighting
our common enemy; imperialism in all its forms.
We greet our brothers of Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies who have
scored and are scoring brilliant victories over the enemy. We shall win!
We South African revolutionaries pay unsitnted tribute to the National Liberation
Front of South Vietnam who have added glorious pages to the history of
liberation. We fully support their just demands for the unconditional withdrawal
of the U.S. and mercenary troops from Vietnam and the reunification of their
,motherland.
We greet the peoples of the Arab countries resisting imperialismbacked Zionist
aggression, and support the right of the dispossessed Arabs of Palestine to fight
for their return to their homeland.
other progressive forces in a number of countries, including Japan. Democratic
government, including communists, have been formed in some states of
India. In Finland the communists take part in the government.
Moreover the depth of the crisis in the capitalist world is also strikingly revealed
by the advance of the mass struggle in the United States itself, that main pillar of
world imperialism. A wave of rebellions against racial discrimination, poverty,
starvation and police brutality has swept the Negro ghettos. Scores of American
cities and towns have been the scene of fierce clashes with troops and police,
which took a great toll of lives and led to the arrest of thousands of Negroes.
In the USA militant strikes for economic demands take place often in defiance of
government pressure and threats and contrary to the will of reactionary trade
union officials. In the unions the rank and file and progressive forces are
becoming more active. Large sections of the working people oppose the Vietnam
war.
Intellectual, professional and religious circles in the USA are becoming more and
more active in the movement of social protest and for peace. Young people,
students in particular, black and white, are in revolt in different ways against the
Vietnam war, military conscription, racialism, and monopoly control of
universities. Reaction replies to this with the assassination of public figures,,
mounting repression and massive violence. The notorious "American way of life"
is being discredited in the eyes of the world.
Everywhere the monopoly capitalists try to create the illusion that everything the
working people aspire to can be achieved without a revolutionary transformation
of the existing system. To conceal its exploiting and aggressive nature, capitalism
resorts to theoretical whitewash-"people's capitalism," the "welfare state," the
"affluent society," etc. The revolutionary working class movement exposes these
concepts and wages a determined struggle against them. It thus deepens the crisis
of imperialist ideology; increasing numbers of people are turning away from this
ideology.
The conscience and intellect of mankind cannot be reconciled with the crimes of
imperialism. Imperialism bears the guilt for two world wars which snuffed out the
lives of tens of millions of people. It has created a gigantic military machine
which devours tremendous human and material resources. Intensifying the
armaments race, it plans the production of new weapons for decades ahead. It is
fraught with the threat of a thermonuclear world war which would annihilate
hundreds of millions of people and turn entire countries into deserts.
Imperialism gave birth to fascism-the system of political terror and death camps.
Wherever it can, imperialism wages an: offensive against democratic rights and
liberties; it tramples underfoot human dignity and cultivates racialism.
Imperialism is responsible for the hardship and suffering of hundreds of millions
of people. It is chiefly to blame for the fact that vast masses of people in Asian,
African and Latin American countries are compelled to live in conditions of
poverty, disease and illiteracy and under archaic social relations, and that entire
nationalities are doomed to extinction.

The order of the day is: CLOSE RAN KS!
0. R. TAMBO  
Acting President - General African National Congress  
South Africa

The course of social development shows that imperialism comes into conflict with the vital interests of workers by hand and by brain, of different social strata, peoples and nations. As a result growing numbers of working people, social movements and entire peoples are rising against imperialism. The working class, the democratic and revolutionary forces, the peoples, must unite and act jointly in order to put an end to imperialism's criminal actions which can bring still graver suffering to mankind. To curb the aggressors and liberate mankind from imperialism is the mission of the working class, of all the anti-imperialist forces fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

II

ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES

The world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. Every liberation struggle receives indispensable aid from the world socialist system, and above all from the Soviet Union.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War, the triumph of the revolution in China and in a number of other countries in Europe and Asia, the emergence of the first socialist state in America, the Republic of Cuba, the rise and development of the world socialist system, comprising 14 states, and the inspiring influence of socialism on the entire world, have created the prerequisites for accelerating historical progress, and have opened new prospects for the advance and triumph of socialism throughout the world.

Socialism has shown mankind the prospect of deliverance from imperialism. The new social system based on public ownership of the means of production and on the power of the working people is capable of ensuring the planned, crisis free development of the economy in the interest of the people, guaranteeing the social and political rights of the working people, creating conditions for genuine democracy, for real participation by the broad masses of people in the administration of society, for all round development of the individual and for the equality and friendship of nations. It has been proved in fact that only socialism is capable of solving the fundamental problems facing mankind.

The contribution of the world socialist system to the common cause of the anti-imperialist forces is determined primarily by its growing economic potential. The swift economic development of the countries belonging to the socialist system at rates outpacing the economic growth of the capitalist countries, the advance of socialism to leading positions in a number of fields of scientific and technological progress, and the blazing of a trail into outer space by the Soviet Union—all these tangible results, produced by the creative endeavours of the peoples of the socialist countries, decisively contribute to the preponderance of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism over imperialism.
Moulding the Revolution
THE MOROGORO CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
April 25- May 1, 1969
The Consultative Conference of the African National Congress held at Morogoro in Tanzania was perhaps the most remarkable, critical and decisive in the long history of the A. N. C. which began in 1912. The Conference has been well described as one of Total Mobilisation for the National Democratic Revolution in South Africa. Taking place at a time of crucial moment for the development of the armed struggle and in the internal life of the liberation movement, it emerged with a clear-cut political direction and a series of practical decisions whose energetic and single-minded implementation will undoubtedly advance the oppressed masses of our country far along the road to victory and the conquest of people's power.
Conference made important changes in the structure and administration of the ANC. A new and smaller National Executive Committee was elected; a Revolutionary Council was created representative of all national groups and revolutionary forces in our country. The Revolutionary Council was charged with the task of intensifying the armed struggle and the full mobilisation of the masses in support of the revolution. Changes were made in the organisation of external solidarity work. The alliance with ZAPU to which much tribute was paid was to be further strengthened and developed. It was also decided to take steps to increase co-operation and co-ordination with Frelimo, MPLA, PAIGC and SWAPO.
Certainly, the serious problems confronting the movement had led to a ferment of ideas, of demands for change, at all levels of the liberation movement. But those who had perhaps speculated on divisions or confusion arising and spreading were bitterly disappointed. The overwhelming and

The socialist world has now entered a stage of its development when the possibility arises of utilising on a scale far greater than ever before the tremendous potentialities inherent in the new system. This is furthered by evolving and applying better economic and political forms corresponding to the requirements of mature socialist society, which already rests on the new social structure. The building of socialism and its further development rests on the support, participation and initiative of the working people, inspired and led by the working class. The Communist Party is the vanguard of socialist society as a whole. The forces of socialism are strengthened and the unity of will and action of the people is promoted by the steadily increasing political activity of the working people, by the greater activity of the social organisations, by the extension of the rights of the individual, by irreconcilable struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy and by the all round development of socialist democracy. The improvement of socialist democracy, the growth of the productive forces, the political and cultural progress, the superiority of human and moral values enhance the influence of socialism on the working people of the world and reinforce its
positions in the struggle against imperialism, a struggle of world wide significance.

Complex process
Practice has shown that socialist transformations and the building of the new society are a long and complex process, and that the utilisation of the tremendous possibilities opened up by the new system depends on the Communist Parties in the leadership of the state, on their ability to resolve the problems of socialist development the Marxist-Leninist way.

The application of science in various social and economic fields, and the full utilisation of the potentialities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution for speeding up economic development and for satisfying the needs of all members of society are made possible by socialist ownership, the planned organisation of production, and the active participation of workers by hand and by brain in guiding and managing the economy. An important requisite for the development of socialist society is to give full scope to the scientific and technological revolution, which has become one of the main sectors of tile historic competition between capitalism and socialism.

The formation of the socialist world constitutes an integral part of the class struggle being waged in the international arena. The enemies of socialism are keeping up their attempts to undermine the foundations of the socialist state power, thwart the socialist transformation of society and restore their own rule. To give a firm rebuff to these attempts is an essential function of the socialist state, which relies on the working people led by the working class and its communist vanguard.

The defence of socialism is an internationalist duty of communists. The development and strengthening of each socialist country is a vital condition of the progress of the world socialist system as a whole. Successful development of the national economy, improvement of 

unanimous will of the conference at Morogoro was for Unity within the Ranks; for rededication to Congress and its capable leader, Acting President-General O. R. Tambo; for determined concentration on the central task - development of the armed struggle, the organisation of the revolution to free our country.
More than seventy delegates came to Morogoro. Present among them were veterans of the struggle, personified by the towering presence of 'Uncle J. B.' Marks. There were the emissaries who had carried the message of the A.N.C. to every corner of the five continents, who had exposed apartheid mercilessly at the United Nations and won solidarity, for our people at innumerable meetings in Africa, Asia, Europe, North and South America. Present too - for the first time as fully participating delegates and not only as bearers of fraternal messages - were outstanding leaders of the partners of the Congress Alliance; the Indian and Coloured People's Congresses and the revolutionary working class movement; tried revolutionaries of the calibre of Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, Reg. September and Joe Slovo.
But above all, Morogoro was a Conference of the fighting youth of South Africa: delegations from the various encampments of the liberation army, Umkhonto we
Sizwe, and among them men who had seen action at Wankie and other engagements of the ZAPU-ANC military alliance against the joint forces of the Smith and Vorster regimes, who had seen the self-styled white 'supermen' turn tail and run, and who knew that victory can and shall be won. It was their presence, their mood of revolutionary urgency, their voice and their demands which prevailed at Morogoro; their insistence on priority for the armed struggle and the mobilisation of all revolutionaries at home and abroad, their demand for changed structures to meet the needs of the new phase of the revolution, for new and higher standards of political and personal conduct of all in the movement. The conference was opened formally on April 25th in the presence of distinguished visitors. Mr. G. Magombe, Executive Secretary of the OAU Liberation Committee brought greetings, as did Mr. A. Swai, TANU’s secretary of External social relations and the all round progress of each socialist country conform both to the interests of each people separately and the common cause of socialism. One of the most important tasks before the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries is to develop all embracing co-operation between their countries, and ensure fresh successes in the decisive areas of the economic competition between the two systems, in the advance of science and technology. As the struggle between the two world systems grows sharper, this competition demands that on the basis of the socialist countries' fundamental interests and aims of the MarxistLeninist principles underlying their policy, the socialist system should place greater reliance on the international socialist division of labour and voluntary co-operation between them, which rules out any infringement of national interests, and ensures the advance of each country and consolidates the might of the world socialist system as a whole. Relying on its steadily growing economic and defence potential, the world socialist system fetters imperialism, reduces its possibilities of exporting counter-revolution, and in fulfilment of its internationalist duty, furnishes increasing aid to the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, and promotes peace and international security. So long as the aggressive NATO bloc exists, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation has an important role to play in safeguarding the security of the socialist countries against armed attack by the imperialist powers and in ensuring peace. The successes of socialism, its impact on the course of world events and the effectiveness of its struggle against imperialist aggression largely depend on the cohesion of the socialist countries. Unity of action of the socialist countries is an important factor in bringing together all anti-imperialist forces. The establishment of international relations of a new type and the development of the fraternal alliance of the socialist countries is a complex historical process. Following the victory of the socialist revolution in many countries, the building of socialism on the basis of general laws is proceeding in various forms, which take into account concrete historical conditions and national distinctions. Successful development of this process implies strict adherence to the principles of
proletarian internationalism, mutual assistance and support, equality, sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Socialism is not afflicted with the contradictions inherent in capitalism. When divergences between socialist countries do arise, owing to differences in the level of economic development, in social structure or international position or because of national distinctions, they can and must be successfully settled on the basis of proletarian internationalism, through comradely discussion and voluntary fraternal co-operation. They need not disrupt the united front of socialist countries against imperialism.

Communists are aware of the difficulties in the development of the world socialist system. But this system is based on the identity of the social and economic structure of its member countries, and on the identity of their fundamental interests and objectives. This identity is an earnest that the existing difficulties will be overcome, and that

Affairs, Mr. J. J. Nambuta, of the National Union of Tanganyika Workers, Mr. Amadou N'Diaye of the All-African Trade Union Federation, spokesmen of ZAPU, MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO, local leaders and others. The Morogoro Training College students provided a guard of honour for delegates entering the hall, and dressed in their green and black uniforms, greeted the delegates with national and revolutionary songs - to which the ANC delegates responded suitably in kind.

OPEN AND DEMOCRATIC DISCUSSION
Then followed the days of open, frank and democratic discussion in which every aspect of the policy, tactics and work of the liberation movement were subjected to searching review. The atmosphere was one of warmth and comradship, against a background of high enthusiasm at the stirring deeds of the ANC-ZAPU guerillas against the enemy forces. But it was also one of unrestricted criticism in which all the main aspects of the movement's programme and strategy, its leadership structure and style of work, were examined and tested in the light of the overriding demands of the present phase of armed struggle and the national democratic revolution.

It is important to remember the background to the debates. Since the banning of the ANC in 1960, far-reaching changes have occurred. Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed section of the liberation movement, was founded, the sabotage campaign launched inside the country, and large numbers of volunteers were enrolled for military training and formation outside the country in preparation for their return. The External Mission of the ANC was sent out of the country, with the backing of the other partners of the Congress Alliance, to put the case against apartheid before the court of world opinion, and to mobilise support and solidarity for our people's fight.

There can be no doubt that these years have seen striking achievements. For the first time in its history our South African liberation movement has created an armed force
the unity of the socialist system will be further strengthened on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the citadels of capitalism the working class, as recent events have shown, is the principal driving force of the revolutionary struggle and of the entire anti-imperialist, democratic movement.

The present period is characterised by a sharpening of the struggle of the working class and of wide sections of working people not only for an improvement of their economic conditions but also for political demands. While defending their vital interests, the working people fight for social rights and democratic freedoms. These demands are increasingly directed against the system of domination by monopoly capital, against its political power. The desire of the working people to effect a radical change in the economic and social system based on the exploitation of man is growing ever stronger. The big battles of the working class in a number of capitalist countries are undermining the power of the monopolies and intensifying the instability and contradictions of capitalist society. These struggles foreshadow new class battles which could lead to fundamental social change, socialist revolution, and the establishment of the power of the working class in alliance with other sections of the working people.

Recent class battles have struck a blow at the illusions spread by partisans of neo-capitalism and reformism, and have given fresh proof of the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism. In contrast to the right and left opportunists, the Communist and Workers’ Parties do not counterpose the fight for deep-going economic and social demands and for advanced democracy against the struggle for socialism, but regard it as a part of the struggle for socialism. The radical democratic changes which will be achieved in the struggle against the monopolies and their economic domination and political power will promote awareness of the need for socialism among the people.

Working class unity

In the new situation, the need for working class unity has become even more urgent. Facts and the experience gained by the working class in the course of their struggles, and the sharp criticism of opportunist views by the Communist and Workers’ Parties— which remains a constant task— deepen the crisis of reformist concepts. A differentiation is taking place in the ranks of social democracy, and this is also reflected in the leadership. Some of the leaders come out in defence of monopoly capital and imperialism. Others are more inclined to take into account the demands of the working people in the economic—and social fields and on the questions of the struggle for peace and progress.

Communists, who attribute decisive importance to working class unity, are in favour of co-operation with the socialists and social democrats to establish an advanced democratic regime today and to build a socialist society in the future. They will do everything they can to carry out this co-operation. Communists are likewise in favour of co-operation with other democratic parties and organisations interested in the renewal of society. To advance on this path, it is, of course—capable of engaging the enemy and inspiring a nation-wide mass insurrection against white domination which must end in victory. Moreover, due to the correct
policy of the ZAPUANC military alliance, units of this army have already entered into action and demonstrated their capacity to survive and to inflict heavy casualties on the enemy.

These accomplishments are the more striking in that they took place against a background of mounting terror and repression at home; the enactment of the 'Sabotage' and 'Terrorism' Laws. The introduction of imprisonment without trial during which Congressites were interrogated under gruesome tortures made public political activity of the traditional type virtually impossible. Heavy blows were inflicted on the leadership in the 'Rivonia', 'Fischer', 'Mkwayi' and other trials. Repeated bannings of their leading personnel brought the public functioning of the Indian and Coloured Congresses and the Congress of Trade Unions to a temporary halt. These reverses imposed a heavy burden on the External Mission, which was compelled to undertake many functions of leadership and organisation which had previously been borne by the underground leadership within the country.

Whatever the achievements, however, the mounting tempo and stress of the struggle had pitilessly revealed weaknesses in the structures, emphases and style of work of the movement which urgently called for correction. Political activity and information was lacking, especially at grass-roots level; the virtual collapse of the old Alliance machinery had left a gap which resulted in a failure to integrate all revolutionaries in the work of the movement; a dangerous chasm was opening up between the leadership and the rank-and-file which provided soil for various divisive tendencies foreign to the spirit of the ANC and its traditional allies. These objective facts rendered the Morogoro Conference urgently timely and necessary; it was the greatest achievement of that Conference that it provided a basis for the consolidation of the African National Congress at a higher level than ever by inaugurating those far-reaching changes called for by the present phase of the South African Revolution.

necessary for the socialist parties and other political organisations favouring socialism resolutely to break with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and to pursue a policy of effective struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The trade unions, the largest organisations of the working people, play an important role in the struggle against the monopolies. But for the division in the trade union movement in the capitalist world they might be playing an even larger role. Some leaders create artificial obstacles to unity of action by trade unions of different orientation, on a national and international scale, but the desire for such unity has, nonetheless, been growing in the trade union movement in recent years. Communists are consistent champions of trade union unity within the framework of each country and in the international arena.

The communist policy of united action by all the parties of the working class and the trade unions draws growing support. This policy of unity affords the working class movement greater opportunities in the anti-imperialist struggle, and makes it possible to bring into this struggle that section of the proletariat which is still
unorganised or still follows bourgeois parties. Communists will improve their political and ideological work with an eye to securing working class unity. Domination by finance capital and the realisation of "agrarian programmes" by the monopolist states lead to the ruin of ever larger sections of the small and middle farmers. Lately the farmers have been putting up growing resistance to these measures, conducting mass actions supported by urban working people. The strengthening of the alliance of workers and farmers is one of the basic prerequisites for the success of the struggle against the monopolies and their power. Big capital tramples on the vital interests of the majority of the urban middle strata. Therefore, despite their lack of unity and their special susceptibility to bourgeois ideology, large numbers of the middle strata are coming forward in defence of their interests, joining the struggle for general democratic demands, and becoming increasingly conscious of the vital importance of united action with the working class.

In this age when science is becoming a direct productive force, growing numbers of intellectuals are swelling the ranks of wage and salary workers. Their social interests intertwine with those of the working class; their creative aspirations clash with the interests of the monopoly employers, who place profit above all else. Despite the great diversity in their positions, various groups of intellectuals are coming more and more into conflict with the monopolies and the imperialist policy of governments. The crisis of bourgeois ideology and the attraction of socialism help to bring intellectuals into the antiimperialist struggle. The alliance of workers by hand and by brain is becoming an increasingly important force in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, for the democratic control of production, of cultural institutions and information media, and for the development of public education in the interests of the people.

The convergence of interests of the working class, farmers, urban middle strata and intellectuals, as well as their growing co-operation reduce the social foundations of monopoly power, sharpen its internal

UNITED ON POLICY

The Conference unanimously approved the main policy documents before it; the political report of the National Executive, a reassessment and reaffirmation of the Freedom Charter, the revolutionary programme of the ANC, and an analysis of the Strategy and Tactics of the movement at this stage.

The political report opens by examining various changes which have taken place in South Africa over the past five years. Economically this is the most advanced country on the continent. 'But its wealth has been and is produced by the most ruthless exploitation of African labour. Cheap labour and vast natural resources are the basis for what is now an imperialist, racist and fascist South Africa.' The country has made spectacular advances in the industrial field... The National Income was estimated at about £ 2,356 million in 1961. Today the figure is nearer & 4,000 million. Although the mining industry continues to be the main prop of economic expansion by reason of its supreme role as foreign exchange earner,
manufacturing industry is contributing a bigger and bigger share of the national income.'
'The growth of industry has been accompanied by a swift increase in the numbers of the industrial proletariat and the wage-earners generally. Of great significance is the fact that the proportion of Africans engaged in the manufacturing industries is growing rapidly; non-whites constitute almost 80 per cent of the workers... The numbers of wage-earners in our country, including mining, manufacturing and agricultural workers amount to over 6 million... people now dependent on the selling of their labour power constitute the majority of the South African adult population.'
The Report points out that, although the labour of the non-white people has been a major factor in the economic progress of the country, they have not benefitted accordingly.
In real terms the share of the National Income estimated for Africans has fallen from approximately 21 per cent just after

contradictions and promote the mobilisation of wide sections of people for the struggle against monopolies and imperialism.
The numerical growth and mounting political activity of young people have become an important factor in social affairs in Western Europe, America, Japan, Turkey and other countries. Action by young people reflects the deep going crisis of contemporary bourgeois society. Working youth, primarily young industrial workers, who are subjected to super-exploitation and see no prospect for themselves under capitalism, are entering the class struggle to an ever greater extent, joining the trade unions and communist and other democratic organisations. Broad masses of students take a stand not only against the defects of the obsolete system of education and for the right to organise and share actively in the affairs of educational centres, but also against the policy of the ruling classes. Inspired by the struggle of the Vietnamese people and by other examples of heroic struggle against imperialism, growing numbers of young people take an active part in major mass actions against imperialism, for democracy, peace and socialism.
Communists have high regard for the upsurge of the youth movement and actively participate in it. They propagate in its ranks the ideas of scientific socialism, explain the danger of various pseudo-revolutionary ideas which could influence young people, and seek to help young people find the right path in the struggle against imperialism and for defence of their interests. Only close unity with the working class movement and its communist vanguard can open for them truly revolutionary prospects.
An important feature of our epoch is the large scale participation of women in the class struggle, the anti-imperialist movement and, in particular, the struggle for peace. This is strikingly demonstrated in the massive protest campaigns against the US aggression in Vietnam. The number of women engaged in production and other spheres is increasing. Their political consciousness is growing and their struggle for economic and social rights is becoming more active. Working women
demand an end to discrimination in the remuneration for their work, full equality in civil rights, maternity protection programmes, and so on. They are participating more and more actively in the battles of the workers and democratic forces, and are joining the trade unions in increasing numbers. The Communist and Workers' Parties, in whose activity women members participate on the basis of complete equality, emphatically support their demands and regard the emancipation of women as an important element of the general democratic movement. The examples of the socialist countries, where women are guaranteed full equality, is a great attraction to women engaged in struggle in the capitalist world. Anti-monopoly alliance Owing to the considerable aggravation of social contradictions, conditions have arisen in many capitalist countries for an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist alliance of the revolutionary working class movement and great numbers of religious people. The Catholic Church and

the second world war to 19 per cent today. The economic development is not based on an increase in African consumption and 'more liberal labour or wage policies ... The so-called prosperity exists only for the privileged and is based on exploitation of cheap labour and the inflation of already greatly inflated profits resulting therefrom. There is absolutely no justification for the reformist thesis that economic development in our country will enter an 'era of high mass consumption and the granting -of political reforms by the white minority.' Africans and other non-whites, taken in the mass, are getting an even smaller share of the national cake than they did twenty years ago. The present high economic activity is based precisely on the oppression and the exploitation of the nonwhites and those who benefit thereby can hardly be expected to initiate changes. Only a revolutionary struggle waged by the masses of the people can bring about meaningful changes. The report briefly discusses developments among the white political parties. Under Vorster, the Nationalist Party continues to intensify the repressive measures of the Verwoerd regime. 'The highly-publicised divisions in this party represented by the Verligte (enlightened) and Verkrampte (diehard) factions are not based on principles. The dispute is over how white supremacy can be most effectively maintained.' The official opposition party - the United Party has surrendered on all important issues and can never be of any significance concerning fundamental changes. The Progressive Party, seeking a relaxation of apartheid and the constitutional attainment of a qualified franchise for the oppressed, has been unable to make any headway among the white electorate, with only one representative in Parliament. The Liberal Party has disappeared. Thus 'middle groups' are disappearing in South Africa. The process of polarisation remains the trend, with reactionary elements gravitating towards the fascist Nationalist Party and all revolutionary forces moving towards the African National Congress and its allies. BANTUSTAN FRAUD The economic changes and growth experienced in the rest of the country, the Report points out, have not been reflected in the 'Reserves' (otherwise known as 'Bantu homelands' officially, and popularly as 'Bantustans'). 'These areas of
some other religious organisations are experiencing an ideological crisis, which is shattering their age long concepts and existing structures. Positive co-operation and joint action between communists and broad democratic masses of Catholics and followers of other religions are developing in some countries. The dialogue between them on issues such as war and peace, capitalism and socialism, and neocolonialism and the problem of the developing countries, has become highly topical. Their united action against imperialism, for democracy and socialism, is extremely timely. Communists are convinced that in this way-through broad contacts and joint action-the mass of religious people can become an active force in the anti-imperialist struggle and in carrying out far reaching social changes.

In the course of anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist united action, favourable conditions are created for uniting all democratic trends into a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role played by the monopolies in the economies of the countries concerned of putting an end to the power of big capital and of bringing about such radical political and economic changes as would ensure the most favourable conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism. The main force in this democratic alliance is the working class. These objectives can be achieved, above all, by diverse forms of powerful mass action by the working class and the broadest sections of the population. While making use of all possibilities of parliamentary activity, communists emphasise that the mass movement of the working class and of all working people is the decisive factor in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The collapse of the colonial system has considerably weakened the position of imperialism. In the past decade the role of the antiimperialist movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the world revolutionary process has continued to grow. In some countries, this movement is acquiring an anti-capitalist content.

In many Asian and African countries the national liberation movement has entered a new phase. A large number of national states has emerged in this area, substantially altering the world political structure and hanging the balance of power to the detriment of imperialism. The old colonial empires have been almost completely abolished.

Of great importance for the future of Africa and the cause of peace is the liberation of Southern Africa. One of the last areas of colonial domination. The armed struggle which is being waged in this area by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa is inflicting heavy blows on the coalition of fascist and racialist regimes, which are supported by the imperialists, and is opening up prospects for fresh big victories of the African revolution.

The Arab liberation movement is playing an outstanding role in the battle waged against world imperialism. It is exerting a positive influence on the entire movement against imperialism and neocolonialism in the Middle East and Africa. The struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and the Israeli aggression is a part of the general struggle between the forces of freedom and socialism throughout the world on the one hand, and world imperialism on the other.
The growth of the movement for national liberation, and the social subsistence farming remain reservoirs of labour for the rest of the economy. In the last five years, the Reserves, with a population of over 4 million have had just under 2,000 new jobs created in them. This ludicrous situation illustrates the bankruptcy of the policy of 'Separate Development.'

Analysing the recent Transkei election - in which the dominant Transkei National Independence Party headed by Kaiser Matanzima received 200,000 votes as against 400,000 votes for its opponents, but got 28 out of the 45 elective seats, - the report comments:

In spite of the notorious Proclamation 400 which maintains the state of emergency in the Transkei; the restriction of political meetings; and the weakness of the opposition to Matanzima which is opportunistic and does not constitute any real alternative - over two-thirds of those who participated voted against Matanzima and his group. The fact that 400,000 did not even bother to participate says a great deal.

The government still claims to be pursuing the Bantustan policy in other parts of the country. The Ciskei Territorial Authority now has a so-called legislative council headed by Chief Justice Mabandla, and a new council has been announced in 'Tswanaland'. But there is still utter silence about Sekhukhuneland and Natal, and it is now clear to any serious analyst that the Bantustan policy as a solution to the country's problems is a hopeless failure. 'It only serves as a means of deception and propaganda.' In this respect, however, its effects should not be underestimated. The high-sounding titles, salaries, ministerial houses, trading and business opportunities were bound to attract some groups in the country. The effects of Bantu Education and the intensive racialistic, ethnic and reactionary propaganda spewed forth by the local Msakazo, Radio Bantu and numerous fancy journals, and producing a narrow social grouping that could be the basis of a compradore, collaborator class.

'Yet, over and over again, the Government is forced by the logic of its anti-African policy of oppression to act even against the potential collaborator.' It promised that only Africans would be allowed to trade in segregated townships. 'The next thing was the edict that all African traders must leave the urban areas and proceed to the homelands in the progress of the peoples in this area, which is strategically important and is rich in oil, evoke the violent hatred of the imperialists and the oil monopolies, which are weaving a web of intrigues and plots against this movement, and are resorting to wars and aggressive actions.

To defeat these plots, repel acts of aggression and preserve all the gains of the Arab movement, increasingly deep social and economic changes, progressive national fronts and democratic rights for the people and for the progressive national forces are, among other things, of key importance.

Newly independent countries

Social differentiation is developing in the newly independent countries. There is a sharpening conflict between the working class, the peasantry and other
democratic forces, including patriotic minded sections of the petty bourgeoisie on the one hand, and on the other imperialism and the forces of domestic reaction, the elements of the national bourgeoisie which are increasingly accepting a deal with imperialism.

In a number of young states the social role and political activity of the working class have increased. The importance of international ties between the young proletariat of the countries of Asia and Africa and the working class of the socialist countries and the capitalist states is growing.

The toiling peasantry has great revolutionary potential. It is taking an active part in the struggle against imperialism, for the national liberation of peoples, and for consolidating the independence of the young states. Communists are intensifying their activity among the peasants and are carrying proletarian ideology into their midst.

In most of the independent Asian and African states, along with the task of consolidating and safeguarding political independence and sovereignty, the central problems of social progress are to overcome economic backwardness, set up an independent national economy including their own industry, and raise the people's standard of living. The solution of these problems involves far reaching social and economic changes, the implementation of democratic agrarian reforms in the interests of the working peasantry and with its participation, the abolition of out-dated feudal and pre-feudal relations, the ending of oppression by foreign monopolies, the radical democratisation of social and political life and the state apparatus, the regeneration of national culture and the development of its progressive traditions, the strengthening of revolutionary parties and the founding of such parties where they do not yet exist. The pressing problems of social development of these states are the object not only of sharp struggle between the neo-colonialists and the peoples of these countries, but also of internal social conflicts. The establishment of relations of friendship and effective co-operation with socialist countries is of great importance for independent Asian and African countries.

Under the impact of the revolutionary conditions of our time, distinctive forms of progressive social development of the newly free countries have appeared, and the role of revolutionary and democratic

Reserves. This means ruin to the very traders who had been so anxious to sing hallelujahs and hurrahs to the government.'

As with the Africans, so with the Indian and Coloured communities. 'As the network of the Indian and Coloured Affairs Departments spreads, the real rights and opportunities become narrower. Oppression, restrictions, fear have been intensified.'

MILITARISATION

The real intentions of the fascist government are to be seen in the spectacular increase in military and security budgets. Defence estimates have jumped from 44 million rand in 1960/61 to 255 million rand in 1966/67. In the same period police expenditure has risen from R 36 million to R 86 million.
The Security Council embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa has not been effective. Some countries, like France, have ignored it. Others have co-operated in the building of arms factories in South Africa with foreign capital and techniques, under licence from such firms as Britain's I.C.I., FN of Belgium and Panhard of France. South Africa's white minority is behaving as if she is involved in preparations for a large-scale war. For the first time universal conscription has been introduced for whites. From the age of 17 all white males have to undergo nine periods of military training, the first period being twelve months. 'This is the burden South Africa has imposed upon itself as the gendarme of imperialism in Africa.' However, South Africa is not the unassailable fortress of white domination painted by government propaganda, wherein 'peace and quiet prevail'. The revolutionary organisations are overcoming the problems of working under fascist conditions. Thousands of leaflets have been distributed in the country calling on the people to organise and resist. On Freedom Day (June 26) last year, the ANC militants at home showed their daring and courage in magnificent demonstrations. More recently, the Durban dockers, coming out on strike for better wages and conditions, gave a stir.

forces has been enhanced. Some young states have taken the noncapitalist path, a path which opens up the possibility of overcoming the backwardness inherited from the colonial past and creates conditions for transition to socialist development. In these countries a socialist outlook is making headway, overcoming great difficulties and trials. These states are waging a determined struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. Countries which have taken the capitalist road have been unable to solve any of the basic problems facing them. Confronted with rising popular discontent, the internal reactionary forces in these countries are intensifying with imperialist support their assault on democratic freedoms. In a number of cases they are brutally suppressing the mass democratic and patriotic movements. They are kindling conflicts between national, ethnic, religious, tribal and linguistic groups, thereby jeopardising the independence won by these countries. The imperialists show special hostility toward states with progressive regimes. To turn these countries away from their chosen path the imperialists seek to subvert their political parties, subject educational and cultural institutions and mass media to their influence, organise counter-revolutionary activities through their agents and back reactionary elements in the state apparatus and the armed forces. They try to utilise anti-communist prejudices to spread discord among patriots.

The way to carry out the tasks of national development and social progress and effectively rebuff neo-colonialist intrigues is to raise the activity of the people, enhance the role of the proletariat and the peasants, rally working youth, students, intellectuals, urban middle strata and democratic army circles--all the patriotic and progressive forces. It is this kind of unity that the Communist and Workers' parties are calling for.
Communists light for the freedom, national independence and socialist future of their peoples. They are bearers of the ideas of scientific socialism and fight in the vanguard of the national liberation movement. This movement and the social progress of the peoples in the newly liberated countries requires close cooperation between the Communist and Workers’ Parties and the other patriotic and progressive forces. A hostile attitude to communism and persecution of communists harm the struggle for national and social emancipation. Most of the Latin American countries won state independence early in the last century. They have, by and large, travelled a long way along the road of capitalist development; a large proletariat has emerged and is growing and becoming steeled in struggle both in town and country, and there are Communist Parties in practically all these countries. The Latin American peoples are struggling against a common oppressor and exploiter, US imperialism, which has placed the entire continent in a position of dependence, regarding it as its strategic hinterland. Some of them are still lighting colonial domination. The struggle for genuine national sovereignty and economic independence is intertwined with an acute class struggle against capitalist exploitation and, above all, against the foreign or local monopolies and the latifundia. Feudal survivals have remained in many countries where there is a

ing example of courage and revolutionary spirit; and the non-white doctors electrified the country by their militant protest against unequal pay - they receive about half the salaries paid to white doctors.

'Our people know,' the Report continues, 'that the forces of the ZAPU/ANC alliance are fighting in Zimbabwe.' That is what spells doom for the state of white supremacy and apartheid. In the words of the Acting President-General: South Africa... has been drawn fully into armed confrontation with our revolutionary forces. It is clearly only a matter of time before this confrontation spreads itself to the valleys, mountains and bush of South Africa. There is nothing whatever that can halt the spread of the revolution to every part of Southern Africa...

The tasks of the ANC and the movement are to mobilise the entire people inside the country; to intensify the armed struggle, to find the correct strategy and tactics. 'This involves a correct assessment of the strength and weaknesses of the enemy and its imperialist allies; as well as our own strength and weaknesses, our potential and that of the whole anti-imperialist forces.'

THE IMPERIALIST CAMP

Our immediate enemies, the white fascist regime in South Africa, are an important and integral part of the imperialist camp. Internationally the imperialists’ main preoccupation today is a desperate attempt to stem the anti-colonialist revolution and to regain their former positions of political economic and military dominance over the peoples of the world. To achieve their objective they have embarked upon a global strategy of reactionary and brutal counter-attack against progressive governments and revolutionary liberation movements. The Report instances a number of examples of imperialist methods; the fomenting of hotbeds of war and acts of provocation; the use of 'springboards' in all
continents, such as Israel in the Middle East; Japan in Asia; In Africa, fascist
South Africa is the main bulwark and fortress of reaction and imperialism. It is of
great economic and strategic value.

Struggles are being waged for democratic
demands and against tyrannical dictatorships, which latter constitute a very
negative factor in the historical development of the continent.
The Cuban revolution has broken the chain of imperialist oppression in Latin
America and has led to the establishment of the first socialist state on the
American continent, marking a historic turning point and opening in this region a
new phase of the revolutionary movement. In this part of the world militant
democratic, anti-imperialist movements and revolutionary processes are
developing which will pave the way to socialism.
The proletariat, and the Communist and Workers' Parties play an increasingly
important role in the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America. The existence
and activity of the working class is an historic advantage and a guarantee of its
further development. The struggle of the people for their economic and political
demands and for their revolutionary aims assumes diverse forms. The popular
movement in Latin America is gaining momentum in a grim struggle against
aggressive imperialism and internal reaction. In some countries it takes the road
of armed struggle. In the course of this struggle the fighting spirit of the working
class grows, the political consciousness of the peasantry is awakened, and the
rural population is aroused. The foundations of a workers' and peasants' alliance
are thus being laid.
Wide sections of people, students, progressive intellectuals and the urban middle
strata are forming an alliance with the proletariat. Joint action and anti-imperialist
unity against reactionary regimes are gaining in strength. The mounting struggle
against exploitation and poverty, and against imperialist oppression makes
forward looking religious circles sympathise with progressive aspirations.
Patriotic and democratic trends are gaining ground in the armed forces of some
countries.
It is of paramount importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to
strengthen the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working
class movement and national liberation.

FOR UNITED ACTION
The social and political situation in the world today makes it possible to raise the
anti-imperialist struggle to a new level. Decisive superiority over imperialism and
the defeat of its policy of aggression and war can be secured by intensifying the
offensive against it. This insistently demands concrete practical steps and actions
on all continents in order to give a clear perspective to the democratic and
progressive forces, to all the forces desiring a positive solution of the major
problems worrying mankind today, in the interests of peace and the security of
nations.
The Communist and Workers' Parties represented at the meeting, aware of their
historic responsibility, propose united action to all communists of the world, to all
opponents of imperialism and to all who are prepared to fight for peace, freedom and progress.

in the whole global strategy of imperialism. 'The imperialists subvert anti-imperialist governments; hinder the progress of developing countries through neo-colonialist economic levers; support reactionary and puppet regimes in Africa, Asia and Latin America. They seek to assassinate revolutionaries of which the murder of Comrade Eduardo Mondlane of Frelimo is the most recent example. Imperialist agents foment splits and desertions in the ranks of liberation movements and progressive organisations; they slander the liberation movements and create spurious stooge organisations such as the PAC; they bribe spies, informers and traitors to try to wreck liberation movements. But this 'frantic counter-offensive' can and will be defeated by 'the united force of popular, progressive and revolutionary states and organisations.' Despite their massive military and economic potential, the imperialists are weak politically and incapable of real unity among themselves because of their constant economic rivalry. 'The rise of the anti-imperialist revolution is constantly undermining the false image of their superiority.'

The shattering and humiliating blows inflicted on the US in Vietnam has exposed the basic weakness of the leading and most aggressive imperialist power. Capitalism, 'which to the vast masses of the people spells ignorance, disease and poverty' is discredited throughout the 'third world'; and so is the anti-Communist campaign through which the imperialists try to justify all their crimes. Imperialism is increasingly facing inner crises and divisions.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT

The main reason for the crises of imperialism, declares the report, is the growing might of the anti-imperialist movement: 'the united struggle and efforts of all anti-imperialist states, organisation and individuals throughout the world. It is a broad movement composed of people with different political beliefs, of different races and colours, from different walks of life, but who are united by their hatred of the evils of imperialism and their firm belief in national independence, genuine democracy, race harmony and peace.

A primary objective of united action is to give all-round support to the heroic Vietnamese people. The meeting calls on all who cherish peace and national independence to intensify the struggle in order to compel US imperialism to withdraw its interventionist troops from Vietnam, cease interfering in the internal affairs of that country and respect the right of the Vietnamese people to solve their problems by themselves. The final victory of the Vietnamese patriots is of fundamental importance for strengthening the positions of the peoples in the struggle against imperialist diktat and arbitrary rule. Co-ordinated measures by all the countries of the socialist system and joint efforts by all Communist and Workers' Parties, all progressive parties and mass democratic organisations and by all other freedom and peace loving forces are needed to hasten this victory. The meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties welcomes the formation of the Revolutionary Provisional Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and
sees it as an important stage in the heroic liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people. The meeting calls for work for the successful outcome of the Paris talks, which is quite possible on the basis of the 10 points advanced by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The main link of united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the struggle against war and for world peace, against the menace of thermonuclear war and mass extermination which continues to hang over mankind. A new world war can be averted by the combined effort of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all peace loving countries, "public organisations and mass movements.

The defence of peace is inseparably linked up with the struggle to compel the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, which demands observance of the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial inviolability of every state, big and small, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for the rights of every people freely to decide their social, economic and political system, and the settlement of outstanding international issues by political means through negotiation.

The policy of peaceful coexistence facilitates the positive solution of economic and social problems of the developing countries.

The pillars of the anti-imperialist movement are the Soviet Union and other socialist states, in alliance with the progressive states in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the revolutionary liberation movements in countries which are still under colonial or white minority rule, and the democratic forces in the imperialist countries themselves.

Unity of all progressive forces against imperialism and the mobilisation of the vast masses of the people into a united anti-imperialist front will constitute a mighty and invincible force for the destruction of imperialism.

Already the liberation movements have won great victories. Within less than ten years the number of independent African states has reached 41; colonialism has been outlawed as an ideology. These victories grew out of the growing strength and unity of the socialist countries; the growth of militant and determined liberation movements in the colonial countries; the growing unity of all anti-imperialist forces; the conflicts and rivalries between different imperialist states;
and the inner crisis within each imperialist country and the fight of working class and other democratic forces within them. Nevertheless the counter-offensive of the imperialists has done serious damage; it has been helped by discord and disunity within the ranks of the anti-imperialist forces. This has 'spurred the imperialists to strike out right and left in Africa, Asia and Latin America.' The African National Congress is deeply interested in the unity of the anti-imperialist movement. The success of the struggle in South Africa, its duration and cost in human life, depend to a great extent upon the solidarity, strength and unity of the anti-imperialist forces of the world.

THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

The political report then turns its attention to the African revolution. Pointing out that the African National Congress of South Africa was a pioneer in the fight for all-African emancipation, 'the tutor, guide and inspirer of many a leader and organisation in parts of Africa which have now attained national independence', it comments on the irony of history that (not without reason) while millions of fellow-Africans

weakening of the ideological struggle. It helps to promote the class struggle against imperialism on a national and world wide scale. Determined class struggle for the abolition of the monopolies and their rule, for the institution of a genuinely democratic system and for the establishment of socialist power, whatever may be the road leading to the achievement of this goal, is an inalienable right and duty of the working people and their Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries. The communists of the world are in solidarity with this just battle.

Mass action against imperialism is a condition for implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence. Directed as it is against the warmongers, reactionaries and monopoly arms manufacturers, this policy meets the general interests of the revolutionary struggle against every form of oppression and exploitation, and promotes friendship between all peoples and the development of fruitful economic, scientific, technological and other spheres of co-operation between countries with different social systems in the interests of social progress.

Communists regard it as their duty to combat the imperialists' policy of whipping up international tension and any attempt by them aimed at bringing back the cold war, and to work for a relaxation of tension which is one of the most insistent and urgent demands of the peoples.

To preserve peace the most urgent task is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and to enforce the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. In urging the ratification of the treaty, the Communist and Workers' Parties see this as a link in the chain of measures designed to lead to nuclear disarmament and the destruction of nuclear weapon stockpiles. At the same time it is necessary to secure a ban on nuclear weapons and the ending of their production and testing.

The setting up of nuclear free zones in various parts of the world would be of great practical importance in improving the international atmosphere and strengthening trust between states. The main effort should be directed towards the prohibition of nuclear weapons. Nuclear energy should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.
It is necessary to step up the struggle for an effective ban on bacteriological and chemical weapons, which have been extensively used by the US forces in Vietnam.

The basic interests of the peoples demand the intensification of the struggle against militarism in all its forms, particularly against the military industrial complex of the USA and other imperialist states. We call on all peace loving forces to mount a struggle for a radical cutback in military budgets and for general and complete disarmament under effective international control, so as to switch resources now absorbed by the arms race to improving the working people's life, promoting the health services and education and rendering assistance to the developing countries.

Alongside its universal tasks, the struggle for peace has very important objectives of a more specific or more regional nature, the aim of which is to assure security in some continents or geographic zones. The attainment of these objectives which are interlinked corresponds to the interests and aspirations of all communists, all anti-imperialist forces, all the peoples of the world.

are celebrating the dawn of freedom and political independence, their brothers in the South are suffering ever worse repression, oppression and exploitation. Nevertheless the Africans of the South are greatly fortified and encouraged by these developments; more determined than ever to defeat the enemy and win power, however high the cost.

The African Revolution has shattered the myth of white superiority; African states have tilted the balance against the imperialists in world forums. The independent states have allocated massive funds for education and health services; proceeding rapidly to Africanise the civil services and lay the foundations of economic development and build up their power in every field.

Yet the African states embark on independence with a terrible legacy of colonial rule; and the imperialists continue to hamper their development. The establishment of the Organisation of African Unity is one of the most hopeful symbols of African aspirations and determination to secure a proper place for our continent in the world. It has, despite certain weaknesses in the OAU and some of its constituent states, greatly supported the liberation movements. Special tribute is paid by the ANC to the help rendered by Zambia, Tanzania, the United Arab Republic and Algeria 'who have been our mainstay through many a difficulty.' It is not only solidarity with oppressed Africans which should cause African states to support our struggle; for the situation in Southern Africa is a menace to African security. The extent of military collaboration between the Smith, Caetano and Vorster regimes is not sufficiently appreciated. South African forces, besides their massive presence in Rhodesia, where they outnumber those of the Smith regime, are conducting military actions jointly with the Portuguese against MPLA in Angola. 'For purposes of working out joint strategy, the Portuguese Commander-in-Chief and the South African Commandant-General meet at least once a month.' Behind this Unholy Alliance 'is an even more dangerous alliance of the imperialists - the US, Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, etc. They have
deliberately tried to build Southern Africa and South Africa in particular into a fortress of racialism and colonialism; the last outpost of imperialism in European security

The interests of world peace call for the disbandment of military blocs. As before the Communist and Workers' Parties consider that the existence of imperialist imposed military blocs and military bases on the territory of other states are an obstacle to co-operation between countries. A genuine guarantee of the security and one of the conditions for the progress of each European country must be the establishment in Europe of an effective system of security founded on relations of equality and mutual respect between all the states in the continent, on the combined efforts of all the European peoples. In this light the socialist countries have already declared for the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

The meeting emphatically condemns the provocative attempts of the imperialist powers, particularly the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain, to step up the activity of NATO. The disbandment of NATO would be a decisive step towards the dissolution of all blocs, the dismantling of all military bases on foreign soil and the establishment of a reliable system of collective security. In conformity with the interests of peace, the peoples demand that the imperialist states put an end to flights over foreign territories of bombers carrying nuclear weapons, that surface ships and submarines with nuclear weapons on board be barred from foreign ports, and demand the renunciation of any forcible actions and of the threat of force.

Attainment of lasting security on this continent is a problem which holds a paramount place in the minds and aspirations of the European peoples. The conferences of the Warsaw Treaty member countries in Bucharest in 1966 and in Budapest in 1969, and also the Karlovy Vary Conference in 1967, charted a concrete programme of action and measures to create a system of European security.

It is imperative to secure the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, in particular the frontiers along the Oder-Neisse and the frontier between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, and to work for the international legal recognition of the German Democratic Republic, for preventing West Germany from securing atomic weapons in any form, for the renunciation by the Federal Republic of Germany of her claim to represent the whole of Germany, the recognition of West Berlin as a separate political entity, the recognition that the Munich diktat was invalid from the very outset, and the banning of all neo-nazi organisations.

Peace and security in Europe demand the curbing of the revanchist forces in West Germany, guaranteeing the European peoples their sovereign right to be masters of their continent without interference from the USA, mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technological co-operation among the European countries, and the establishment of relations between them founded on a genuine relaxation of tension and mutual trust.

The principle of inviolability of neutral states must be respected unconditionally.
These states can make a major contribution to the policy of peaceful coexistence if they take advantage of every opportunity to act in a spirit of détente and peace.

Africa and a ready springboard to endanger the sovereignty of African states and threaten world peace. South Africa is a treasure house of the imperialists but more than that it is one of their most important strategic military bases and ally in global strategy directed against the forces of national liberation, democracy and peace.

Britain, in particular, is guilty of - behind a smoke-screen of 'condemnation of Rhodesia's rebellion' maintaining Rhodesia as a 'buffer state forming part of a reactionary iron belt barrier' for the Republic of South Africa. 'In pouring their forces into Zimbabwe the Vorster regime was trying to solve one problem but in fact created numerous others. The bane of South African military strategists is that by undertaking the defence of Southern Africa the fascist regime is giving its military forces an impossible task: creating a long line of defence over a wide area. But to fail to do this will be to allow the liberation forces in the neighbouring countries to achieve victory. ... For us the main strategic question is to see that the guerilla struggle spreads to South Africa itself. When that happens the dispersal of the enemy will, in strategic terms, be complete ... For this we need to launch the struggle at home.

To this end, the ZAPU/ANC alliance must be consolidated and extended to include FRELIMO, MPLA and SWAPO. Such was the principal political burden of the political report. Develop the struggle at home; hasten the return of the trained freedom-fighters; strengthen the ties with our friends abroad.

Special emphasis was laid in the steady support already received from the Liberation Committee of the O. A. U., though this body's unfortunate sponsorship of the PAC has not in any way helped the struggle.

The socialist countries, and the Soviet Union in particular, have been firm and consistent friends and supporters of the liberation struggle in South Africa. The German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Poland are close friends. There was great anxiety about the developments in Czechoslovakia which has always been a firm friend of the ANC. It is to be hoped that the situation there will soon return to normal.

Special mention was also made of Cuba ('far from our country but always very close to our revolutionary struggle') India ('cemented by Mahatma Gandhi's direct association

To achieve these aims energetic steps have to be taken in this direction and the problem of European security approached with initiative, with a will to achieve concrete practical measures.

The organisation of a broad congress of European peoples which would prepare for and facilitate the holding of a conference of states, is the most important of these initiatives.

The meeting calls on world public opinion to display unflagging and active solidarity with the peoples and countries which are constant objects of aggressive encroachments by imperialism-the German Democratic Republic, the Korean
Democratic People's Republic and the entire Korean people. The meeting calls for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the return of Taiwan, at present under United States military occupation. It remains the duty of communists and all other revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces in Latin America and throughout the world to defend the Republic of Cuba.
We communists call for united action against all imperialist acts of aggression, against recourse to local wars and other forms of intervention by imperialism in any area of the world. In face of the aggressive policy pursued by the imperialists and the ruling circles of Israel, we pledge solidarity with the Arab peoples who demand the return of the territories occupied by the Israeli invaders, this being an urgent demand and an indispensable condition for establishing peace and achieving a political settlement in the Middle East on the basis of the complete implementation of the November 1967 resolution of the United Nations Security Council. Communists reiterate their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for independence and national sovereignty, for liberation from every kind of economic and political hegemony of the imperialist circles and monopolies, for withdrawal from the system of military alliances and blocs imposed on them by the imperialist powers and against imperialist tendencies to step up the arms race on these continents and to preserve and create new hotbeds of tension, for dismantling foreign military bases and for establishing relations conducive to the free development of every people.
The demand of our epoch is to rid our planet completely of the curse of colonialism, destroy its last centres and prevent its revival in new, camouflaged forms.
We call on all men of goodwill, on all supporters of democracy, to work together to do away with the vestiges of colonialism and to struggle against neocolonialism. We urge effective international measures in support of the patriots of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, in support of all oppressed peoples.
One of the big problems of our time to which the Communist Parties draw public attention and which they are energetically striving to solve, is the elimination of the backwardness of many countries and entire continents engendered by prolonged colonial and imperialist rule. The main task facing these countries today is to promote economic, social and political development, which can be achieved only within the framework of genuine independence from imperialism and with our country') and other countries which have rendered exceptional support for South Africa's liberation. 'We have received much support from China in our struggle. Recently, through no fault of the ANC this support has been withheld.' Tribute was also paid to the support rendered to the fight against apartheid from the Scandinavian countries and to the growing number of people in the United States, France, Britain and elsewhere who vigorously oppose the policy maintained by their ruling circles, of aiding and abetting apartheid.
Deserving of particular recognition ‘wherever revolutionaries gather’ are the achievements of the people of Vietnam. This is a people that waged an incredible war of liberation for over twenty years. With unflagging determination and sacrifices, the heroic Vietnamese have written a chapter of history that will never be forgotten.

While concentrating greater resources and attention on the armed struggle and underground work at home, the movement must continue its external solidarity work. 'The South African Revolution is one in which international factors play and will continue to play a very large role,’ concluded this section of the Report. The high political level and dynamic content of the report characterises also the other main documents of the conference. The paper on the Freedom Charter takes a fresh look at this famous document, the common programme of the African National Congress and its allies, including the Communist Party. Do the conditions of armed struggle somehow invalidate some provisions of the Charter? Although the Charter was adopted 14 years ago, its words remain as fresh and relevant as ever... The Charter may require elaboration of its revolutionary message. But what is even more meaningful, it requires to be achieved and put into practice. This cannot be done until state power has been seized from the fascist South African government and transferred to the revolutionary forces led by the ANC.

The document on strategy and tactics places the developing armed struggle in South Africa in its overall internat-

Fascist menace

We consider it imperative to step up the fight against the fascist menace and relentlessly to rebuff pro-fascist provocations. Fascism is intensifying its activity at a time when the crisis of imperialism is growing sharper, when reaction is increasingly inclined to use brutal methods to crush the democratic and revolutionary forces. In Greece neo-fascism has seized power. In Spain the ultras are trying to return to fascist methods of repression and are making futile efforts to halt a powerful mass movement. In Portugal fascism, gripped by a crisis under the onslaught of the growing popular movement, is resorting to demagogy about liberalisation in an effort to cover up the actual continuation of its terroristic policy. In West Germany the neo-nazis have laid open claim to power. Neo-fascist activity links up with that of imperialist intelligence agencies, which engineer reactionary coups.

All these manifestations of fascism are coming up against growing resistance from the people, and this demands united action by all the anti-fascist forces, and also greater international support from the Communist and Workers’ Parties and from all democratic and progressive movements in every country.
The struggle against the fascist regimes is an essential part of action against imperialism and for democratic freedoms. It is the common task of all democrats, of all champions of freedom, irrespective of their political views, world outlook or religious beliefs, to redouble real support for the national progressive forces fighting centres of reaction and fascism, such as the governments of Spain and Portugal, the reactionary Colonels' Junta in Greece, the oligarchic military cliques in Latin America, and all other tyrannical regimes in the service of US imperialism.

We communists again call on everyone to unite their efforts in the struggle against the man hating ideology and practices of racialism. We call for the broadest possible protest movement against the most shameful phenomenon of our time, the barbarous persecution of the 25 million Negroes in the USA, the racist terror in South Africa and Rhodesia, the persecution of the Arab population in the occupied territory and in Israel against racial and national discrimination and against Zionism and anti-Semitism, all of which are fomented by reactionary capitalist forces and which they use to confuse the people politically.

Imperialism makes use of racialism to divide the peoples and maintain its rule. Wide sections of the people reject racialism and can be drawn into active struggle against it. In such action they will come to realise that the eradication of racialism is closely connected with the struggle against imperialism and its ideological foundations.

The interests of the struggle against imperialism, which attempts to stifle the basic human freedoms, demand a tireless fight to defend and
The feelings were expressed for all in the inspiring closing address by the Acting
President-General.

BEWARE THE WEDGE-DRIVERS
'These are the orders,' said Comrade Tambo, 'to our people; to our youth, our
army, to every soldier. These are the orders to our leaders. The order that comes
from this Conference is close ranks.'
Wage relentless war against disruptors and enemy agents!
Defend the revolution against enemy propaganda, whatever form it takes!

win freedom of speech, the press, assembly, demonstration and association, for
the equality of all citizens, and to democratise every aspect of social life. A firm
rebuff must be administered to any attempt and any legislation by reaction
designed to nullify the democratic rights and freedoms won in the course of hard
class battles. There must be systematic work both within these countries and in
the international arena to save the patriots and democrats who face death, to stop
arbitrary court rulings against communists and other patriots and to defend the
right to political asylum; there must be a fight for the release of the patriots and
democrats lying in jail.

We communists oppose all forms of oppression of nations and national minorities.
We want to see every nation or national group develop its own culture and
language; and we firmly defend the right of all nations to self-determination.
We communists are convinced that it is impossible to put an end to the policy of
imperialist aggression, to abolish colonialism and neocolonialism once and for all
and to uproot fascism and racial oppression, without resolute struggle against the
power of monopoly capital and for democratic demands which, once won, would
weaken the positions of imperialism as a whole and strike at the very foundations
of its rule. Such a struggle would create favourable conditions for achieving the
ultimate goals of the working class movement.
The present situation demands greater militant solidarity of the peoples of the
socialist countries, of all contingents of the international working class movement
and national liberation in the struggle against imperialism.
Communists regard it as an urgent task today to expose the criminal policy of
imperialism with greater vigour, and to make public opinion more alive to the
aggressive intentions and plans of imperialism.
This meeting calls on all organisations representing workers, peasants, office
employees, youth, students, intellectuals, women, or various groups and social
strata with different political, philosophic and religious convictions and views, on
realistically minded political leaders of the capitalist countries and on all
democratic parties, national and international progressive public organisations to
pool their efforts with those of the Communist and Workers' Parties for concerted
action in the anti-imperialist struggle for a relaxation of tensions and in defence of
peace. We invite them all to join in a broad and constructive exchange of opinion
on the widest possible range of issues bearing on the anti-imperialist struggle.
Communists favour the most democratic methods of preparing for and carrying
out united action with all progressive patriotic and peace loving forces on a
national, regional and international scale. They will do all they can to bring about
greater mutual understanding between the numerous and diverse anti-imperialist trends and movements, taking into consideration their specific features and showing respect for their independence. Forms of co-operation, chosen freely and by common consent, will make it possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level to meet the requirements of the present situation.

Be vigilant, comrades. The enemy is vigilant. Beware the wedge driver! Men who creep from ear to ear, driving wedges among us; who go round creating splits and divisions.

Beware the wedge-driver! Watch his poisonous tongue!

0. R. Tambo expressed complete confidence in the future of the South African revolution. 'We have no right to lose faith in the certainty of victory. We have our heroic fighters and gallant leaders, some of whom have laid down their lives; others among them languishing in many jails throughout the country. They have not shrunk in the face of enemy bullets; nor have they succumbed to the bullying and harassing tactics of jail warders.

We of South Africa have taken charge of a sector that is vital to the success of the struggle against imperialism.

The whole of the revolutionary forces of the world look upon us to play our role in this struggle. Our international duty is clear.

Let us march against the enemy!

The spirit, the resolutions and decisions of the Morogoro Conference of the A.N.C. have laid a firm basis for advances and for victory in the grim and long revolutionary struggle ahead. It will be for the movement as a whole, and each member of every section of it, especially the working class and its Communist Party, to see that that 'spirit and those resolutions are implemented in all our work, in factory and township, in the camps and on the battlefields.

IV

COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The meeting considers that the most important prerequisite for increasing the Communist and Workers' Parties' contribution to the solution of the problems facing the peoples is to raise the unity of the communist movement to a higher level in conformity with present day requirements. This demands determined and persistent effort by all the parties. The cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties is the most important factor in rallying together all the anti-imperialist forces.

The delegates to the meeting reaffirm their common views that relations between the fraternal parties are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity, and mutual support, respect for independence and equality, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Strict adherence to these principles is an indispensable condition for developing comradely co-operation between the fraternal parties and strengthening the unity of the communist movement.

Bilateral consultations, regional meetings and international conferences are natural forms of such co-operation, and are conducted on the basis of the principles accepted in the communist movement. These principles and these
forms give the Communist and Workers' Parties every possibility to unite their efforts in the struggle for their common aims, under conditions of the growing diversity of the world revolutionary process. All parties have equal rights. As there is no leading centre of the international communist movement, voluntary coordination of the actions of parties in order effectively to carry out the tasks before them acquires increased importance.

United action by Communist and Workers' Parties will promote cohesion of the communist movement on Marxist-Leninist principles. Joint action aimed at solving vital practical problems of the revolutionary and general democratic movements of our time promote a necessary exchange of experience between the various contingents of the communist movement. They help to enrich and creatively develop Marxist-Leninist theory, to strengthen international revolutionary positions on urgent political problems.

The delegates to this meeting proclaim their parties' firm resolve to do their utmost for the working people and for social progress, with a view to advancing towards complete victory over international capital. They regard joint action against imperialism and for general democratic demands as a component part and a stage of the struggle for socialist revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man.

They are convinced that the effectiveness of every Communist Party's policy depends on its successes in its own country, on the successes of other fraternal parties and on the extent of their cooperation. Every Communist Party is responsible for its activity to its own working class and people and, at the same time, to the international working class. Every Communist Party's national and inter-

Students in Revolt (II)
South African Students are Alive and Well and not Unaffected by World Events
Alexander Sibeko
Apartheid's bully-boy-in-chief, Prime Minister Vorster, likes to refer to South Africa's protesting students as 'little pink liberals' who are 'getting too big for their boots' and are being used by 'communist agitators and foreign elements'. He has threatened 'to send my boys in' to smash campus protests, and has in fact done so several times. He has warned, in that strict disciplinarian manner that has come to nauseate most of South Africa and the world: 'If the students have no selfdiscipline, and if their parents have no discipline, or if the universities are afraid - because of student power - to do their duty, the State not only has the right, but the duty to step in'.

From such remarks it is clear that South African students, more so even than their Western counterparts, are expected to adhere to that schoolroom maxim 'be seen but not heard' - or. else! In the rigid and ruthless power structure of apartheid South Africa one might have expected them to remain quiescent; yet the wonder of it all is that the present generation of students.- Black and sections of White - are in the process of
bravely storming the ramparts of traditional authoritarianism and racist domination.

Students on the March
Student protests are not new to South Africa. A section of White students, moderate and Western orientated, have over the years opposed apartheid legislation in the universities and the consequent loss of academic freedom. Black students, condemned to an inferior system of education, and an inferior existence, have been far more militant in their resistance. However, nothing quite like the events of the past year have been witnessed before. These protests should

national responsibilities are indivisible. Marxist-Leninists are both patriots and internationalists; they reject both national narrow mindedness and negation or underestimation of national interests and striving for hegemony. At the same time the Communist Parties, the parties of the working class and all working people are the standard bearers of genuine national interests, unlike the reactionary classes, which betray these interests.

The winning of power by the working class and its allies is the greatest contribution which a Communist Party fighting under capitalist conditions can make to the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism. The Communist and Workers' Parties are conducting their activity in diverse, specific conditions, requiring an appropriate approach to the solution of concrete problems. Each party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with concrete national conditions, fully independently works out its own policy, determines the directions, forms and methods of struggle and, depending on the circumstances, chooses the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism and also the forms and methods of building socialism in its own country. At the same time the diverse conditions in which the Communist Parties operate, the different approaches to practical tasks and even differences on certain questions must not hinder concerted international action by fraternal parties, particularly on the basic problems of the anti-imperialist struggle. The greater the strength and the unity of each Communist Party, the better can it fulfil its role both inside the country and in the international communist movement.

Communists are aware that our movement, while scoring great, historic victories in the course of its development, has recently encountered serious difficulties. Communists are convinced, however, that these difficulties will be overcome. This belief is based on the fact that the international working class has common long term objectives and interests, on the desire of every party to find a solution to existing problems which would meet both national and international interests, and the communists' revolutionary mission; it is based on the will of communists for unity on an international scale.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, regardless of some difference of opinion, reaffirm their determination to present a united front in the struggle against imperialism.

Some of the divergences which have arisen are eliminated through an exchange of opinion or disappear as the development of events clarifies the essence of the
outstanding issues. Other divergences may last long. The meeting is confident that
the outstanding issues can and must be resolved correctly by strengthening all
forms of co-operation among the Communist Parties, by extending inter-party
ties, mutual exchange of experience, comradely discussion and consultation and
unity of action on the international arena. It is the internationalist duty of every
party to do everything it can to help to improve relations and to promote trust
between all parties, and to undertake further efforts to strengthen the unity of the
international communist move-
not be seen as a mere continuation of those that have taken place in previous
years, for there are signs of a radicalisation amongst White students which has not
existed before and needs to be explained. The militancy of Black students has
been reaffirmed, and although a tiny minority of the student population they are
arousing the correct responses from the student movement as a whole.
Despite complex problems, the limitations imposed on White student protests by
their class interests, the strict control and regimentation of Black students, the
enforced segregation of the groups from one another, and the everpresent
likelihood of a vicious crack-down by the State, the demonstrations are
developing and growing. The Mafeje controversy, the Fort Hare resistance and
expulsions, police swoops on the Witwatersrand campus and elsewhere, have
acted as powerful catalysts and rallying points. The protests are breaking-down
the Government-imposed isolation of the various campuses, and have often been
as sudden and unexpected as the angry May 7 march of Turfloop students on their
rector's office.
Behind the demonstrations for university autonomy, and against apartheid, is a
growing political awareness on the part of the students involved, and the
development of united action linking Black students and anti-apartheid White
students. This nationwide protest of the young is moving to a higher and
important new stage with mass student demonstrations in support of, and timed to
coincide with, the threatened resignation from the hospital service by Black
doctors at the end of May, 1969.
The upsurge of student protest is significant and deserves the support of all
progressives and revolutionaries. Taking place in a period of unprecedented
fascist repression, with the national liberation movement of the African people
(the decisive force influencing events in South Africa) driven deep underground,
the fact that such demonstrations have taken place at all has come as a surprise to
many. Not that the student movement is going to bring about the downfall of
apartheid. Not by a long chalk. But current developments in South Africa, such as
the Durban dockworkers' strike, the battle of Black doctors for equal pay with
Whites, similar
ment. This unity is strengthened by a collective analysis of concrete reality.
Scientific socialism
The policy of joint anti-imperialist action demands that the ideological and
political role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the world revolutionary process
should be enhanced. Marching in the front ranksof the revolutionary, liberation
and democratic movements, communists will continue to fight uncompromisingly against bourgeois ideology, and to explain to the working people the real meaning of their struggle and the conditions for victory. To wage a successful struggle against imperialism and to ensure the victory of their cause, communists will propagate the ideas of scientific socialism in the working class movement and among the people, including the youth, they will consistently uphold their principles and work for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and, in accordance with the concrete situation, fight against right and left opportunist distortions of theory and policy, against revisionism, dogmatism and left sectarian adventurism. These deviations tend generally to underestimate the importance of the real forces which can and must be drawn into the struggle.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism, and dedicated and devoted service in the interests of their peoples and the common cause of socialism are essential for the efficacy and correct orientation of united action by the Communist and Workers' Parties and are a guarantee that they will achieve their historic goals.

The communist movement is an integral part of modern society and is its most active force. Hence the banning of Communist Parties is an attack on the democratic rights and vital interests of the peoples. The delegates support all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, without exception, which fight for their right of legal participation in the political life of their countries. We emphatically condemn the brutal repressions and terror which have claimed the lives of thousands upon thousands of communists and other democrats and revolutionaries in Indonesia, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, Paraguay, Guatemala, South Africa, Thailand, Haiti, Malaysia, Iran, the Philippines and other countries. We proclaim our solidarity with our fellow fighters in the common struggle who are lying in the jails of fascist and dictatorial regimes, in prisons in the capitalist countries, and we work for their release.

The delegates regard this meeting as an important stage in the cohesion of the world communist movement. They consider that the absence of certain Communist and Workers' Parties should not hinder fraternal ties and co-operation between all Communist and Workers' Parties without exception. They declare their resolve to achieve joint action in the struggle against imperialism, for the common objectives of the international working class movement, as well as with the Communist and Workers' Parties not represented at the present meeting.

The struggle against imperialism is a long, hard and strenuous fight.

Rumblings from African schoolteachers and nurses, and the student discontent, are all indications that political protest is by no means dead and has the appearance of developing new forms. All this at a time when the traditional methods of organising the masses have been savagely curtailed!

Although the South African revolution is on the threshold of armed struggle - the only way of overthrowing apartheid repression and making South Africa free for all who live in it - this certainly does not preclude or make irrelevant other forms of struggle. Rather, the dialectic of a Peoples' War will accelerate the
contradictions inherent in apartheid and powerfully stimulate mass struggle and opposition. We must bear this in mind when assessing any protest from whatever quarter in South Africa. Black Students - White Students - Two South Africas. The composition of South African university students is so varied that they cannot be considered as a single unit or social group. The entire educational system is compulsorily segregated along racial and linguistic lines for all population groups, with further sub-divisions along ethnic and tribal lines for Africans - a set-up as foreign to the idea of a university as can be devised. Of 50,000 university students (enrolment with the University of South Africa, which offers degrees by correspondence, is excluded) a mere 4,000 are Black who attend the five government-controlled tribal colleges for African, Coloured and Indian students.

The four English-language universities, where White student protest has been confined, have a student population of 20,000. The Afrikaans language universities - there are now seven have a combined enrolment of over 25,000. Each of these groups acts in terms of the position it occupies in the social structure of South African society. The privilege and prosperity of White South Africa is achieved at the expense of the ruthless exploitation and discrimination suffered by Black South Africa. This relationship is best reflected by the attitude of Afrikaans-speaking students who uphold White supremacy and, almost unanimously, support the ruling Nationalist Party. However, there have been faint glimmerings of criticism among small sections of To step up the offensive against imperialism and internal reaction. The revolutionary and progressive forces are certain to triumph.

Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!

Afrikaans students at Stellenbosch and Pretoria Universities, which suggest a distaste for the Government's interference on the campuses. This would have been unheard of a few years ago.

English-speaking students, although generally more prosperous in origin than Afrikaans students, vary from the largely indifferent and apathetic to the critical in the attitudes they adopt towards the regime. The basis for this is to be found in the historical political and economic rivalry of Afrikaans and English-speaking South Africa. After a long and bitter feud with British Imperialism and its English-speaking connections in South Africa, Afrikaner capital finally won political control in 1948 on the basis of the narrow nationalism it invoked. Whilst the Afrikaans universities are obsessed with their Christian National God, and inculcate the virtues of racial exclusiveness, the English-language universities attempt, or pretend, to remain faithful to the 19th Century liberal values upon which they were founded.

Limited though such an environment is, it certainly makes the English-speaking students more open-minded than the rest of White South Africa. At university...
they tend to be out-of-step with White 'baasskap' thought, and seek some contact - difficult though it is - with Black students; as graduates they enter the world of commerce, industry and the professions, soon claiming the suburban house with swimming pool, double-garage and retinue of - servants. Some sickened by the system opt-out and emigrate abroad. Just a handful have had the capacity to merge their interests with those of the African people, and have paid the price in terms of imprisonment and exile. However, at no previous stage have students from this group been involved in antigovernment demonstrations as is being seen today. In addition these protests are tending to be more lively, critical and vociferous. We need to explain the reasons for this new phenomenon and look to the direction in which it might lead.

The insignificant number of Black students attending university reflects the basic racial inequalities found in every facet of the country's life. The chances of a Black Independence, Freedom and Peace for VIETNAM

The International Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties sends the fraternal Vietnamese people its warm militant greetings and wholeheartedly congratulates them on the historic successes achieved in the struggle against United States aggression.

We send good wishes in particular to the vanguard of the Vietnamese people, the Workers' Party of Vietnam and its central committee, and to the great patriot and internationalist Comrade Ho Chi Minh, who is an outstanding member of the international communist movement. The Workers' Party of Vietnam is the inspiring and guiding force in the struggle against the aggression of United States imperialism. That party consistently defends the national interests and the outpost of socialism in South East Asia.

We send warm greetings to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the legitimate representative of the population of South Vietnam and the tried and tested organiser and leader in the heroic resistance struggle against United States aggression. The political programme of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is the basis for unifying the entire population of South Vietnam in their just struggle for liberation.

The International Conference unconditionally supports the ten point programme, "The Principles and the Main Content of a Total Solution of the South Vietnamese Problem as a Contribution to Restoring Peace in Vietnam," which was put forward on May 8, 1969, by the central committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

This programme proceeds on the basis of the main principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and on the basis of the present situation in Vietnam. It is based on the political programme and the positions of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam consisting of five points, and corresponds to the fourpoint position of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The proposed
solution of the South Vietnamese problem fully accords with the national rights of the Vietnamese people and with the interests of peace throughout the world. It guarantees the population of South Vietnam the right to self-determination and a lasting peace in Vietnam, and it also corresponds to the interests of other peoples in IndoChina.

The right of the Vietnamese people to wage a struggle in defence of South African gaining a university place are extremely remote. It is estimated that 0.05% of Africans attain some university education. For every 100,000 in the population group concerned, 886 Whites, 352 Indians, 74 Coloured, and 13 Africans, reach Standard 10 - when pupils are eligible to take their university entrance examinations.* Secondary school pupils who gain a university entrance certificate are pigeon-holed to Fort Hare if of Xhosa descent, to Turfloop in the Transvaal if Sotho, to Ngoya if Zulu, to Salisbury Island, Durban, if Indian, and to the College of the Western Cape if Coloured in origin. Respective enrolment at these dispersed 'bush' colleges is 451 at Fort Hare (1968 figure), 641 at Turfloop (1969), 371 at Ngoya (1968), 1,701 at Salisbury Island (1969), and 351 (1962) at the College of the Western Cape. An additional 450 Black students are enrolled at Natal University which operates a 'Non-European Section' in a dilapidated Durban building, 3 miles from the White campus.

This system of education far from attempting to universalise knowledge and experience seeks to artificially preserve the identity of each racial group in accordance with the Government's policy of separate development. The purpose is to maintain the traditional Black-White relations in South Africa or as the Government spokesmen put it, 'to preserve the European and his civilization in this multi-racial land'. The enforced isolation, and stifling environment of the tribal colleges condemns the Black student to an inferior system of higher education. Black graduates have next to no prospects, but are faced with a dearth of jobs in the Bantustans, and with job reservation, discriminatory pay and influx control in the White areas. Unless he leaves the country the Black graduate does not achieve a status very different to the rest of his people. He is still looked upon with contempt and expected to maintain a servile attitude to even the most ignorant of Whites. Black students, like their counterparts elsewhere in the colonial world, are likely to participate in the revolutionary

* Bantu Education to 1968, a South African Race Relations publication, by Muriel Horrell.

their motherland is the sacred and inalienable right of all peoples to self-defence. The struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom and independence arouses in the peoples feelings of deep respect and admiration. The staunchness and heroism of the Vietnamese people and their confidence in their victory are an example and inspiration in the struggle against imperialism, for the preservation of peace, for the liberation of the peoples from exploitation and oppression. While defending their homeland, the Vietnamese people are at the same time doing their international duty and rendering a service to the noble cause of safeguarding
peace throughout the world. In this profoundly just struggle of the Vietnamese
people we have been and shall be firmly linked in solidarity with them.
The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the United States'
aggression is a key component of the worldwide struggle between socialism and
imperialism, between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction.
In carrying out their armed intervention in Vietnam, the US imperialist forces set
out to smashed one of the socialist outposts in Asia, to bar the peoples of Indo China
from the road towards peace, freedom and progress, to strike a blow against the
revolutionary national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America,
and to put to the test the strength of the solidarity of socialist countries and all the
anti-imperialist forces.
These plans of United States imperialism are doomed to failure.
With tremendous support from the socialist countries, and in the first place from
the Soviet Union, as well as from all the peace loving peoples of the world, the
Vietnamese people have shown the United States, the most powerful force of
imperialists, that its strength is not unlimited.
The barbarous crimes committed by the American interventionists against the
Vietnamese people, the use of biological, chemical and other means of mass
annihilation-this genocide in the true sense of the word-outrage the conscience of
mankind. They reveal for all the peoples to see, the actual inhuman essence of
imperialism.
Epic struggle
All this has led to the aggressor becoming increasingly isolated, politically and
morally, from the broadest strata, including the ruling circles of some capitalist
countries. In the United States itself, ever wider circles of the population are
coming out against the dirty war in Vietnam, the consequences of which are
shaking American society.
The heroic, epic struggle of the Vietnamese people is one of the determining
factors in the movement of the peoples against imperialism, a factor which finds
expression in militant actions by the youth and students.
In spite of the use he has been making of his gigantic military machine, the
aggressor was compelled to end unconditionally the bombing of the territory of
the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and agree to quadripartite talks, with the
South Vietnam National
struggle to overthrow apartheid and liberate South Africa. This is the reason why
so many African graduates, like Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, have gone on
to play outstanding roles in the liberatory struggle, and why the revolt of the tribal
colleges is of far greater significance than the protests on the White campuses.
The South African educational system, as with all the other relationships
stemming from White domination, exhibits the characteristics of what the South
African Communist Party terms 'colonialism of a special type': where the
oppressing White nation occupies the same territory as the oppressed people
themselves and lives side by side with them.
On one level, that of 'White South Africa', there are all the features of an
advanced capitalist state in its final stage of imperialism’ ... But on another level,
that of 'Non-Whit6 South Africa', there are all the features of a colony ... It is this combination of the worst features bath of imperialism and colonialism, which determines the special nature of the South African system ...*

The respective roles and contribution of Black and White students can only be understood in the light of such a perspective. It explains why Black and White students, although more or less in simultaneous protest, are operating at two different levels. In the one instance there is the Black student inevitably involved in the struggle for the national emancipation of his people; in the other instance there is the student from the dominant racial group, not unlike the White American protestor, who is growing sick with the rotteness of his society.

We quite correctly stress that the powerhouse of the South African revolution is the struggle of the African people. We must not turn a blind eye to the revulsion which sections of White students are developing for South African society, nor should we scoff at their efforts for not being radical enough. If American society is turning inward on itself over the war in Vietnam, then might not 'White South Africa' - an imperialist state in its own right - display similar convulsions when it is faced with the revolt of its

* The Road to South African Freedom, Programme of the South African Communist Party.

Liberation Front participating on an equal footing. In South Vietnam, the People's Liberation Armed Forces are unceasingly striking heavy blows against the United States interventionists and their puppets. People's power has been established over an overwhelming part of the territory. The bankrupt puppet regime remains in power thanks only to the bayonets of United States imperialism. All these are important successes of the heroic Vietnamese people, of the world socialist system, of the international communist and working class movement and of all the forces of peace and progress.

The successful struggle of Vietnam reflects the changes in the balance of forces in the world and the growing might of the forces of socialism, democracy and national liberation on a world scale.

The determination of the international communist movement and also of all *the anti-imperialist forces to achieve consolidation and unity of action in the struggle against the common enemy of mankind imperialism, has been vividly and concretely expressed in the broad movement in support of Vietnam and against United States aggression.

The struggle of the Vietnamese patriots shows that a people which consistently fights against imperialism for freedom and independence, and which has on its side the Soviet Union, all the socialist countries and the peaceloving forces of the whole world, is invincible.

The stronger the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement and all the anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against the common enemy - imperialism, the greater are their successes.

The more vigorously the Communist and Workers' Parties raise the banner of freedom of the peoples and step out in the forefront of the struggle against the
imperialist policy of aggression, the broader and the more effective is the
development of the anti-imperialist movement of the people.
In spite of the heavy defeats they have suffered, the militarist circles of the United
States have not yet given up their aggressive neo-colonialist plans with regard to
Vietnam, and they are continuing their attempts to achieve a military solution of
the Vietnamese problem. They are persisting in their dangerous path of expanding
the military conflict, as is proved by the intensified bombing of the territory of
Laos and the continued provocations against neutral Cambodia.
The United States government and its representatives in Paris are stubbornly
refusing to discuss, in a businesslike and realistic way, the just demands of the
government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation
Front of South Vietnam, and in the first place the complete and unconditional
withdrawal from South Vietnam of the troops of the United States and other
parties to the aggression. Instead, they are trying to mislead the public throughout
the world by means of demagogic trickery, and to achieve, through pressure at the
negotiating table, the successes which they have failed to obtain on the battlefield.
They are evading a solution to the main question of the complete and
unconditional withdrawal of the armed forces of the United States and its
satellites from South Vietnam, and are insisting on a so-called reciprocal
withdrawal of troops.
This means putting the aggressor on the same footing as his victim.

own 'Black Vietnam'? Are not White students showing right now that White
South Africa is far from the monolith people presumed?
U.C.T. SIT-IN AND FORT HARE LOCK-OUT
Black students were barred from the English-language universities by government
decree in 1959. In fact only the Universities of Cape Town (U.C.T.) and
Witwatersrand ('Wits') had admitted members of all races, even then observing
segregation in social and sporting events. The University of Natal was not
affected as it already operated its own full segregation; it has in fact three
geographical separate faculties, two for Whites in Pietermaritzburg and Durban,
and the third 'Non-European Section' in Durban. By ending racial inter-mixing the
Government hoped to enforce an acceptance in reluctant quarters of apartheid
policies, and at once proceeded with the creation of the tribal institutions.
Only Fort Hare, with a proud and independent academic record, attracting
students from all over Southern Africa and beyond, had been in existence at that
stage, and it was debased overnight into a tribal college for Xhosas by a
Government Transfer Act. The Government expected
through State control and systematic indoctrination, to retard the militancy of
African students and create tame flunkies to administer the 'Bantu homelands'.
These moves were fiercely resisted, particularly at Fort Hare where the
Government-appointed Principal, Professor Ross, was pelted with tomatoes when
he arrived to take up his position in October 1959. Fort Hare has been under
virtual police control ever since. At the same time the English-language
universities 'mourned' the murder of academic freedom by staging joint student-
staff processions in the cities.
The current wave of protests, nearly ten years later, are an infuriating challenge to Government policy and indicate that militancy, far from being curbed, has in fact accelerated. Whilst the Government boasted that all was 'peace and quiet' on the campuses, and that the tribal colleges were the 'pride and joy' of their people, the students were about to

United States imperialism, however, will never succeed in hiding the fact that it unleashed, and is stubbornly continuing, the aggression in Vietnam. American intervention in Vietnam is a constant threat to peace throughout the world, an outright challenge to all the peoples who are fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. The international communist and working-class movement, loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, will in the future, too, in the spirit of fraternal solidarity, continue to give the Vietnamese people all the necessary help until the final triumph of their just cause. The Communist and Workers' Parties are thereby making a big contribution in the cause of peace throughout the world, to the cause of freedom and socialism.

A just solution
The International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties earnestly declares that a just solution to the Vietnamese problem is possible only on the basis of guaranteeing the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people. At this present time, when the struggle of the Vietnamese people has entered an important stage and when, thanks to the initiative of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, all the necessary conditions have been created for a just political settlement, we demand:
The United States must give up its obstructive attitude at the quadripartite conference in Paris;
The United States must immediately stop its aggressive actions in Vietnam and completely and unconditionally withdraw from South Vietnam its armed forces and the armed forces of its satellites;
The United States must recognise the right of the population of South Vietnam to decide their internal affairs themselves, without foreign interference;
The United States must put an end to all actions directed against the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;
The United States must put an end to its interference and aggression in Laos and stop the violation of the territorial integrity of Cambodia and recognise her borders, and it must renounce its aggressive aims with regard to the states of South East and East Asia and strictly observe the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962.
We demand that Thailand, New Zealand, Australia and the South Korean puppet regime, and also the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan, put an end to their open or disguised involvement in the United States' aggression in Vietnam!
On behalf of the army of communists, many millions strong, we call upon honest people, upon all who cherish peace, justice, freedom and the independence of the peoples:
Voice more resolutely throughout the world your protest against the criminal war of American imperialism in Vietnam! Take a more active part in the international movement of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people!

explode the lie. When 1,000 U.C.T. students streamed into their administration block on August 16, 1968 and occupied it for several days, the significance of the action was not only in the fact that it marked a new spirit of militancy, or that this represented South Africa's first sit-in demonstration, but rather the target at which the protest was aimed. The students' loathing for apartheid policy was on the increase, but for the first time criticism was levelled - not at the Government alone - but at the so-called liberal University Council. The controversy arose when the U.C.T. Council appointed an African, Mr. Archie Mafeje, as senior lecturer in Social Anthropology, but later revoked the decision on Government insistence. The students were furious that their Council, who claimed to champion academic freedom, should co-operate in such a blatant act of racial discrimination rather than let the Government do its own dirty work. The general feeling of disgust was expressed by Professor Maurice Pope, of the Classics Department, who resigned and returned to England. 'The University should have closed down as some German Universities did under Hitler', he said, 'or at least it should renounce its title until such time as it had regained its autonomy, and go back to using its former name of the South African College.'

Solidarity demonstrations with the sit-in students quickly spread to the other campuses, despite threats from Vorster that he would intervene if the protests did not end. Wits students massed outside their gates in a defiant gesture when the City Council, acting on Vorster's instructions, banned their proposed march through the heart of Johannesburg. Counter-demonstrators hurled insults and rotten eggs while police stood by. The President of the Wits Student Representative Council declared: 'Students have now entered a new era of protest in this country... which are the start of nation-wide demands for a greater student say in the running of the universities... students were sick and tired of interference and would not be deterred by Mr. Vorster or anyone else.' A deputation of Wits students who attempted to see the Prime Minister in Pretoria were met by police with dogs, and Afrikaans-speaking students who beat them up.

Demand the withdrawal of the US armed forces and the armed forces of their satellites from Vietnam! Demand an immediate peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese question on the basis of ensuring the inalienable rights of the Vietnamese people! Give your support to the Ten Points proposed by the South Vietnam National Liberation Front! We call for new, diversified and ever more powerful and concerted actions by the anti-imperialist and peace loving forces in support of the Vietnamese people, who are fighting against US aggression!
Boycott the transportation of soldiers, weapons and materials for the interventionists and their satellites!
Let us turn July 20, the anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreements, into an international day of solidarity with Vietnam, a day of struggle for an end to United States aggression!
Glory to the heroic Vietnamese people, who are courageously fighting for independence and freedom!
Hold high the banner of international solidarity!
Independence, freedom and peace for Vietnam!
The just cause of the Vietnamese people will triumph!

Within a fortnight the focus of attention shifted dramatically to Fort Hare. The White student front, seething with excitement and life, awoke with shock to the realisation that the plight of their remote African colleagues was far worse than theirs. On August 16, the day the U.C.T. sit-in began, the Government was attempting to quietly install a new rector, Professor J. M. de Wet, at Fort Hare. The students boycotted the ceremony, which was addressed by Blaar Coetze for the Government, and political slogans were painted on the college walls. These were directed at Dr. Verwoerd, Vorster and Coetzee, and included 'Fort Hare for Africans not for Afrikaners' and 'Mafeje for U.C.T.' Subsequently 17 students were arbitrarily singled out by the Rector and held responsible for the defiance. They were taken away by the Security Police for interrogation and their rooms were searched. On 5th September, students boycotted their lectures in sympathy and staged a sit-down strike outside the administration block. On 6th September, the Rector suspended all those participating in the siege and gave them until 3 p.m. to disperse. At 3.05 p.m. 300 students (two-thirds of the student body) had refused to budge. Lustily singing freedom songs they were promptly surrounded by scores of police with dogs and equipped with teargas bombs and gasmasks. Chanting and singing 296 students were marched from the campus, placed on Railway buses and sent home. When about 100 of the students arrived in Johannesburg they were met by relatives and friends who sang 'Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika', the national anthem of the African National Congress.

The second wave of anti-government protests within a month followed at the English-language universities. At Wits police swooped on a 200-strong student picket, confiscated placards and took the names of those participating, who stood by singing 'We Shall Overcome'. Vigils and mass meetings supporting the expelled students and demanding their reinstatement were held at U.C.T., Rhodes and Natal. At Wits some of the Fort Hare students addressed a mass meeting and explained the causes leading to the strike. The students said they saw the College's administration as an

**APPEAL**
**IN**
**DEFENCE of PEACE**

We, z muentatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties attending tihe International Conferen= in Moscow, call on the nations of the world and on all
people, irrespective of their convictions and political views, to take joint actions in the interests of safeguarding and strengthening peace.

The struggle going on is about the most important thing of all-the future of the human race. During the first half of our century world wars took a toll of over seventy million human lives, and razed thousands of flourishing towns and villages to the ground.

The sinister atomic mushroom over Hiroshima is a tragic warning against the consequences which may be brought about by a third world war, if imperialism succeeds in unleashing it.

A world conflict in present day conditions, when nuclear bombs can reach any continent in a matter of a few minutes and can devastate huge territories, would mean the death of hundreds of millions of people and the turning of the treasures of world civilisation and culture to rubble and ashes.

Wars, acts of aggression and violence, encroachments upon the freedom of the peoples-all this has its sources in the policy of imperialism.

It is imperialism, and above all American imperialism, that steps up the arms race, sharpens international tension and foments conflicts and local wars in different areas of the world.

American imperialism, that sworn enemy of the freedom of the peoples, is striving by every means to suppress the national liberation movement, is hatching reactionary coups and is foisting anti-popular regimes upon the peoples and is propping them up.

For many years now, the American imperialists have been waging a war of aggression in Vietnam, making use of the most brutal means.

As a result of the Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples, a dangerous centre of tension is being maintained in the Middle East which might start a conflagration of war at any moment.

The provocative intrigues of imperialism against Cuba, off the shores of Korea and against many states in Asia, Africa and Latin America create a constant threat to peace.

Warlike West German imperialism is gaining strength in Central Europe and neo-nazism is rearing its head there. Relying on the aggressive. NATO bloc and acting in close alliance with American imperialism, the ruling circles of Bonn, which have not learnt the necessary lessons from the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, are pursuing a policy of revenge, are striving to secure nuclear weapons and are threatening the security of all the peoples of Europe.

extension of the system of separate development which they completely opposed.

They explained that at- a tribal college they were caught between the urge to question, which is the essence of education, and a system which makes certain questions dangerous. Police presence on the campus was a thorny issue, students felt 'they were under almost constant surveillance by the Special Branch or student spies for signs of political dissent.' Fort Hare was like a Dickensian boarding-school with 'the people most hated' by the students being the African wardens who enforced discipline and the hostel rules. They used duplicate keys to search
students' rooms, patrolled late at night, and made sure that no liquor or women were in the male quarters.

One student, told a Johannesburg newspaper that the Fort Hare confirmed his students' impression of him when he dents were children and -did not know what they were doing. 'At Fort Hare, we are living a quaint life in a quaint place, our lecturers being strange people with whom we have no contact at all except in the classrooms.' The Rector of Fort Hare confirmed his student's impression of him when he declared that the 'Fort Hare students might have been influenced by world student unrest' and 'the demonstrations could also have been timed to coincide with the new session of the United Nations.' The White students were warned by the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. M. C. Botha, that the affairs of Fort Hare did not concern them. But there was no turning back now, the events at U.C.T. and Fort Hare were beginning to crystalize the components of united and committed action.

THE ROLE OF NUSAS

The protests have been organised and co-ordinated on a national scale by the 24,000-strong National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). African students and White democrats have often been critical of NUSAS for its general European orientation, its moderate approach, its refusal to take a general political stand outside the university sphere, and its failure to identify with the liberatory movement. Its liberal stand on academic freedom, however, has made it a pet-hate of the Prime Minister. In recent years it has come

A threat to peace in Europe is created by the military bases granted to the American imperialists in different NATO countries and in Spain. The policy of aggression and wars, pursued in the interests of the profits of monopoly capital, increases the exploitation of wide sections of people in the capitalist states themselves, foments racial discrimination, encourages gross violence, leads to the restriction of democratic liberties and threatens the vital interests of the people.

The militarisation of the economy consumes huge material resources, lowers living standards and weighs heavily on the working people. Imperialism is responsible for the fact that the greatest achievements of science and technology, which open up new horizons before mankind, are directed towards destruction at a time when hundreds of millions of people are suffering from hunger and poverty.

That is why the struggle for peace merges with the struggle for the freedom of the peoples, for progress and democracy and for getting rid of foreign oppression, colonialism and neo-colonialism, reaction and fascist dictatorship.

An attainable goal

A lasting peace is today not a utopia; it is a perfectly attainable goal. Powerful social and political forces now exist in the world which come out against war, for a detente and for broad international cooperation.

The consistent peace loving policy of the first country of socialism the Soviet Union and of other socialist states, the mounting struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries, the growth of the national liberation movement and the
actions of broad sections of the world democratic public and of fighters for peace
do away with the fatal inevitability of a new world war, and create a concrete
opportunity for implementing the people's aspirations for peace.
Imperialism can no longer decide the destinies of the world at its own discretion.
The American aggressors have been compelled to stop their bombing raids on the
Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to start talks.
A treaty has been signed on the banning of nuclear tests on the ground,
derwater, and in outer space, and a non-proliferation treaty has been concluded.
This means that it is possible to achieve concrete results when the peoples act
vigorously and concertedly.
Although the danger of military conflicts will exist as long as imperialism exists,
peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems is realistic in our
time; but peaceful coexistence requires the constant and stubborn struggle of the
people against imperialism and against its positions of strength policy.
The struggle for peace includes the peaceful initiative of the socialist states, the
victorious battles fought by the Vietnamese patriots in the jungles of South
Vietnam, the anti-war demonstrations in the cities of Europe and America and the
struggle of the Japanese people against American military bases.
The cause of peace is also served by the actions of the working class
under increasing fire as one of the last remaining liberal institutions left in South
Africa. Since 1966 its presidents and several office-bearers have been banned,
deported or forced to leave the country on one-way exit visas. The Government
has been threatening to ban the organisation if it does not come to heel. In order to
defend itself NUSAS has had to seek more active support on the campuses. This
occurred when the English-speaking campuses were beginning to shrug-off the
apathy and indifference of the past. The new mood among White students is
influenced to a degree by world student unrest.
White South African students, who have been led to believe that Britain and the
U.S.A. represent model systems, are perplexed when they see middle class
students, not unlike themselves, in a state of almost continuous revolt 'with
capitalist society. This has led to a reassessment of their own ideas and a more
perceptive awareness of the power structure of South African society. During
1968 many teach-ins and debates were held on 'Student Power', 'The Role of the
University' and 'The Future of South Africa'. Many students began to demand a
greater say in the running of the universities and coupled this with demands for
the readmission of Black students.
. NUSAS was keeping abreast with this new mood and organised many such
discussions. It took a stand against the rebel Smith regime; quite a courageous act
in South Africa. In June it sustained a powerful, government-incited, attack by
right-wing students who called for the disaffiliation of the Wits, UCT and
Pietermaritzburg students' unions. NUSAS emerged from this test with increased
support as the move was heavily defeated in hotly-contested campus elections. In
the words of the President, the Government's attacks 'made NUSAS in the past
few years far stronger than it had been for some time'. 
In July, at its national congress, NUSAS expressed its belief that the ideas for which the late Chief Albert Lutuli stood 'will ultimately triumph in South Africa'. A resolution was passed praising Helen Joseph for 'her courage and perseverance' under house-arrest, and the Congress reaffirmed NUSAS opposition to Ian Smith. In a resolution dealing with

against the omnipotence of monopolies, by the resistance of the Latin American peoples against the dictatorships of the military cliques, by anti-colonial movements in the countries of Asia and Africa and by the struggle of the Negro population of the United States for their rights. Everybody who takes part in this struggle, irrespective of whether he wears workman's overalls, tills the soil or works in a laboratory, contributes to the common cause of safeguarding peace. We call on all working people-workers, peasants, intellectuals, scientists and men of culture and on all those who want to save and multiply the fruits of mankind's labour and creative efforts; On mothers and fathers, who are concerned for the future of their children; On young people and students who are striving to implement noble plans and dreams, and to devote their strength and energies to the flourishing of their countries; On members of parliament, statesmen and political leaders, who are alarmed for the fate of their peoples; On political parties, trade unions, public organisations and movements; On religious communities and associations, on people of different religious faiths; On participants in peace movements and anti-war campaigns; On all men and women:

To demand an end to the United States aggression in Vietnam, the withdrawal of American troops and respect for the sovereign rights of the Vietnamese people-independence, freedom and peace for Vietnam;
To strive for the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression in the Middle East on the basis of the resolution of the United Nations Security Council;
To fight for the complete abolition of colonialism and neocolonialism, for the achievement of independence by all the oppressed peoples, for the ending of the war waged by the Portuguese colonialists, for the extirpation of shameful racialism in South Africa and wherever it manifests itself, and for the abolition of corrupt regimes, henchmen of foreign monopolies;
To step up their efforts in the struggle for the complete implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states irrespective of their social systems, for the easing of international issues through talks, against the encroachment of imperialists' upon the independence and sovereignty of the peoples, for their right to determine their future themselves and for the development of broad equitable co-operation between states.
We call on all those who have lived through and remember the horrors of the last world war, on all the champions of peace in Europe, including the peace loving public forces of West Germany.
Let us bar the road to the policy of territorial claims pursued in the Federal Republic of Germany and to its desire to possess nuclear weapons; let us turn back the forces of neo-nazism!

Recognition of the actual situation which has developed in Europe as the result of the Second World War, the inviolability of the existing 'terrorism' (sic), NUSAS expressed its 'horror' at acts of violence - but at the same time, its 'belief that Government policies fostered acts of terrorism by oppressing a large section of the population'.

There have still been bitter feelings from Black students for NUSAS; or more accurately for certain NUSA.S affiliates. Delegates from the 'Non-European Section' of Natal University made a protest withdrawal from the July Congress when the Pietermaritzburg delegate was making his report. A breach in relations had been brought about between these two faculties of Natal University when the Pietermaritzburg students organised a segregated graduation ball. The Black students issued a statement condemning Pietermaritzburg for 'going completely against the basic policy of NUSAS, which is based on non-racialism'. Relations between Black and White students at Natal University have remained strained over issues such as this.

There are some Black students who are growing so hostile that they do not wish to work with any Whites. There has been a move to establish a South African Students Organisation (SASO) along NUSAS lines for Black students. An inaugural meeting was held at Marianhill at the end of last year, but not all who attended seemed sure about the effectiveness of such a body. There have of course been similar attempts to found such an organisation before, but these have floundered owing to financial and organisational problems. It would be extremely significant if SASO could survive and grow, but the difficulties may prove too great at the moment.

I feel however that Black Students should not turn their backs on NUSAS, particularly at this crucial stage of the struggle. Black students should have their own organisation but also work with NUSAS. White students are showing themselves more responsive to the demands of Black students than ever before. Black students have the potential to swing NUSAS and the White students into more radical positions. The danger of isolating the more moderate NUSAS leadership might bring it into a position of compromise with the Government.

Borders and recognition of the German Democratic Republic-these are the indispensable conditions for a lasting peace on the continent of Europe.

Let us launch a struggle for the creation of an effective system of collective security in Europe, and for an end to the division of the world into military groups, and for the establishment of an atmosphere of co-operation and mutual understanding among the peoples.

The way to this would be paved by a general European conference of states, as was proposed by the Budapest meeting of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

World peace cannot rely on the "equilibrium of fear." A lasting peace is unthinkable without an end to the arms race.
It is necessary to secure the establishment of nuclear free zones in different regions of the globe, the banning of all tests of nuclear weapons, the earliest possible entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the participation of all states in that treaty, and the banning of nuclear weapons and the destruction of stockpiles of those weapons.

It is necessary to demand the removal of military bases in foreign territories, the annulment of aggressive military pacts imposed upon countries and effective international prohibition of all types of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

It is necessary to strive consistently and stubbornly for general and complete disarmament.

We communists, despite the difficulties of the past, have preserved boundless loyalty to Lenin's ideas of international peace and friendship.

Today, as in the past, we shall fight for these noble goals of the human race, along with all those who come out against the policy of militarism, aggression and war.

For this purpose we are prepared to develop contacts and to cooperate with the most varied public and political forces.

Unity of all the progressive peace loving forces is the call of our times. Firmly united, we shall ensure the victory of the sacred cause of world peace!

This almost occurred when the NUSAS leadership offered to drop nationwide protests they were in the process of organising if the Minister of Police, Mr. S. L. Muller, would agree to see them. Muller, of course, complied and instead of staging the protests which were against police activity on the campuses, and the increasing use of informers and spies, the NUSAS leadership discussed these points with the Minister of Police himself. A very conciliatory meeting was held and the Press hailed the occasion as a 'New Era in Government-NUSAS relations'. The meeting took place in February this year, during the long summer vacation. There was a great deal of confusion and disquiet among White students and at Wits there was particularly strong resentment against the manoeuvre. When the academic year began in March a NUSAS leader from Cape Town had to fly to Johannesburg and calm the Wits students down. Fortunately the Government's typical hamhandedness saved the situation, for Vorster, Muller and other Ministers were soon back to the attack, slating and threatening the students in highly repetitive speeches.

PROTESTS PROTESTS PROTESTS

The mistrust of Black students for NUSAS seemed confirmed by the Muller interview. It certainly underlined the limitations of NUSAS, but it also indicated that a section of White students, particularly at Wits, were far ahead in their militancy of the national leadership. NUSAS now prepared for its next big campaign of nationwide demonstrations. These were to commemorate the English-language Universities' dedication to academic freedom made ten years previously at the time of the Government's Extension of the Universities Act of 1959. A week of re-dedication was organised involving vigils, pickets, marches, and climaxing in general assemblies and public meetings at the four English-language Universities on April 16.
It is estimated that more than 10,000 students took part in these protests, including students from the Johannesburg and Natal Teachers’ Training Colleges. The demonstrations

ADDRESS
on the centenary of the birth of
VLADIMIR LENIN
As we approach the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Lenin, the Communist and Workers’ Parties address their thoughts to the immortal genius of our revolutionary age.
Lenin's name has come to symbolise the triumph of the Great October Revolution and the major revolutionary achievements which have made basic changes in the social image of the world, and have marked mankind's turn towards socialism and communism.
Lenin was a profound thinker. He developed the science founded by Marx and Engels: dialectical materialism, political economy, the theory of socialist revolution and the building of communist society.
Lenin was the founder of the Bolshevik Party, the first proletarian party of a new type. He was the leader of the world's first triumphant socialist revolution. He was the founder of the world's first proletarian state and of Soviet socialist democracy.
Lenin was an implacable fighter against imperialism and reaction. He stood for the concerted action of all sections of the working people in battles against the common class enemy. He was a consistent internationalist, a champion of equality, peace, and friendship among peoples.
He condemned with anger all forms of racialism and chauvinism.
Lenin was the friend of the oppressed nations, the man who pointed out the successful road in the struggle against colonialism, for the independence and freedom of the peoples and for their right to determine their own destiny.
The recognised leader of the international working class, Lenin saw the proletariat as the leading force capable of carrying out the world historic mission of overthrowing capitalism and of effecting socialist changes in society.
The concept of an alliance between the working class and the peasants was Lenin's. He called for unity in the working class movement and was implacable towards opportunism in all its forms.
Under the influence of Leninism, a generation of communists grew up who were completely dedicated to the working class, the people and the cause of socialism.
Lenin's life and work, his noble qualities as a revolutionary, as a comrade and as a man, will always serve as an inspiring example for millions of revolutionary fighters the world over.
Guided by Leninism, the revolutionary movement in most countries rose to a new level. New Communist Parties were founded and grew strong. The international communist movement became a world force, the most influential political force of our time.
The experience of the international socialist movement and the working class and national liberation movements have confirmed the international significance of Marxism-Leninism.
were marked by a show of respectability on the one hand, involving all but one of the Principals of the Universities concerned, who signed the students' petition for academic freedom, and a vicious show of force by the Government on the other hand, with attacks on the students by Vorster's fascist thugs. Both the Johannesburg and Cape Town City Councils, again toeing the Vorster line, refused to allow marches through the city streets, on the grounds that 'these would provoke disorders'.

At Wits the students maintained a grim 24-hour-a-day picket for the entire week along the boundary of their campus (the busy Jan Smuts Avenue). Students 'were assaulted by hooligans and provoked by the police but they courageously held their ground. On one occasion when only ten students, including six girls, were manning the picket, 100 rowdies from the Air Force Training School near Pretoria, descended on the thin line, attacked the students and set their posters alight. But the biggest act of thuggery was perpetrated by the South African Police. One morning they arrested six pickets for parading outside the University grounds. When other students heard what had happened hundreds flocked out of the University and took up positions along Jan Smuts Avenue. 'Protect us from our police' their placards read. In mid-afternoon, at peak traffic hour, Jan Smuts Avenue was sealed-off by troop carriers and police vans. 200 policemen, with dogs and batons descended on the students and drove them back into the University. Students sang and chanted 'Sieg Heil' and 'Gestapo'.

During what must rank as the stormiest week in the experience of Wits, 19 other students were arrested and appeared in the courts on trivial offences, including three 17 year-olds who had to appear in a court for juveniles. At the end of the campaign the president of NUSAS, Duncan Innes, summed-up the feeling of students when he said: 'We know our universities can never be integrated until our society is integrated. We feel that apartheid is the cause of all that is wrong with South Africa.' Innes went on to indicate that there would be more nationwide demonstrations: 'Our opposition to apartheid is only beginning' he stated.

The triumph of the socialist revolution in a number of countries, the emergence of the world system of socialism, the gains of the working class movement in the capitalist countries, the beginning of independent social and political activity by the peoples of the former colonies and semi-colonies and the unparalleled advances of the anti-imperialist struggle are all proof of the historical truth of Leninism, a teaching that expresses the basic needs of our time. We have every right today to use the same words in speaking of Lenin's teachings as he himself used in describing Marxism: the teaching is all-powerful and for that reason true.

Source of inspiration

Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative use in concrete conditions helps us to find scientific answers to the questions which arise before all sections of the world revolutionary movement wherever they operate. Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, the great international teaching, is the guarantee of future success in the communist movement.
Communists see defence of the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and of working class internationalism as their task in the struggle against all opponents. They see their task as consisting of the undeviating translation of these principles into life, and the constant development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its enrichment on the basis of modern experience in class struggle and the building of socialist society.

Communists will always be loyal to the creative spirit of Leninism.

The approaching Lenin anniversary is a historic date of world importance. Communist and Workers' Parties are approaching this anniversary in conditions when an intensification of revolutionary activity is taking place, and are marking it by stepping up political and ideological work among the people and by expanding and strengthening their ranks.

They are sparing no effort to mobilise the revolutionary energy of working people in the struggle against imperialism and for the radiant ideals of socialism.

The delegates to the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties call on all communists, all fighters for the socialist transformation of society and all supporters of progress and peace to mark the centenary of the great Lenin's birth in a worthy manner.

Study the works of Lenin! In them you will find an inexhaustible source of inspiration for the struggle against reaction and oppression, for socialism and peace. Acquaintance with them will help the young generation to see with greater clarity the revolutionary prospects of our epoch. Publicise on a greater scale the achievements of Leninism, the successes of the socialist countries, the Communist Parties and all the revolutionary forces.!

Workers of all countries, peoples of the whole world, in the cause of the triumph of Lenin's ideals we call on you to join actively the great and noble battle of the working class for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

Let us raise higher the banner of Leninism in the struggle for the revolutionary renovation of the world!

Long live Leninism!

The struggle moves forward

No state can indefinitely rule when its power rests on the compulsion of the gun and the boot. Of the Fort Hare students sent home, all but 21 were readmitted, but under the most humiliating circumstances. Within a month the slogans were back on the walls: 'We want 21', 'Stamp out police informers' and 'Academic freedom'. At U.C.T. the Mafeje episode had an epilogue. In December 1968 the Chancellor of the University, mining magnate and financier Harry Oppenheimer, arrived to unveil a plaque commemorating the whole sorry affair. Students picketed the ceremony and held placards which stated: 'Plaques don't cure plagues', 'U.C.T. Council legislates for apartheid', and 'plaque - palliatives for hypocrites'.

These two incidents illustrate two important factors. One, that the Black students, and thus the African people, are unconquerable. With the development of the armed struggle the most dynamic forces will be unleashed which will overthrow apartheid. Two, that there is a strong feeling of moral revulsion against apartheid among White students. The liberatory movement must not lose this source of
potential support. Already the demonstrations planned for the end of May show a profound development within the student movement over the past year. The demonstrations are becoming more political, they are looking outwards from the university sphere and are finding links with other sections of the Black community. As regards the attitude of Black students to NUSAS it is interesting to note that the 450 critical students of Natal's 'Non European Section' are playing a full part in arrangements for the protests. One of the demands of the Turfloop students is the right to affiliate with NUSAS' Black students, a minority though they may be, can exercise a tremendo–is influence on the White students. They can maintain and develop the democratic and radical mood which has prevented White students from allying with the forces of reaction. This is part of the struggle on the road to South Africa freedom.

FINAL COMMUNIQUE
The International Conference of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Moscow from June 5 to 17. The delegates to the conference assessed it as a major event in the development of the struggle against imperialism, in the cause of achieving anti-imperialist unity of action by the widest sections of the people throughout the world, and as an important stage on the road of strengthening the unity of the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.


CHE IN BOLIVIA
Joe Slovo

When C. I. A.-Commanded Thugs wearing the Barrientos uniform murdered Che Guevara on the 7th October, 1967, the guerrilla band which he led had been in the field for exactly 11 months.

Those who look for comic book drama should keep away from Che's Diaries* for in them they will find reflected with characteristic integrity and modesty the reality and not the dream-picture of what faces men who do this kind of battle. As in his Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War, the pages of his Bolivian Diaries are punctuated with the stark reality of life in the mountains. Hunger, thirst, sickness, discomfort and deprivation - these are constant companions of the guerrilla and they ceaselessly play upon his morale. They compete with the qualities of dedication and selflessness which move men to abandon their all and offer their very lives in pursuit of an ideal. The day was very very laborious ..... Everything went wrong ..... The day was spent in a desperate search for a way out ..... A grey day full of anguish ..... An unpleasant day and quite full of anguish ..... We quenched our thirst with cakes of caracari, which just fooled the throat ..... Some of the comrades., are falling to pieces from lack of water.' These entries on different days of only one week in August 1967 spell out the realities of guerrilla life and the nobility of spirit of those who., at the end of the day, manage to defy them.

When Che 'hit the road with my shield upon my arm' he had no illusions about his personal future. 'It is possible that this may be the finish' he wrote in mid-1965 in a farewell

* Che Guevara's Bolivian Diaries, London, Cape, 12s. 6.

The conference adopted the main document: "The Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle against Imperialism and United Action of Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces."

While also supporting the strengthening of the unity of Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces, the delegations of the Communist Parties of Australia, Italy, San Marino and Rdunion expressed complete agreement only with that section of the document which outlines the joint programme of struggle against imperialism, while the delegate of the Dominican Communist Party did not support the main document.
The delegates to the conference also discussed the question of celebrating the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin and warmly and with enthusiasm approved the address on "The Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin." The conference addressed to the peoples of the world the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam." It warmly greeted the setting up of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The conference adopted an appeal "In Defence of Peace." It adopted a statement in support of the just struggle of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression, and a statement of solidarity with communists and democrats who are being subjected to most savage repressions, and are conducting a selfless struggle in difficult conditions against reactionary dictatorial regimes which are supported by international imperialism. The conference took place in an atmosphere of frankness and fraternal solidarity and was widely reported. The principles of the equality of all parties and of collective methods of work were strictly observed both in the preparatory period and in the course of the conference itself. The delegates to the conference expressed their desire for the further development of ties between Communist and Workers' Parties. They reaffirmed the usefulness of bilateral and regional meetings and of holding, as the need arises, international conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties to exchange views and experience, for collective discussion and to work out current political and theoretical questions and problems of the struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. It has been decided to send the materials of the conference also to the Communist and Workers' Parties that did not participate in its work. The delegates to the conference are firmly convinced that its results accord with the interests of every Communist Party and the entire international communist movement.

letter to his parents. 'I don't seek it, but it's within the logical realm of probabilities. If it should be so, I send you a last embrace. I have loved you very much, only I haven't known how to express my fondness. I am extremely rigid in my actions ..... please just take me at my word today.' Che's self denigration and deeply-felt but characteristically understated compassion for the 'little mare' whom he struck in a moment of temper because it was moving too slowly due to weariness is an example of his deep humanity. That night he brought his men together. He talked of the difficult situation. 'A human carcass' was the way he described his own condition. The episode of the little mare proves that at some moments I have lost control; that will be modified but the situation must weigh squarely on everybody and whoever does not feel capable of sustaining it should say so. It is one of those moments when great decisions must be taken; this type of struggle gives us the opportunity not only to turn ourselves into revolutionaries, the highest level of the human species, but it also allows us to graduate as men; those who cannot reach either one of these two stages should say so and leave
the struggle. This compassion, resilience and nobility of spirit was of course not unique to the Cuban struggle nor to the shortlived Bolivian campaign. It had its historical precedents in Russia, in China, in the Philippines, in Viet-Nam, in Algeria, in Nazi-occupied Europe and many other countries in which men were forced to resort to arms to assert a people's right to freedom. And each of these struggles some successful and some not - has thrown up its heroes both sung and unsung.

HIS INTERNATIONALISM

Why then has Che Guevara more than anyone else become the symbol of the heroic guerrilla amongst so many militants, particularly the student youth of the West? Is it perhaps that in him is seen the special quality of internationalism which moves a man to sacrifice his life in any part of the world for any people who struggle for freedom and against imperialism? Che, the Argentinian, had already taken part in revolutionary struggles in Guatamala when he joined Castro's band in Mexico. As one of the twelve who

Comrade J. B. Marks
Chairman of the South African Communist Party

survived the seemingly impossible landing on the Cuban coast he marched into Havana at Castro's side at the head a victorious people's army, having proved himself a brilliant jQB-1 otoos peWLm LuiTI jo ON "apummuoo eqjiJaon2 jo consider the well deserved reward of public office. He wrote to Castro in April 1965 a moving farewell letter in which he formally renounced his positions in the national leadership of the Cuban Communist Party, his post as minister, his rank as major and his Cuban citizenship. He proclaimed that his only ties were those 'which cannot be broken as appointments can!' He left Cuba with the feeling 'of fulfilling the most sacred of duties; to fight against imperialism wherever it may be'. Before his final Bolivian campaign he was ready to involve himself in Africa on the side of the freedom forces.

In an age in which the virus of sectionalism and chauvinism infects even some sections of the international working class movement and the Socialist world, this quality of internationalism, this assertion of the essential unity of man in the struggle against oppression and for true freedom and independence, is to be treasured. In the words of Fidel Castro, 'National flags, prejudices, chauvinism, and egoism had disappeared from his mind and heart. And he was ready to shed his generous blood spontaneously and immediately, on behalf of any people, for the cause of any people.' All hail then to the spirit that moved the volunteers in Spain, the Pomeroy's in the Philippines, the Guevaras in Bolivia!

Che's internationalism and his virtuosity in the field of guerrilla tactics and the art of commanding men are qualities which will continue to inspire revolutionaries. But Che was not only a practitioner - a man who, in his words, risked his skin to prove his platitudes; he also made a notable contribution as a theorist of guerrilla struggle in contemporary conditions.

HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEORY
Generalising from the Cuban experience, in his book Guerrilla Warfare, he stressed that one does not necessarily have to wait for the classical revolutionary situation to arise; it can be created. He was critical of those who 'feel the need to wait until, in some perfect way, all the required objective and subjective conditions are at hand.' These thoughts were part of the debate triggered off by the victory of the Cuban people and they no doubt helped to motivate his Bolivian decision. Out-of-context and mechanical adherence to rigid formulae about the laws of revolution, regardless of changing conditions, had doubtless acted as an obstacle to revolutionary initiative by some vanguard parties and had blunted their ability to recognise when the real moment of struggle had arrived. The Cuban Revolution and one of its important theorists, Che Guevara, stimulated new thinking on this problem by revolutionaries everywhere but particularly in Latin America. The fact that revolutionaries had taken to arms in a situation which seemed to fall short of the much distorted thesis of Lenin's on the timing of an insurrection was not new.*

China in the twenties did not present a classical type revolutionary situation, yet no-one can today question the correctness of the decision to take to arms in the protracted struggle which only saw final success in 1949. When the series of explosions heralded the small beginnings of armed struggle in Algeria in 1954 it would have been difficult to find the ingredients of an immediate insurrectionary situation. When Amilcar Cabral and his colleagues of the P. A. I. G. C. decided to prepare for armed revolt in 1959 they did so against the background of the brutal repression by the Portuguese of a dock-workers’ strike and not because a revolutionary breakthrough seemed imminent. The Cuban Revolution was in the same tradition. But like every other major social upheaval it has its own significance and its own lessons; it becomes part of the storehouse of

* Lenin's thesis dealt with the problems of a general insurrection and not the way in which a revolutionary organisation can by its political and organisational work help to create favourable objective conditions for the conquest of power. For a fuller discussion of this problem see my article on Regis Debray in The African Communist No 33 (Second Quarter 1968)

SPEECH BY J. B. MARKS
Chairman of the
South African Communist Party
Head of the S.A.C.P. Delegation
Dear Comrades,
To this great and historic Conference we bring greetings to our brother Parties from the Communists of South Africa, from all revolutionaries of our country-in-the gruesome jails of the fascist Vorster regime; working in perilous underground conditions; or participating in the armed struggle which is now raging in Southern Africa.
As the main draft document before this meeting points out the struggle for the liberation of our region is one ‘of great importance for the future of Africa and world peace’. The world is well aware that the racist leaders of the so-called white minority in South Africa have turned our beautiful and wealthy country into a hell for the great majority of our people, especially for the indigenous Africans who comprise most of the population. Our land has been forcibly usurped; our people turned into a landless, rightless proletariat, the object of fierce and unrestrained exploitation and oppression.

What is perhaps not so fully realised is that the present day Republic of South Africa is an imperialist state itself. It has seized the former mandate of Namibia (South West Africa) and exploits it as its colony. It is the main partner in the Unholy Alliance with Rhodesia and Portugal, who, together, retain a vast area of our continent as one of the last refuges of open and unashamed colonialism. It openly threatens the sovereignty and independence of Zambia and Tanzania and, ultimately, of every African state.

Against these terrorist, racist regimes the masses of people of our countries have learnt, through many years of bitter experience, there is no way to emancipation except that of revolutionary armed struggle. We did not reach this conclusion as a result of any preconceived notions regarding methods of struggle, any so-called universally-valid dogma. Indeed we fully agree that it is for the revolutionaries of every country to evolve their own methods, according to their own circumstances, of attaining our common goal: the conquest of power for the masses of working people. But in our conditions of total suppression of the people’s rights, of constant, daily terror and force exercised against the masses, with tens of thousands of patriots in detention and massacres a commonplace, with the great majority of the people in a state of seething revolt against enslavement and intolerable affronts to their human dignity, there could be no other way forward.

revolutionary experience and revolutionary thought. For Latin America it was the watershed. Nothing thereafter could be the same again.

It was Che who articulated the growing importance of the subjective factor in the quest for people’s power. As such his influence in Latin America and on our own struggle was significant. In the discussions which preceded the decision to prepare for armed confrontation in South Africa, the Cuban Revolution and the writings of Che figured prominently.

Thus in the amalgam of experience and analysis which makes of Marxism a living guide to social action and not a petrified dogma, Che, who was proud to call himself a Marxist and a Communist, has an honourable place.

This is said advisedly and not as a formal bow in the direction of propriety which precedes the awkward path of having to express reservations about aspects of his thesis so soon after his heroic self-sacrifice. I feel the need to say this is in itself a commentary on certain unhealthy features of some assessments of Che. On the one hand there is the ungenerous tendency to belittle his importance by paying homage to his courage but not treating critically and seriously his theoretical contributions. This unbalanced treatment diminishes the man. On the
other hand there is the emotion-packed pressure to guard one's criticism lest one is accused of lending volume to the babble from the enemy that Che's physical elimination spells the permanent defeat of Bolivian resistance and the guerrilla tactic as a form of struggle in Latin America. We must discard both of these strait-jackets. At the end of the day it is our capacity to build on the positive foundation and to reject the negative features of revolutionary activists and thinkers, which will spell success. As long as there is balance and honesty in our discussions, enemy gloating about miscalculations and mistakes is of little relevance. They will gain far more from a stubborn refusal of the revolutionary movement to discuss them openly and to draw the right lessons. Che's Bolivian campaign needs to be examined in the light of these considerations.

Indeed, comrades, a war has already begun and is in progress for the liberation of Southern Africa. In Mozambique, in Angola, in GuineaBissau, in Namibia and even in the Republic of South Africa itself, fighting has broken out. Brave African guerillas are dealing heavy blows at the fascist and racist regimes. Behind the lines the workers of town and countryside are increasingly defying the fascist terror and raising the banner of resistance. Inevitably the struggle will spread and merge into a single people's war which can only end in the destruction of white minority rule and the establishment of people's power. We shall win!

In Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) since August 1967, numerous armed clashes have taken place between the 'security forces' of the notorious Smith regime and guerilla units made up of joint forces of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the African National Congress (ANC)-the mass liberation movement of our country, the Republic of South Africa. These two organisations have concluded a military alliance which is an outstanding and inspiring example of true fraternal unity in action.

It is no secret that the Smith regime relies heavily on massive military and economic aid from the fascist Republic in the South. In fact with the complicity of Britain and its Labour government the Republic of South Africa has sent troops into Rhodesia on a large scale since the outbreak of guerilla activities. Recently the South African Minister of Police, Muller, admitted in the all-white Parliament that the Republic had sent further reinforcements of armed and specially-trained police to fight in Zimbabwe, on the border of free Zambia. It cannot be doubted that, but for this aid, the Smith regime would by now have been overthrown, and that it now stands in the same relation to the fascist Republic as does the puppet regime in South Vietnam to the United States.

This armed struggle enjoys the fullest support of our Party. I should like here at this great meeting to inform you that members of your South African brother Party are fighting in the front lines, side by side with our non-Communist comrades. Their courage and devotion have proved worthy of the highest traditions of our movement; many have laid down their lives in the struggle to liberate our country. Comrades,

We South African revolutionaries are deeply conscious of the international significance of our struggle.
Behind the vicious and disgraceful regimes of Vorster, Smith and Caetano stand the sinister powers of NATO and Japan, of world imperialism. It is no exaggeration to say that, but for this backing—financial, military, political—our people would long ago have won their freedom.

To the imperialists, South Africa is a treasure-chest for the accumulation of super-profits from the fruits of our rich mineral and other natural resources and from the merciless exploitation of African labour power. It is also a stronghold of reaction and colonialism in Africa and a strategic key-point in the global strategy of the imperialists. It is a hotbed for the breeding of the disgusting theories of racism and neo-nazism.

THE BOLIVIAN DECISION

The fact that he did not succeed* does not provide a conclusive answer to the question whether his decision to begin was justified. War, like politics, is not the province of certainty. 'History', said Karl Marx in a letter to Kugelmann, 'would indeed be very easy to make if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favourable chances.' Yet this truism does not imply that success or failure is governed purely by the laws of chance. An unfortunate or unexpected twist in a developing situation may radically influence the outcome but the course adopted must have its roots in the real situation and be guided by the scientific principles of revolutionary theory.

Without detracting from the nobility of the participants I believe that we must express doubt about the correctness of Che Guevara's Bolivian action. The question which presents itself immediately upon reading his Diaries is: was there not too mechanical an application of the correct proposition that the subjective factor can help stimulate or create insurrectionary conditions?

Guerrilla warfare is above all a political struggle by means which include armed activities. It cannot be won by soldiers alone. Armed groups, however heroic, have not the slightest chance of surviving in isolation from the general stream of political ferment and organisation in the country. It is clear from his writings, more particularly his Guerrilla Warfare that Che Guevara fully appreciated this. 'For the individual guerrilla warrior then, whole hearted help from the local population is the basis on which to start—popular support is indispensible', he says. He draws a contrast with a robber band which he says often possesses all the characteristics of a guerrilla band but inevitable gets caught and wiped out because 'they lack one thing, the support of the people.' And again.

* In the narrow sense of course. In the long run the Bolivian people will win their freedom and in one sense every act of resistance whether prudent or not, will have contributed to this.

Under the successive Premierships of Verwoerd and Vorster, men who openly espoused the cause and ideas of Hitler during the war, the Republic of South Africa became the refuge of nazi war-criminals and a haven for their capital which was endangered after the collapse of the 'Third Reich'. Ever closer relationships, economic and political, are being forged with the neo-nazis of
Bonn. West German imperialism is establishing a firm foothold in our country, challenging the well entrenched interests of British, U.S. and other well-established investors in the race to extract maximum profits, and concluding secret and sinister agreements regarding the production of fissionable uranium, poison gases and other weapons. Everywhere the South African racists are seen as among the outstanding supporters of international reaction and imperialism. The Israeli aggression of June 1967 helped the Republic of South Africa by forcing the closure of the Suez Canal, to the great profit of Cape Town and other South African ports. The Republic has reciprocated the favour by rendering important practical support to the zionist aggressors.

At the same time we are deeply conscious and appreciative of the powerful support for our people's struggles from innumerable friends of freedom throughout the world. In one sphere after another of international relations, ranging from trade and diplomacy to culture and sport, the door is correctly being slammed in the face of the ignominious racists of South Africa.

The independent states of Africa, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the labour and democratic movements in the capitalist countries, have repeatedly denounced apartheid. They have demanded that South Africa implement human rights and dignity. They have demanded the release of Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada, Mbeki, Fischer and innumerable other heroes of our people now serving life imprisonment and other heavy sentences under atrocious conditions in the fascist jails.

Above all they have rendered and are rendering valuable practical support to our freedom fighters: money, food, clothing, medicines, assistance in military training and most precious - arms. We take this opportunity, comrades, in the presence of the leaders of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Mongolia, Cuba and other socialist countries, to say that our people will never forget the warm comradely solidarity they have shown in providing us with the means for our emancipation.

Many of our brother Parties here represented have carried out many solidarity actions with our people, or taken part in broad anti-apartheid movements in their countries. To all those Parties - those of Britain and other West European and Scandinavian countries, of India and other Asian countries, of North and South America - may we express our deep gratitude; our confidence that they will redouble their efforts in the stormy period now facing our struggle; our hope that all here will follow their example.

The very nature of our struggle has taught our revolutionaries, Communists and non-Communists alike, the fundamental lessons of internationalism. We know full well from practical experience that our the base and grounding of the guerrilla is the people. One cannot imagine small armed groups, no matter how mobile and familiar with the terrain, surviving the organised persecution of a well-equipped army without this powerful assistance.

NO POPULAR SUPPORT
It is more than clear from a reading of his Diaries that the greatest obstacle to the survival of his guerrilla group in Bolivia was its failure to win popular support and its almost complete and utter isolation from the Bolivian masses peasantry and workers alike. Let Che himself speak. It becomes relevant to quote extensively from his Diaries on this point.

The Bolivians are fine, although they are few in number.
- Monthly Analysis, end of December 1966. A period of the beginning of the enemy counter-offensive which has been characterised up until now by: a.) a tendency to establish control that would isolate us, b.) a clamouring on a national and international level, c.) total ineffectiveness up until now, d.) mobilisation of the peasants.
- Monthly Analysis, end of March 1967. ... the isolation continues to be complete... the peasant base is still not being formed, although it seems that through planned terror, we can neutralise most of them; support will come later. Not one person has joined up with us.
- Monthly Analysis, end of April 1967. The most important characteristics are: ... 2.) a complete lack of incorporation of the peasants, although they are losing their fear of us, and we are succeeding in winning their admiration. It's a slow and patient task.
- Monthly Analysis, end of June, 1967. The most important characteristics are: 2.) We continue to feel the lack of peasant incorporation. It is a vicious circle: to obtain this incorporation we need to carry out permanent action in populated territory, and to do this we need more men... 7.) the army continues to be nil with respect to military tasks, but they are working on the peasants in a way that must not be underestimated, as they transform all the members of the community into informers, whether by fear or by deceiving them with respect to our objective.

struggle against imperialism is one with that of our brothers fighting the same enemy in every country of the world. We are at one with the fighting people of Vietnam. Their implacable and victorious fight against the biggest imperialist power is a shining example, a glorious inspiration, to all the oppressed and exploited of the earth.
We are at one with the brother Arab peoples to our North, in their determined resistance to imperialist-backed zionist aggression, for the recovery of their lands and the assertion of their rights to self-determination.

We rejoice at every advance of our comrades everywhere, We hail the important step towards people's power in which a big part has been played by the Marxist-Leninist vanguard: the Sudanese Communist Party. We hail every step in the social, economic and ideological progress and cohesion of our class brothers, our close and trusted allies, the leaders and the people of the socialist community. Our struggle also is not only for our own liberation. It is at the same time our contribution to the common fight, a fulfilment of our internationalist duty.
That is exactly why for a number of years we of the South African Communist Party have been consistently and vigorously appealing for unity within the ranks of the international communist movement, vanguard detachment of the world
anti-imperialist forces. Unity of our movement is the key to the rallying of all who fight imperialism, war, colonialism and exploitation. Our Party enthusiastically welcomed the convocation of this conference; we have to the best of our ability contributed to its preparation.
Rarely, if ever, has an international gathering been prepared with such thoroughness, such patience, as this great and historic conference. We should like at this stage to express our very sincere appreciation of the tireless efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party—indeed of all whose labours over the past fifteen months have cleared the way to the achievement of this wonderful reunion of nearly all the main contingents of our great movement.
We must recognise, comrades, that this has been no easy task. We are all well aware that a number of differences of perspective and interpretation have developed between various parties. We hope very much that in the course of time, of comradely discussion, and above all, the test-of practice, these differences will be resolved. That is a task which still confronts us.
But, during the arduous preparations for this conference, most of us have come to realise that this long-term process could not and must not impede us in the most urgent and imperative duty which history has placed before us. That task is to concentrate at this stage not upon our temporary differences, but upon the immeasurably greater and more

The lack of incorporation of the peasants continues to be felt, although there are some encouraging signs in the reception given to us by old peasant acquaintances.
We continue without any incorporation on the part of the peasants, logical to understand if we take into account the little contact we have had with them in recent times.
The characteristics are the same as those of last month, except that now the army is showing more effectiveness in action, and the mass of the peasants do not help us at all and have become informers.
- Monthly Analysis, end of September, 1967.
A pig was killed, sold by Sostenes Vargas, the only peasant who stayed in his house. The others flee whey see us.
- September 24th, 1967.
Thus, in the whole of this period, not a single peasant was inspired to come forward to bear arms. On the contrary, so wide was the gap between the guerilla band and the people around them that even the hope expressed at the end of April, 1967 that they could be neutralised through terror and that support would come later, did not prove realistic. This was the sorry, demotalising and, for the guerrilla, devastating picture seven days before Che's capture and murder.
CAN MILITARY ACTION ALONE MOBILISE THE MASSES?
The planned terror against the enemy forces had been on a relatively large and relatively successful scale. It was carried out with a skill which once again reflected Che's virtuosity in this field. The first engagement occurred towards the second half of March, 1967. Thereafter numerous engagements took place in which the enemy was badly punished. (e.g. four in April, three in May, two in June, three in July). The propaganda media of the enemy appear not to have avoided publicity about the presence of the guerrillas and their exploits. If anything it tended to exaggerate their strength and made scrupulous admissions about their own losses which in some of the battles were heavy. The masses of the peasants were therefore well aware of the presence of a guerrilla centre and of its exploits over an important area of our agreement; upon our pressing need to present a common front to the common enemy.

We are faced with a ruthless, vicious and dangerous enemy: imperialism. The enemy, as well defined and described in the main document placed before us by the Preparatory Committee, is ceaselessly plotting acts of intervention and subversion against socialist and other nonimperialist countries, acts of provocation and outright lawless aggression. Against patriots, revolutionaries, working class militants everywhere it wreaks savage reprisals and murder. It constantly menaces the world with the horrors of atomic, chemical and bacterial war which only our combined actions and vigilance holds at bay. This enemy will not pause in its onslaught on our forces and allies while we engage our energies in protracted debates. Therefore it became imperatively incumbent upon us to unite our ranks, and to agree on how to rally all anti-imperialist forces. We had to leave aside for the time being those issues where we differ. History demanded of us that we concentrate on the wide area of common agreement; that we restate our common tasks. in contemporary terms in a manner capable of mobilising our whole movement and its allies.

That task has been brilliantly accomplished by our Preparatory Committee and the documents it has placed before this conference. Comrades, our Central Committee fully supports these documents. Our delegation has been entrusted and empowered, on behalf of our Party, to sign these documents and to pledge our Party's strength and resources to mobilise the working people of South Africa for their translation into reality.

We warmly express our agreement with those constructive speeches which have elaborated and elucidated these documents-speeches such as those of Comrades Brezhnev, Gomulka and Hall-and we feel that to explain exactly why we concur with the contents of the main document, the peace appeal, the documents on the preparation of the Lenin centenary and the demand for the ending of imperialist aggression in Vietnam—would merely be to repeat what others have said most ably.

-We have listened carefully also to the addresses of those comrades who expressed differences with the documents, particularly the main document.
Frankly, comrades, we find some of their arguments rather difficult to understand. For example, some comrades have gone into lengthy criticisms of the document, not because of what it says but because of what it does not say. One would logically, perhaps, then expect them to propose some additional material. But surprisingly enough they are recommending that we delete whole sections amounting in some cases to three-quarters of the whole.

We are also surprised at the type of subject-matter which some of these comrades are saying the document lacks. More than one delegation here has drawn attention to the events in Czechoslovakia, despite the well-grounded appeal of our Czechoslovakian comrades not to make their country's problems, at this complex stage, the subject of international debate.

These comrades must be well aware that their special and rather strange period of many months. Here was a practical demonstration of the guerrilla centre's capacity to deal blows against the enemy in organised armed confrontation. According to Che's entry at the end of June, 1967, 'the guerrilla legend grows and grows: we are now invincible supermen', and at the end of July, 'the legend of the guerrilla is acquiring continental dimensions.'

Despite all this, the peasants initial indifference developed into fear and finally into collaboration with the enemy. Che speculates in his Diaries about the reasons for the almost total shunning by the peasants of the guerrilla and in many instances their positive hostility. Was it due to fear? Was it due to the fact that the peasants had been misled about the guerrilla objects?

Whatever the immediate cause may have been (and some extremely 'hard words are said by Che about the role of the Communist Party of Bolivia, one thing is crystal clear. The doctrine that the masses will, in some spontaneous way, respond to an insurrectionary centre - a military foco needs serious re-examination. The Bolivian campaign surely puts in grave doubt the over-generalised formulations that the injection of armed groups into a country in which there is severe repression will of itself (and subject mainly to the professional skill of the armed groups) slowly, in the words of Debray 'spread like an oil patch'.

I am not here arguing a brief for the tradition-bound reluctance to concede the importance in some situations of actually establishing an armed centre as one the Vital steps in the all-round preparation for armed struggle. But this is a far cry from the thesis that a group of heroic patriots, most of them unfamiliar with the local terrain and local dialect and without any roots amongst the people or proper contact with their organisations, can become the catalyst of revolutionary transformation.

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM - THE IDEAL AND THE REALITY

The participants in Che's group numbered just over forty. There was only a handful of Bolivians and the majority
unacceptable; even though there is nothing actually in the document which we cannot all subscribe to. But these comrades know that their special view on these questions is one which this conference cannot and will not accept; they have repeatedly enjoyed and they have made full use of the opportunity to advance these views throughout the preparatory stages of this conference. The amendments they proposed, which found general support were accepted 'and are included in the draft. The others were omitted, and properly so. Surely, comrades, that was precisely what we set out to do in preparing this conference and its documents. It was clear to all of us that there were some matters on which we could not all reach agreement now. Therefore we decided to devote ourselves to the priority question of formulating our agreement on the urgent tasks of the present stage of the anti-imperialist fight. This is precisely the measure of our achievement in drawing up this wide-ranging Marxist-Leninist document which is before us; which draws the statement of our immediate tasks out of the analysis of the current situation. Of course, each Party makes its own assessment of events at home and abroad. We could never hope to draw up a single document which would succeed in combining all the viewpoints of all the Parties. From our point of view, for example, we feel that a rather disproportionately large amount of attention has been devoted to the problems of Europe. We and other people actually engaged in anti-colonialist struggles would surely consider it over-optimistic to imagine the Social-Democrats as partners in an anti-imperialist fighting front; we have fresh memories of the betrayal of the French Socialist Party over Algeria; the abject sellout of the British Labour Party over Zimbabwe; the role of the West German Social Democrats as part of the Bonn imperialist policy of alliance with fascist South Africa.

But we realise that this is a collective document of the movement as a whole, and we fully accept it and support it as such. We are totally opposed to any procedure of allegedly "improving" it by means of amputating its members or mutilating it. Comrades, our delegation would like, here, to say a word about the so-called principle of unanimity. It is true that unanimity is a goal towards which we must ever strive. But it would be absurd to elevate this into an absolute principle. We may not like to talk of 'majorities' and 'minorities' in a gathering such as this. But we are not lawyers and we are not a debating society; we are a gathering of practical revolutionaries engaged in a life-and-death struggle whose outcome will decide the future of mankind. We dare not allow ourselves to be placed in a position where a few Parties, or even a single Party can be given a power of veto which would, in effect condemn our movement to paralysis. We appeal to all our comrades here, to their Central Committees, to participate in endorsing this unity-building document. If they will not do it now, immediately, we trust that they will consider their position soon after we have concluded our deliberations and associate themselves. But

were freedom fighters from Cuba (17), Peru, Brazil and Argentina.
The composition of the guerrilla band must have contributed to the relative ease with which the enemy isolated it from the peasantry. This is of course not the first
example of outsiders participating in freedom struggles and even playing a leading role. In his introduction to the Diaries, Fidel Castro draws special attention to the fact that in Latin America the internationalist tradition has historic roots and points to the names of Bolivia and its capital, Sucre, which were both named in honour of their first liberators who were Venezuelan. But Bolivia has witnessed one of the first attempts in more recent history to initiate this sort of struggle by a group led and predominated by outsiders. It is not a concession to 'nationalism' or 'the sectarian spirit' to question whether, especially in the early stages, a guerrilla group should be predominantly non-indigenous in composition. Would this not make the already intricate problem of achieving acceptance from the people far more complex and, in some cases, impossible?

The political terrain in which a revolutionary movement operates is given and is seldom, if ever, a reflection of the ideals of the advanced vanguard. Narrow nationalism, provincialism, regionalism, tribalism - these prejudices nurtured by objective conditions certainly constitute limitations on a people's capacity to struggle. They have particular force in the modern era of imperialism and the bourgeois national State, one of whose characteristic historical features is the emergence of nationalism. This reality precludes the mechanical application of advanced principles of internationalism in many situations, not only in national struggles but in the working class movement as well. Even after the capture of power the historically-rooted national differences have an important bearing on tactics. Lenin had this in mind when in 'Left-Wing' Communism he discussed the creation of a leading centre to replace the Second International.

... Communists of every country should quite consciously take into account ... the specific feature which (the) struggle assumes and inevitably must assume in each separate country

if nearly all our Parties want to sign this document now they must be free to do so. Dear Comrades, we are well aware that we have not come here to engage in polemics with the rather puerile 'ideological' propositions advanced by the Maoist group. We have no intention of doing so. But when it comes to the external activities of the Chinese government which impinge on our struggle against imperialism, which so far from advancing that struggle positively impede it and are in practice aiding and abetting the enemy, this is something we cannot afford to ignore. Our Party vigorously condemns the border provocations committed against the Soviet Union, the citadel of socialism and mainstay of the anti-imperialist forces everywhere. We were deeply impressed by the speech of the West German Communist Party delegate, when he gave such striking evidence of collusion between the Maoists and the Bonn imperialists.

For a number of years we have seen the sidetracking and disruption of various international solidarity organisations by Chinese delegations who persisted in dragging into gatherings of non-Communists their alleged 'ideological' campaign against the CPSU and the world communist movement. At one time the People's Republic of China rendered valuable assistance to the African National Congress, the fighting national liberation movement of our country. But for several year, and without reason or explanation, this aid has been withdrawn; instead we find
the Maoists subsidising and actually preserving from complete collapse a group of right-wing renegades from our struggle whom documentary evidence now proves to have been started at the instance, and with the support, of the CIA. Our movement has not, and should not, shut the door to any Communist Party. We have invited the Communist Party of China to every meeting at every stage of the convocation and preparation of this conference. They have refused even to accept our invitations; they have accused the Communists of all the world of being 'revisionists' and 'renegades'. The world may judge to whom those descriptions more fittingly apply.

Comrades, it is fitting indeed that our notable meeting takes place on the eve of the centenary of the birth of that great genius of our movement, founder of the Soviet State and leader of the oppressed and working people the world over—Lenin the Liberator. We must congratulate the initiators and the drafters of the fine address on this occasion which has been placed before us.

We believe that our meeting has been worthy of this momentous occasion, that it will go down as a turning point from which we shall go forward in greater unity than ever to rally our own forces and all fighters against imperialism, for fresh advances, fresh victories for the cause of human liberation.

Comrades, we are a part of the great army of Communists; the greatest army of freedom this earth has ever known. We uphold a glorious and noble cause whose ultimate, world-wide victory is assured. Not one of our

in conformity with the peculiar features of its economics, politics, culture, national composition (Ireland, etc.), its colonies, religious divisions and so on and so forth ... We must clearly realise that such a leading centre cannot under any circumstance be built on stereotyped, mechanically equalised and identical rules of struggle. As long as national and state differences exist among peoples and countries - and these differences will continue to exist for a very long time even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale - the unity of international tactics of the Communist working class movement demands, not the elimination of variety, not the abolition of national differences (that is a foolish dream at the present moment) ...

We must not regard what is obsolete for us as... being obsolete for the masses... You must not sink to the level of the masses, to the level of the backward strata of the class. That is incontestable. You must tell them the bitter truth. You must call their bourgeois democratic and parliamentary prejudices - prejudices. But at the same time you must soberly follow the actual state of class consciousness and preparedness of the whole class (not only its Communist vanguard), of all the toiling masses (not only of their advanced elements).

(emphasis in original)

Particularly in that part of the world (and our experience of Africa confirms this) where oppression and manipulation by imperialism have wrought so much material and moral damage there is an understandable suspicion amongst large sections of the people against the 'foreigner' and the outsider. This historically-
rooted prejudice is hypocritically exploited by imperialism and its local representatives to confuse the people and to undermine their resistance. The cry of 'foreign agitator' is one of the oldest in the book. Its impact on a ravaged people, especially where it can be superficially documented - as in Bolivia - must not be underestimated and tactics of struggle must take it into account. Even the vanguard group itself is not altogether and always free of this factor as appears for example from an entry in the Diaries on April 12th 1967:

A tendency to underestimate the Cubans was observed among the vanguard when Camba remarked* that every day he has less confidence in the Cubans due to an incident with Ricardo. A very pointed example of the need to accommodate a movement's tactics to the character of the struggle and to the reality of the political terrain is contained in Che's Re-

miniscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War. In the course of a tribute to the Guatemalan patriot, Julio Valle (El Patojo), Che mentions the fact that when El Patojo heard of the intended Cuban action he volunteered to join Castro's band in Mexico. His offer was not accepted for the reason that 'Fidel did not want to bring any more foreigners into that struggle for national liberation in which I had the honour to participate.' What developments have taken place in Latin America since then which would warrant a departure from the correct thesis which must obviously have been at the bottom of Castro's decision in the case of El Patojo? This of course is no argument against patriots participating (even in leading capacities) in a life and death struggle outside the borders of their own country as Che did in Cuba or our own heroes are doing in Zimbabwe. Che says 'Each spilt drop of blood, in any country under whose flag one has not been born is an experience passed on to others who survive, to be added later to the liberation struggle of his own country. And each nation liberated is a phase won in the battle for the liberation of one's own country.' Absolutely true! But what is being discussed here are those tactics dictated by the predominant character of an existing situation which will most effectively organise and arouse an oppressed and often backward people to move in the direction of a conquest of power.

OUR OWN STRUGGLE

In our own struggle we have recently experienced some of the problems which face a guerrilla in a relatively alien environment. The historic alliance between ZAPU and the ANC heralded the beginnings of large-scale guerrilla operations in Zimbabwe in 1967. The armed units which engaged the enemy consisted of combined ZAPU-ANC freedom fighters. The common enemy facing both the South African and the Zimbabwe people is - more patently than elsewhere - one and the same. It is the white racist regimes contiguously situated, acting in
close co-operation and bolstered up by internal and external imperialism. What is more, white South African troops were called into Zimbabwe by the Smith regime and formed the backbone of the enemy forces. Despite all this the leadership and composition of the guerrilla units reflected the reality of the struggle in Zimbabwe, the main content of which is the national liberation of the Zimbabwean people. The problem of establishing contact with the people and gaining their confidence and support would have been a thousand-fold more difficult, if not altogether impossible, if the units were led and numerically dominated by South African freedom fighters with no intimate knowledge of the local terrain, the people - their dialect, customs, habits, prejudices and so on. This is the experience of our fighting men and it relates to peoples facing not only the same enemy but having close ethnic, cultural and language ties.

The collaboration which led to the combined operations between ZAPU and the ANC is of course an inspiring example of internationalism and African unity. It constitutes an important milestone in the struggle against a common enemy united by racialism and imperialism. But even within the borders of our own country - South Africa - we would seriously jeopardise the chances of successfully initiating and sustaining guerrilla operations if in the constitution of the fighting units we did not give sufficient weight to local, ethnic, national and territorial loyalties and factors.

The unanswered question remains: Are there new objective conditions in Latin America as a whole and more specifically in Bolivia which render such factors obsolete for the mass of the people and not merely for the advanced vanguard?

NO COLLABORATION WITH BOLIVIAN ORGANISATIONS

The Diaries are limited to short-hand narratives of daily events, short monthly summaries of progress and brief memory-jogging reflections on certain trends and tendencies. It is understandable therefore that there is no mention in the Diaries of the factors which moved Che to choose Bolivia in preference to some other territory for the launching of the guerrilla centre. It seems clear however that none of the existing political organisations inside Bolivia (including the Communist Party of Bolivia) were formally consulted about the action. According to Fidel Castro, in the introduction, during the initial phase of preparation of the guerrilla base, Che had depended mainly upon a group of 'discreet collaborators' who remained in the Bolivian Communist Party after a split had occurred in it. According to Castro it was due to deference to these collaborators that Che invited Mario Monje, the General Secretary, to visit him in the camp although Che was not a bit sympathetic towards him. This meeting took place on the 31st December 1966.'

In the brief description contained in the Diaries, Che summarises the fundamental questions raised by Monje as including an offer by him to resign from the leadership of the Party, obtain its neutrality to the guerrilla struggle and bring cadres for it. But the condition raised by Monje that 'the political and military leadership of the struggle would correspond to him as long as the revolution had a
Bolivian environment' was totally rejected. The entry reads 'I would be the military chief and would not accept ambiguities concerning this. Here the discussion turned into a stalemate and ended up in a vicious circle'. Castro asserts that Che's consultations with the head of the Bolivian Communist Party was in the nature of a gesture and was unaccompanied by any expectation that useful collaboration could be established. In fact in the monthly analysis at the end of December Che does say that Monje's attitude may 'hold back developments' but goes on to sigh with relief that it would also 'contribute ... by releasing me of political entanglements'.

This last comment is consistent with what appears to have been Che's conviction that initially at any rate the military and political leadership ought to vest in the military or at the very least that the military ought to be absolutely independent. Also at the beginning the military band itself ought to avoid internal political organisation. On the 26th January 1967 when the Bolivian Moises Guevara arrived to join the group with a colleague, Che put forward the condition which included 'group dissolution ... no political organisation yet and the necessity to avoid polemics about national and international discrepancies'.

**POLITICAL AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP**

For us this is an unfamiliar approach. In my article on Debray there is a more detailed and critical analysis of the formulations on these questions which he claims reflect the thinking of Che. In the words of Debray: 'In the phase preceding the seizure of power, the predominance of a political vanguard, the Party, over the military is not valid for Latin America' and 'the people's army will be the nucleus of the party and not vice versa'. Suffice it to say that in our continent such a proposition is rejected by all the liberation forces actually engaged in armed struggle including our own. The issue was dealt with succinctly and unambiguously by Cabral when he was asked:

'Could you tell us briefly how the political and military leadership of the struggle is carried out?'

The answer: 'The political and military leadership of the struggle is one: the political leadership. We are political people and our Party, a political organisation, leads the struggle in the civilian, political, administrative, technical and therefore also military spheres. Our fighters are defined as armed activists.*

In any event the almost complete isolation of the guerrilla band from any Bolivian political movement or organisation (none of whom appear to have been a party to the decision to commence guerrilla operations) obviously contributed to the setbacks suffered. On the 13th June 1967 the entry reads: 'The interesting thing is the political upheaval in the country, fabulous numbers of pacts and counterpacts that are in the air, seldom have the possibility of catalysing the guerrilla been seen so clearly.' And on the 14th of July: 'The government is disintegrating rapidly: too bad that we do not have a hundred more men at this moment.'

If the peasants are not ready to come forward who would provide these men?

Who in any case would be in a position

* Tricontinental No 8 1968
to take full advantage of the ferment by all-round mobilisation of people in town and countryside? Surely the guerrilla centre, in the initial period, had almost by definition neither, the capacity nor the physical possibility of doing so. In addition its contact with the outside world was so tenuous (a few documents and the government radio) that it would be quite unable to either weigh up the full significance of these events or to form a balanced judgement on what is to be done in the country as a whole. These questions are 'irrelevant' only to one who believes that mobilisation and response is generated exclusively by the exploits of the guerrilla. Surely the existence of a political leadership, intimately connected with the guerrilla centre and able to mobilise the masses, is of vital importance. Historians with all the facts in their possession will, no doubt form their judgement, on the unhappy relationship between the guerrilla band and the Communist Party of Bolivia. One aspect however calls for comment: if in truth no genuine revolutionary organisation exists either willing or capable of throwing itself into this sort of struggle, this is an important factor in deciding whether conditions are ripe in that country to embark upon armed struggle. These reflections provoked by reading of Che's Diaries touch on a number of vital problems of armed struggle to which our whole Movement is committed in Southern Africa. The problems connected with this struggle, its relationship with other forms of political activity, the need to give the military struggle a correct political content, our capacity to provide correct political guidance to the majority of workers and peasants who by the very nature of things cannot directly participate in the initial phases of guerrilla warfare - these are problems which are not academic exercises. Their correct solution can make the difference between success and failure, between real and a hollow victory.

Historically speaking what adds to the tragedy of Che's murder is that because he was such an honest, devoted and committed revolutionary fighter and thinker, the Bolivian experiences may well have evoked in him a further assessment of some of these problems, whose correct solution is vital to the revolutionary movement everywhere.

From South Africa's History
The I.C.U.
Teresa Zania
I will simply go from dockyard to factory and with a single word, 'STOP' the white people will be held at ransom, the railways will lose over F 2,000,000 a day and while the trouble is on I will be looked upon as Prime Minister.
(Kadalie, June, 1926).
Are you going back to the masses and ask them to pray, or will you tell them to depend on their numerical powers... The idea of a general strike may make certain of you tremble in fear, but there is no alternative if you want your freedom.
(Thomas Mbeki, April, 1927).2

THESE WORDS BY two leaders of the Industrial and Commercial Worker's Union of Africa (I.C.U.) expressed the excitement of the African people in South
Africa, at their discovery of a powerful new weapon, the strike, not only as a method to get higher wages and better working conditions, but as a political weapon. They are an indication, too, that Africans were putting aside their tribal differences and uniting as workers.

1. In a speech at Heilbron.

The I.C.U. was formed in 1919 in Cape Town. From Cape Town it spread 'like a veld fire'3 over South Africa, with Port Elizabeth and East London, seaport towns first, then to the country districts of the Cape, to Natal, Orange Free State, and in 1924, to Johannesburg and the Transvaal. It even spread its tentacles to South West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Southern Rhodesia (where there was an I.C.U. branch until very recently), Portuguese East Africa and Nyasaland. Its membership grew, until in 1928, it was nearly a quarter of a million strong'. At its height it had an income of R 15,0005. Not only did the urban areas build up a huge membership (Durban, according to A. W. G. Champion, another prominent I.C.U. leader, at the time of the Annual I.C.U. Conference in 1927, had a membership of 26,0006, but farm workers, squatters and labour tenants also flocked into the I.C.U.

When meetings were held in the small towns and villages, Africans would pour in, in their thousands. It is reported that at Bulmer there was a 'Big muster of Natives present, probably 15,0007'. Kadalie, in his autobiography, describes a meeting at Vryheid in Northern Natal:

Many came to the meeting from as far as Zululand itself. Some Europeans of this important northern Natal town were alarmed when they saw thousands of Zulus streaming into Vryheid from all directions on horses as well as horse-drawn vehicles.

Kadalie describes, too, a meeting at Middelburg, Transvaal, early in 1928, where he and Thomas Mbeki spoke:

Africans who attended this meeting came from all parts of the North-Eastern Transvaal. When we got up from our beds on Sunday morning, we saw all sorts of primitive vehicles such as donkey carts, and horses in large numbers conveying Africans to attend the meeting. The town was somewhat alarmed at this African pilgrimage... The local press estimated the crowd that attended the meeting at 5,000. Almost any 'dorp' you can think of, even the very smallest with just a few streets, in the middle of the Karoo, had a branch of the I.C.U. at one time or another, in the 1920's. The rapid growth of the organisation
indicated a new spirit among the African people. The spirit was reflected in the I.C.U.'s early militancy. Before the I.C.U. had even run one year, it had its first big strike in December, 1919, at the Cape Town Docks. The strike, which lasted three weeks, was partly a demand for increased wages, and partly a protest against the export of foodstuffs when prices in South Africa were rocketing in the aftermath of the First World War. Four hundred African and Coloured dock workers came out. Kadalie's description of the strike in his autobiography, conveys the excitement he felt at the realisation of the power of the nonwhite workers when they acted in unity: By 11 a.m. (17th December, 1919), the whole vast Cape Town docks was at a standstill, with hundreds of Coloured and African workers streaming out of it. Outside the dock gates, I addressed the huge crowd, officially inaugurating the first organised strike of Non-European labour in South Africa. The strike, itself, was broken, as the International' of January 9, 1920 reported, by 'the treachery of the white workers; on December 4, the Cape Federation of Trades had adopted a resolution calling upon trade unionists to refuse to handle foodstuffs for export, and thus, it appears, the non-white workers had expected the white workers to come out as well, but this they had failed to do. However, the strike did have some effect, for about six months later, after a deputation from the I.C.U., the stevedoring companies, led by the Union Castle Company, granted an increase in wages to non-white workers, though the Government Railways and Harbours administration refused even to meet representatives of the Union.

8. Organ of the International Socialist League (I. S. L.), which was to help form the Communist Party in 1921

VIOLENT STATE REACTION
The I.C.U. with its first strike, came unmistakably face-to-face with the organised violence of the South African State. A troop train was sent from Wynberg, and Africans were forcibly ejected from the Docks Location and were sent to Milnerton camp. This was just the beginning of a constant hounding of I. C. U. officials and rank-and-file workers, the breaking up of strikes by police and military violence, mob violence by white civilians on I. C. U. property (as at Greytown, Weenen and Krantzkop, in Natal), and even shootings. Less than a year after troops had been used in the Cape Town Dock Strike, in October 1920 people lost their lives in Port Elizabeth. After the arrest of the I. C. U. leader in Port Elizabeth, Samuel Masabalala, who had called for a strike in support of a demand for a 10/- a day minimum wage for non-white workers, a crowd of people collected outside the Baakens Street police station, demanding the release of Masabalala. White civilians who had come to 'assist' the police, and the police opened fire on the crowd: 24 people were killed or died of wounds; over 50 people were wounded. The report of the Inquiry into the shootings concluded that:
all the firing which took place after the mob broke away was directed against fugitives; that it was unnecessary, indiscriminate, and it was moreover brutal in its callousness, resulting in a terrible toll of killed and wounded without any sufficient reason or justification.
Open violence against the African people became an almost yearly occurrence. In February, 1920 over 40,000 African miners had come out on strike on the Rand. The strike was broken by the use of a police cordon thrown around each compound. and, it appears, miners were driven underground at the point of a gun. When the police fought their way into the Village Deep Compound several Africans were killed. May, 1921 saw 163 Africans killed and 129 wounded at Bulhoek, near Queenstown in the Ciskei, because they refused to move off what they regarded as communal land.

9. Port Elizabeth Native Riots Inquiry Report, January, 1921

May 1922: Smuts sent a force of nearly 400 men, armed with four machine guns and accompanied by two bombing planes to South West Africa to 'deal with' the Bondelswart tribe, who had refused to pay the dog tax, which had been imposed on them as a means of forcing them into the labour marked. Over 100 men, women and children were killed and many more were mutilated or seriously injured. No white man died.

Leaders of the I. C. U. faced police and civilian mob violence in Bloemfontein in April 1925, when 5 Africans were killed and 24 wounded.

In October, 1928, there was a strike at Onderstepoort, a government veterinary laboratory and farm near Pretoria, where the majority of the unskilled and semi-skilled labourers were members of the I. C. U. Kadalie writes: On arrival at Onderstepoort I was met by a body of police armed with clubs and revolvers. I ventured to ask permission to address the men, but was told that permission could only be granted on condition that I was to advise the men to resume work unconditionally. I refused to do so and informed the authorities that the union would protect its members involved in the strike. My bold statement caused some commotion and the police adopted a threatening attitude. I was ordered to leave the premises at once. Finally the Government took drastic action and put all the strikes in prison.

South Africa calls itself a democratic and civilised country and yet its representatives meet a leader of an African trade union organisation who had come to investigate the problems of the members of his union with batons and revolvers (which, no doubt, they had in hand to use on the strikers).

1929 saw the I. C. U. facing another violent situation, this time in Durban. This started with the victimisation of an 'African worker at the Docks, where the I. C. U. was particularly strong, and grew into mass action against the municipal beer-halls. Many were killed and injured. 1930: The I. C. U. faced police violence again: This time during the general strike of African labour in East London, which started as a strike at the East London docks. Kadalie describes the scene

By the second week a general strike was in progress which paralysed the whole industrial and commercial system of East London. The general strike was now complete, as all domestic workers in hotels, as in private homes came out. From the city men and women trekked in orderly manner towards the East Bank Location ... Strike meetings were now being attended by thousands of people. As usual the S. A. police were very active from the first day of the strike. Aeroplanes
were flying overhead when strike meetings were in progress ... Police reinforcements were rushed to East London by special trains from all parts of South Africa. At the boundary between the location and the city, military vehicles were parked to transport armed police quickly as required ... At nights special civil volunteer police patrolled the location streets. It was then that I decided to disguise myself during the nights ...

The strike committee was eventually arrested. They spent two months in gaol, and then stood trial in the Supreme Court in Grahamstown, where Kadalie was sentenced to three months hard labour, or a fine of £25. It can thus be seen that the I. C. U. found strikes and even attempts at negotiation, an extremely hazardous business. Kadalie said 'They (the whites) may bring their aeroplanes and police and form big camps everywhere, but I will simply say to the Europeans: „We won't wash your plates, nor clean your boots as long as General Hertzog shows a heart as hard as Pharoah°“. But this was more easily said than done.

Open violence of this nature was, by no means, the only problem that African trade union organisers had to face. Under the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924, pass-bearing Africans were not recognised as 'employees', and thus their unions were given no legal recognition. This fact, of course, made negotiations extremely difficult, particularly as the white unions had legal recognition, and they could thus use the conciliation machinery to entrench and re-inforce their privileged position. And this they did. Then, too, "agricultural labourers, mine-workers and domestic workers did not fall under the provisions of the Wage Act. Under this Act workers could apply for a minimum wage to maintain a 'civilised' standard of 'living. The extremely low wages of the above categories of nonwhite workers, of course, had (and still has) a depressing effect on the wages of all non-white workers in the South African economy. In any case, the Wage Board (set up under the Wage Act) was, in actual fact, used by unskilled white workers to maintain their privileged position as against non-white workers, and thus it merely worked as an adjunct to the 'Colour Bar Act', which reserved certain categories of work for white workers. Many African workers, at this time, worked under contract, and they thus fell under the Masters and Servants Act. This made it a criminal offence to strike. The report of the Native Economic Commission, 1930-1932, has this to say (para. 294): In all Provinces Native contracts of service are generally governed by either the Native Labour Regulation Act or the Masters and Servants Act, which makes it a criminal offence for the employee to break his contract of service, i. e. to strike, but these acts in practice are generally not of much force in respect of daily or weekly employees. Except, therefore, in the Cape Province where Natives, who are daily or weekly employees, may combine for their mutual protection, there is in practice no power by which Natives can organise to improve their position or resist exploitation. This was strong language for an extremely reactionary report.
Many Africans spent only short periods in the towns and then returned home for a period before returning to obtain the cash, necessary to pay taxes and for their other needs. This was particularly the case in this early stage in the industrialisation of South Africa in the 1920's, when few secondary industries had developed and there was a very small permanent African working-class in the towns. The contract and compound labour system, operated not only on the mines, but also for all types of labour. There was, for example, the Kazerne Compound in Johannesburg, catering for the South African Railways and Harbours (this was the centre of I. C. U. work when the organisation first came to Johannesburg in 1924); and there was a compound for municipal workers in Vrededorp, Johannesburg. Under this system, of course, the African worker is put in a strait-

jacket, as far as his living conditions are concerned, for he is supplied with accommodation and, very often, food, and so, the employers argue, (as they did in evidence before several Commissions), he can never claim that his cost of living is increasing, as a justification for higher wages. And, of course, the employers also argued that they were giving him a wage to support only himself, as his family were supporting itself on the land in his own territory. And thus African mine-workers were lucky if they received as much as 2/- a day. They usually received not more than 1/6 d. or 1/8 d.

The compound system also makes it easier for the authorities to regiment African labour and to break strikes. A whole system of informers was built up within the compounds on the mines. The African miners' strike of February, 1920 at the Village Deep Mine, for instance, was broken by the simple device of throwing a police cordon round every compound. As Roux points out: 'Each group of Africans thus isolated was told that all the rest had gone back to work. In the absence of an African miners' union or central strike committee, this method usually succeeded, though not without bloodshed'. The development of the 'hostels' and the location system under the Urban Areas Act of 1923, and its amendments in later years, was merely a more sophisticated variant of the compound system. And so, too, the Borders Areas scheme of today, under which African workers in 'Border industries' are meant to go and sleep back in their 'homeland', before coming back the following day to work. This is all part of the vicious colonial exploitation of African labour. And as it takes place in a highly industrialised society with a complex economy and with the development of monopoly capitalism, it has many features of a fascist system.

Africans also had the great problem of trying to build stable and strong trade union organisations when most of them were unskilled labourers (forced by legislation and by agreements 'between the white trade unions and the employers to remain unskilled), thus easily dispensed with. At the same time, there was an enormous African labour pool on which the Government and employers could draw, not only from within South Africa itself - places like the Transkei - but from Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland, the Rhodesias,
Portuguese East Africa. In this situation it was extremely difficult to build viable trade unions. The Native Economic Commission 1930-1932, Report (para. 253) considered: ‘The importation of Native labourers ..... not compatible with the improvement of the economic condition of the Union Natives ....’ This, again, was strong language for this sort of Commission.

African trade unionists had to face a situation where they had to try and obtain higher wages and better working conditions, with the knowledge that, even if they approached the employer with a demand, they could not back it up with a strike, unless they were prepared to face possible fines and gaol sentences. But their problems went even further than this: very often they would not even be received by an employer, since there was little real pressure on him in this situation to negotiate and a great deal of official pressure not to meet African trade union representatives at all. In fact, a national incident blew up towards the end of 1928: Walter Madeley, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, one of the three Labour Party Cabinet Ministers in the National Party Labour Pact Government, was asked by Prime Minister Hertzog to resign from the Cabinet after he had received an I. C. U. delegation, together with Bill Andrews of the S. A. Trade Union Congress, in connection with the conditions of the non-white post office workers. By seeing the delegation, Hertzog held, Madeley had given some sort of de facto recognition to the I. C. U. When Madeley refused to go, the whole Cabinet was forced to resign and was reconstituted without him. This was a clear indication by the Government as to how seriously it regarded even this sort of informal 'recognition' of the I. C. U.

The I. C. U. and the Communists

The fact that the white workers fought for and obtained a privileged position, as against the black worker - a situation confirmed by the National Party-Labour Pact of 1924 - further weakened the whole trade union movement, black and white. The Communist Party, formed in 1921, and particularly Sidney Bunting, realised how this division would weaken the working-class movement, and consistently fought for the unity of white and black workers. From the earliest days of the I. C. U. in Cape Town, some Socialists had close connection with the organisation. Roux states that they drew up the preamble to its first constitution along the lines of the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World (of America). The International Socialist League (I. S. L.) had formed an organisation called the Industrial Workers of Africa, sometime before the Bucket Strike (strike of Johannesburg sanitary workers) in 1918. A branch of this organisation, in fact, worked with the I. C. U. in the days of the Cape Town Dock strike at the end of 1919. But it was soon absorbed by the I. C. U. The famous 'Don't Scab' leaflet distributed by the I. S. L. appealed to the white miners to back up the African mineworkers' strike of February, 1920. It said:

White workers! Do you hear the new army of labour coming? The Native workers are beginning to wake up.

They are finding out that they are slaves to the big capitalists. Food and clothing are costing more, but their wages remain the same, away down at the pig level of
existence.
White Workers! Do not repel them! The Native workers cannot rise without raising the whole standard of existence for all.
They are putting aside their tribal differences and customs; they are entering the world-wide army of labour...
During the 1920's the Communist Party increasingly interested itself in the African workers, and began to realise the revolutionary role they were destined to play. Bunting wrote in the S. A. Worker (organ of the Communist Party) 12. Quoted in Roux, p. 133
at the end of 1926, commenting on Kadalie's statement that many Africans did not know what communism was.
as if it (Communism) were a white man's affair instead of being equally or more in this country a black man's -- he did not tell them that. (My emphasis T. Z.). But while the Communists played a crucial role in the I. C. U., they were faced by an increasingly hostile and opportunist attitude on the part of a section of its top leadership, especially Kadalie, which culminated in the expulsion of the Communist Party members from the I. C. U. at a National Council meeting in Port Elizabeth in December, 1926.
At the time of their expulsion in 1926 there were several Communists who held leading positions in the organisation. There was Thomas Mbeki from the Transvaal, E. J. Khaile, who was Financial Secretary, Jimmy La Guma, General Secretary, John Gomas from the Cape, and an Indian, de Norman, who was on the Cape Town Committee. The Communists in the I. C. U. began to push for improvements in the organisation: These were on three main fronts: Firstly, a firmer check on the finances of the organisation. Secondly, the rank-and-file members of the I. C. U. and other officials to have greater control over the I. C. U. leadership. They accused Kadalie of becoming a dictator. At the meeting the expelled officials held in Korsten (just outside Port Elizabeth) immediately after the expulsions, one of the resolutions demanded that there should be no exercise of autocracy by officials towards branch executives and members.
And thirdly, they called for mass action against the pass laws and other oppressive laws, and accused Kadalie of avoiding all real action. One of the resolutions adopted at the Korsten meeting called for passive resistance to be organised in conjunction with other bodies of African people against pass laws and other oppressive legislation.
The Communist's call for greater control of the finances of the organisation was fully justified later by the exposures of the enormous financial weaknesses in the I. C. U. There was eventually a court case exposing Champion's handling of the funds in Natal, where all the funds went into his-
personal account, so that there was no distinction between I. C. U. finances and
his own. After this exposure and his suspension from his post as Natal Provincial
Secretary Champion broke away with the Natal section to form the I. C. U. yase
Natal. This was followed by an epidemic of breakaways throughout the country.
As Roux says: Secretaries were bolting with cish, the unions' furniture was being
sold to pay lawyer's fees ... The events that led up to the final debacle were full of
drama and tragedy. Anarchy prevailed. Individual leaders competed for power.
They fought to obtain control of the I. C. U. And as they fought, the I. C. U.
vanished before their eyes until there was nothing to fight over.13
If anything justified the call of the Communists for firmer organisation, these
tragic splits did. Now, why had Kadalie decided to expel the Communist
officials? The reasons are fairly clear: He did not like their criticism of him as a
potential dictator, and, linked with this, he was not prepared, it seems, to build a
firm and cohesive organisation, where the lower officials and the rank-and-file
would play a full part. He preferred the drama of the platform to the hard and
more mundane work of building an organisation.

William Ballinger, who came out from Scotland as 'adviser' to the I. C. U. in
1928, had said: 'The I. C. U. was formed as a mass organisation in 1919 - all body
with very little head or feet". What he meant was that there was no firm
organisation, and particularly, in his view, organisation along trade union lines.
One cannot agree with his attempt to impose a 'sane and constitutional' trade
unionism on an African people, who had no real political and trade union rights,
and were suffering under a vicious colonial-type exploitation; nonetheless his
description of the I. C. U. has some truth.
Roux says of the period from about 1924:
13. Roux, p. 177
14. At a conference of location superintendents, held at Bloemfontein in
November, 1928, as reported in the Star of 15 November 1928

Nothing was done. Disillusion spread among the rank and file. But as people grew
disillusioned in one district, as their enthusiasm waned and they ceased to pay
their subscriptions, the I. C. U. moved on to new, untouched districts. So that it
happened that by the time that the I. C. U. was flourishing in the Transvaal it was
already losing members in the Cape .. This gives a fair picture of the nature of the
I. C. U., as an organisation: It spread, as both Kadalie and Roux have described it,
like 'a veld fire', and like a veld fire it left very little behind it.

Difficulties of Consolidation
There were enormous difficulties in building and consolidating the I. C. U. I have
already given some indication of the difficulties facing, particularly, African trade
union organisers in South Africa, but Kadalie made no attempt to counteract these
tendencies towards disintegration. In fact, his very approach encouraged them. He
wanted to be a 'platform thunderer', and so he and other I. C. U. leaders went from
platform to platform, addressing, very often, thousands of people, but there was
no real follow-up, either in organisation or mass action against oppressive laws, or
strikes for better wages or working conditions. After 1919 there were almost no
strikes at all, apart, from Kadalie's attempt to get things going again in 1928 at Onderstepoort and 1930 at East London, and no organised mass action on other fronts. These latter strikes were desperate attempts to reassert his leadership in the African political and trade union world; otherwise the I. C. U. did very little, and I. C. U. leaders even disowned some spontaneous strikes, and tried to get workers back to work, before attempting to negotiate. Many of the I. C. U. meetings had the tone of revivalist meetings, especially if there were any hostile whites present. At a meeting in Bloemfontein, in January 1925, Kadalie writes in his autobiography: 'I told the people to make such a hell of a noise that the white man cannot sleep'. This sort of theme is repeated over and over again at I. C. U.

15. Roux, p. 160

meetings, and in comments by Kadalie. He says in connection with a meeting in Pretoria in 1930: Whenever the occasion was big I used to take off my coat in order to enable me to move freely on the platform while pressing important pronouncements home. Indeed sometimes I used to knock out my interpreters when 'heated' during some of my big orations. 'Heated' had an almost revivalist meaning for Kadalie. This quality of his was strengthened with the disillusionment of his later years, when, in East London and Kingwilliamstown, he had the last of the I. C. U. branches. These were in the nature of African separatist churches where Kadalie was regarded as a Messiah. Undoubtedly Kadalie used recialism to get rid of the communists. He played on the theme of 'the white Communists'. Bunting wrote in the S. A. Worker after the expulsion of the Communists: 'The white communists were attacked, no doubt in the hope of dividing the black ones from them'. The I. C. U. rank and file and the other officials, on the whole, fell for this racialist line. It is significant, however, that most opposition to the expulsion of the Communists came from the main urban centres, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg. Durban, where an African nationalism with retrogressive elements was strong, was a notable exception. Champion, the Natal leader, was able later to use this tribalism against Kadalie himself, by exploiting the fact that Kadalie was not a Zulu, came from Nyassland, and could only speak English. A great deal of the African nationalism of the I. C. U. rank and file was closely related to tribalism.

Natal, for various reasons, which I cannot deal with in any detail for lack of space, had retained a tribal cohesion or, if you like, a Zulu national cohesion, to a larger extent than Africans in other parts of South Africa. One of the reasons was that the Zulus had more land and had thus retained a strong connection with the tribal group. Concomitant with this, they had not been drawn, to the same extent, into the urban areas, or only for relatively short periods. During the Bambata Rebellion of 1906 a young African was charged with 'spreading false reports calculated to cause unnecessary alarm'. He had written in Zulu to an acquaintance: 'I want you to tell me about the poll tax .... I want to go to the Zulu king because I am a soldier .... I shall leave Durban -and go to
Zululand. This Zulu national identification was still strong in the 1920's and even much later. The Zulus had put up a magnificent armed fight against white conquest in the 19th century, and in the Bambata rebellion of 1906 (otherwise known as the Poll Tax Rebellion) when they rebelled against the imposition of European rule, particularly that aspect which drew them away from the land and into the urban centres. Of course, the whole aim of the poll tax was to draw Africans into the growing capitalist economy. Roux has said The Bambata Rebellion in Natal in 1906 may very well be taken as the turning point between two periods in the history of the black man in South Africa: the early period of tribal wars and fights against the white invaders, which ended in the loss of the country and the reduction of the Bantu to the status of an internal proletariat; and the second period, one of struggle for national liberation and democratic rights within the framework of present-day South Africa, where black and white intermingle in complex economic and political relationships. During the first period the Bantu fought as isolated tribes and on military lines. Though they did not meet the whites on equal terms, but opposed shield and assegai to the rifle and machine gun, at least they met them as members of the independent tribes or nations having their own territory and military organisation ...17

The struggle against white domination in Natal, at least till 1930, and probably much later, had a strong element of tribal or feudal hankering for the past, instead of a more realistic and progressive policy. Petit-bourgeois elements, like Champion, mainly interested in personal power and financial gain, were able to exploit this tribalism for their own ends. It is no accident that Champion was a prime mover in the expulsion of the Communists, the vanguard of the working class. This retrogressive nationalism contributed largely to the disintegration of the I. C. U. It is in this of the transition from a semi-feudal, tribal economy, that the use by the I. C. U. of the strike, as both a trade union and a political weapon, is so significant. For it was a recognition by Africans that they had entered a capitalist economy and that, within this economy as workers, as a proletariat, they had enormous potential power.8

ROLE OF 'LIBERALS'
There is another significant reason for Kadalie's expulsion of the Communist: There were white liberals who put pressure on Kadalie behind the scenes, as Kadalie, himself, has admitted in his autobiography. When Roux wrote Time Longer than Rope 19 he did not realise the extent of this pressure, though being himself very close to the I. C. U. and very active in politics generally, he had a pretty good idea. But now a lot of material has come to light on this subject, making it clear that there were import-ant groups, particularly in Britain, which were interested in taming the I. C. U. The main person involved in South Africa was the novelist, Ethelreda Lewis, who had links with the Independent Labour Party in Britain. Her main contact in Britain was Winifred Holtby, who had gone out to South Africa in 1926, shortly before the expulsion of the Communists, as
an independent journalist and lecturer for the League of Nations Union and was from that time 'in close touch with the National Secretary, Clements Kadali'. Also involved in this network (and I call it that deliberately) were the Joint Councils, particularly those in Johannesburg and Durban which had been started by Christian liberals such as Howard Pim, Rheinallt-Jones, and Edgar Brookes. The correspondence between Ethelreda Lewis and Winifred Holtby makes embarrassing and sickening reading. Ethelreda Lewis's letters, particularly, read like a very naive C. I. A. agent. She continually stresses the need for secrecy. For instance, she says in a letter to Winifred Holtby (2nd May, 1928): 'I must do all I can to remain an unsus18. It is true that some of the strikes had a strong element of tribal non-co-operation.

19. i. e. for the first edition

peced person in the eyes of the Communists here'. And later in the same letter, 'I said nothing but just listened to the news so usefully dropped out'; and, again: 'It will be a set-back to my work with the I. C. U. if it were known to everybody'. In a letter to General Smuts of 16 January, 1929, she refers to her 'three years' struggle to make friends for the natives powerful enough to keep them safe from the Communist influence'. And much more. It appears that she was even hoping for money from the Carnegie Trust to help in the 'work'. The Joint Councils and those connected with them, represented the interests of British imperialism in South Africa, mainly the mining houses. They influenced Kadali to adopt what they called 'sane, constitutional' trade unionism. This meant deputations to the authorities and the employers, and, above all, avoidance of the strike or any mass action by the African people. It was a great pity that Kadali allowed himself to be sidetracked by these liberals, for there is no doubt that he was a remarkable man, highly intelligent, not without courage, and a magnificent orator. His power on the platform had its weaknesses, however, for, as I have already indicated he often used extremely radical statements and demagogic African nationalism to side-track any positive, organised mass action.

Nonetheless, in spite of the failure of the I. C. U., the African workers had learned the power of the strike as a trade union and a political weapon, and this, in the decades ahead they never forgot. It was a weapon they were to use never and over again. The African workers have a priceless heritage in the maturity they have gained in the struggles of the last fifty years, and objective factors have increased their potential. The achievement of independence by so many African states in the last decade or so and the beginnings, even though in many cases not very substantial, of the development and diversification of their economies, together with the armed struggles that have been mounted in Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, has made it likely that labour will not be so freely forthcoming from these areas as in the
past.2" This will undoubtedly strengthen the African working class in South Africa.

At the same time, the economy of South Africa has developed tremendously since the hey-day of the I. C. U. It is no longer dominated by a single primary industry, the mines, but has a complex structure with a developed manufacturing sector. There are many more Africans in the towns and on the farms who have experienced for long periods the vicious exploitation of their labour. In many cases they are the third generation of wage-labour, and have broken all ties with the so-called 'Bantu Homelands'. In spite of the Government's attempt to reverse the flow into the towns and to build up, in Blaar Coetsee's22 words, 'thy economy on contract labour' a permanent African working class has developed in the towns. Further: South Africa is suffering from an increasing shortage of skilled white labour. This factor is of fundamental importance for the further development of the struggle. There is an insoluble contradiction in the apartheid system, where the complex industrial development of our economy is fast outgrowing its colour-bar structure. With the development of the armed struggle in all the territories of Southern Africa, the white minority regime in South Africa will find its manpower stretched to breaking-point. The non-white workers will be in position to use their potential power as never before.

In this context, it can* be seen how important it is for our struggle to be developed on all fronts, bringing in all the progressive sections of our society - all sections of the African people together with the Coloured and Indian people and progressive whites.

20. Of course, there is still the problem of the thousands of migrant workers who enter our economy from the formally independent states of Lesotho and Malawi, mainly to the mines.

21. Deputy-Minister of Bantu Administration and Development,
12 July 1968

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INVALUABLE SURVEY OF WORKERS
South Africa: Workers Under Apartheid by Alex Hepple, 6/- from Defence and Aid Fund, 104 Newgate Street, London EC1.

This booklet is the third in an excellent new series of pamphlets concerned with southern Africa, written for the International Defence and Aid Fund. The wide experience of its author, Alex Hepple, who was closely associated with the South African labour movement for many years, has enabled him to compile an exhaustive survey of the apartheid web in which the workers of South Africa are entangled.

Mr. Hepple gives a masterly analysis of the network of laws which control the worker - the pass laws, Master and Servant Laws, and so on. Even the white worker, although immeasurably freer than the African, is hedged in by restrictions on his right to strike which are considerably more onerous than those under which his counterpart in Europe works.
From the outset, the growth of any united non-racial trade union movement has been hampered by the determination of the Afrikaner Nationalists to obstruct it, and by the reluctance of the white workers to surrender their privileged position. The extent of this privilege is exposed in the section on wage discrimination, which makes clear that in spite of all the propaganda claims by the South African Government that the standard of living of the Africans has risen under apartheid, the gap between the wages of whites and non-whites continues to increase. In gold-mining, for instance, the white/black earnings gap has widened from 11.7 to 1 in 1911 to 17.6 to 1 in 1966, and in real terms the cash value of African wages is no higher now and possibly lower than in 1911. White jobs are everywhere protected, and even if a shortage of white skilled labour has forced the Nationalists to rescind a few of the job reservation orders they have made it clear that in the event of any white unemployment the orders will again come into force. Thus the white workers form a labour aristocracy, fearful that any relaxation of apartheid will bring about a reduction in their standard of living and security.

The African, on the other hand, has no right to strike and no security of job or residence. He has been reduced to the status of a slave labourer, herded into the reserves or in the locations, allowed to work only on sufferance when his labour is needed.

The history of the trade unions in South Africa is littered with examples of unions or federations of unions that arose and then split and disintegrated on account of the race issue and government pressure. Therefore the South African Congress of Trade Unions stated when it was founded in 1956:

The organising of the mass of the workers for higher wages, better conditions of life and labour is inextricably bound up with a determined struggle for political rights and liberation from all oppressive laws and practices. It follows that a mere struggle for the economic rights of the workers without participation in the general struggle for political emancipation would condemn the trade union movement to uselessness and to a betrayal of the interests of the workers.

That the Government recognised the threat to its power of such an organisation is clear from the vigorous steps it took to render Sactu ineffective. Sactu officials were banned, detained and generally harassed in their work by police raids and intimidation; many trade union officers were banned from their positions because of their membership of Sactu, and employers were urged to sack Africans who were active unionists.

Today, as Mr. Hepple says, Sactu has virtually ceased to function. It is at this stage of the booklet that its principal defect appears. Mr. Hepple has given us some useful material in the book on the Nationalist Party attitude towards trade unions (even the traditional May Day holitlay was abolished on the grounds- that it was 'foreign', 'communistic' and 'anti-South.-African') but little if anything on the reverse side of the coin - the political struggle against apart-, heid. Thus the impression one gains from the booklet - not explicitly stated - is one of an all-pervasive system of oppression
from which the worker has no escape. The underground activities of the African National Congress and its allies, including the Communist Party, are scarcely mentioned, and the budding guerilla struggle is not referred to. Yet these must affect the consciousness of the workers how else explain the strike of 1,000 African dockers in Durban, unparalleled for a decade, and the threatened mass resignation of non-white hospital doctors in several hospitals, both of which occurred in the first quarter of this year?

Apart from this weakness, Workers Under Apartheid is a valuable source of material on all aspects of apartheid as it affects the worker.

MARY WEAVER
INFORMATIVE BUT COLD BOOK

LE POUVOIR PALE OU LE RACISME SUD-AFRICA!N Serge Thion, Editions du Seuil 1969, pp. 317,

With the launching of the armed struggle a new stage has been reached in the liberation of South Africa. Monopoly capitalism faces a new challenge to its domination; its most reliable agency, the apartheid system is threatened. South Africa symbolises the evil of racialism, colonialism and the ruthless violence of Western capitalism, issues which evoke a response throughout the world. As the struggle sharpens the South African issue becomes increasingly internationalised. This demands in turn the establishing of new or stronger links between the South African liberation movement and its potential allies in other countries.

The Western Governments are conniving at the situation Within South Africa and actively encouraging the South African Government. France participates in the encouragement. While making sympathetic noises to some sections of the 'Third World' the French Government has carefully fostered relations with the apartheid regime. It has actively encouraged the sale of arms which will be used against the liberation movements.

The need to win French progressive opinion for more active solidarity is clear. Recent steps including the holding of an international conference in Paris and the publication of this book are part of the response to this requirement.

Serge Thion has written Pouvoir Pale (White Power) for a French public which he believes is profoundly ignorant about South Africa, acquainted with probably the single fact of the Boer War. It is logical therefore that part of the book should consist of a recapitulation of some of the more familiar features of South Africa's history. In giving this historical outline he systematically delineates those factors which have resulted in the establishment of apartheid. He describes the economic basis, the ideology and the political apparatus which reduces the African majority to semi-slavery and envelopes the white minority in a cocoon of social 'privilege.

The aim of the system is clearly established, viz. to establish the mass of the population as the reserve of cheap, semi-skilled labour for the benefit of foreign monopoly and the growing South African capitalist class. This requires a political system of force and terror reinforced by the racialist ideology of the white minority.

Thion shows the growth and consolidation of the apartheid system tracing through his account of the first arrival of the Boers, the resistance of the African peoples,
the colonisation by Britain, the rivalry between Boers and Britons and their
subsequent alliance for the guarantee of a racially privileged position. He
describes the most significant economic developments, the growth of the mining
industry, the problems of agriculture with its backward technique and social
relations and the emergence of a modern industrial system.

The wide ranging material is competently handled, though some of the statistical
material is not up to date. It will nevertheless be of value to many people coming
for the first time to consideration of the South African political system.
There are however, some regrettable aspects of the book one must challenge.
Thion accuses the Western public of having merely 'lukewarm' feelings, (though
he adduces no argument in support) but he himself, perhaps as a conscious choice,
has written a cold book. Today, a writer on South Africa must not only present
facts, he must argue a case for action, for solidarity. Readers must be brought face
to face with the quality of the human tragedies that lie behind the statistics. He
must feel real men an women fighting back, pitting their humanism, their beliefs,
their very lives, asserting their humanity against the monstrous wickedness that is
South Africa today.

It is in discussing the fight back, and especially the forces of resistance that Thion
retreats into detachment. This leads him to discuss movements and organisation in
utterly impersonal terms; it leads him to treat the Pan-Africanist Congress as if if
were on a par with the African National Congress, it leads him to minimise the
role and impact of the South African Communist Party in the liberation struggle.
It is almost inconceivable that a book on South Africa could be written today in
which the name of Bram Fischer is not mentioned. A.N.C. leaders such as
Mandela, Mbeki, Sisulu receive a passing mention.

It is difficult for writers to cope with the rapid unfolding of events but though
Thion quotes from the A.N.C. leaflet which, announced its alliance with Z.A.P.U.
and the aims of the armed struggle, he does not deal with the August 1967
announcement of the launching of the armed struggle as an event of significance.
He suggests that the A.N.C. has learned at last from the experiences of China,
Cuba and Algeria. No doubt the A.N.C. seeks to benefit from the experiences of
all peoples fighting for liberation, and the experiences of the European resistance
movements will not be irrelevant either, but the essential thing to grasp is that the
launching of

armed struggle is not a reversal of policies hitherto followed, but the logical
extension of them.
The A.N.C. and the Communist Party have demonstrated their political maturity
by developing forms of struggle specifically related to the given conditions of
their country. They have offered leadership to the mass movement in exploiting
all the relevant and viable forms of action to their fullest extent and they have
moved in logical succession through a variety of forms of revolutionary advance.
The revolutionary programme which Thion looks for in the future is not waiting
in the wings, it is being worked out now at the present stage of South Africa's
history.
One is not asking for passionate partisanship for this or that organisation but for realism, for recognition of the forces which exist and which are increasingly mobilising and uniting the potential for liberation as it takes on new force and power.

JOAN BELLAMY

REQUEST FOR INFORMATION
I am presently writing my doctoral dissertation on the attitudes of the Methodist and Anglican churches toward the trade union movement between 1914 and 1968. I would appreciate hearing from any of your readers who remember actions or statements made by these churches, their members or their clergy, especially with regard to

1. Rand Strike, 1922
2. African Miners' Strikes, 1946
3. Banning of Trade Union Leaders, 1950s and 1960s

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Letters to the Editor

A LETTER FROM NIGERIA

In the last issue of The African Communist there were three letters criticising the article of A. Zanzolo (No. 36, First Quarter 1969) on the situation in Nigeria arising out of the secession of the former Eastern Region. These letters are no doubt well meant. They attempt to formulate a Marxist analysis of the Nigerian crisis. However the writers, Idris Cox (of Great Britain) Toussaint and J. Girodot (presumably "South African comrades) seem to be rather ill-informed about vital aspects of the situation in my country.

Toussaint asks a number of pertinent questions, to which only the dialectic of history will, in the end, provide the answers. The first question, he says, is 'that Biafra must have the right to decide ... whether to secede'. (To me, by the way, this seems to be not a question but an answer.) With respect, this is NOT the first question. The first question is: is there such a thing as Biafra?

Toussaint's assumption or belief that 'Biafra is an amalgam of tribes' is grossly mistaken and misleading. The former Eastern Region now arbitrarily renamed 'Biafra' by Ojukwu (did he consult the people in concocting this unknown name, comrade Toussaint?) was inhabited by a number of ethnic groups. They were not 'amalgamated' and inhabited different territories.

It is true that the Ibo constituted a majority of this region, which (please note, comrade Cox!) was a British-imposed geographical entity. They are about 7 million. But the area also comprised minorities amounting to no less than 5 million people. The Efiks, Ogojas and Ibibios now in the South Eastern State -- comprise over three and a half million. In the newly-formed Rivers State live the Ijaws, Bugamas, Kalabaris and others, with a population of one and a half million.
Idris Cox is quite right when he says the Ibos have the right to self-determination. But if they claim that right for themselves, how can they deny it to other minorities in Nigeria? That is exactly what the ruling clique of 'Biafra' refuses to accept. This is the crux of the question. This was a bone of contention in the pre-civil war period, when these minorities were never adequately represented in the government of the former Eastern Region. J. Girodot is clearly unfamiliar with the economy, the geography and the former administrative structure of Nigeria. In the former Eastern Region the Ibos occupied 11,310 square miles; the various other ethnic groups inhabited a far greater area: 18,174 square miles. They produce the bulk of the agricultural exports of the area, and their land yields most of Nigeria's oil. In fact the federal military government, by creating twelve Nigerian states, has provided real conditions for the exercise of self-determination. The former Eastern Region is replaced by three new states which in fact fulfil what Lenin demanded in similar situations: local self-government with autonomy for regions having special economic and social considerations; a distinct national composition of the population. Collected Works, Moscow 1964, Vol. 20, p. 46

Toussaint shows sound understanding when he writes -that the 'Biafran' movement 'could well be only a propaganda appearance devised by the ruling Biafran clique for its own purposes'. And even more so when he adds that this 'is precisely the matter that needs study, investigation and an assessment made on the spot by organisations with close contact amongst the people ...'

It is the more regrettable that, defying these sound remarks of his, he then proceeds -- without study, investigation or contact with the people of Nigeria -- virtually to prejudge this very issue, on the basis of some extremely dubious 'straws in the wind'. Certainly, we need a thorough Marxist analysis of the national question plaguing Nigeria. But this must be based on a far deeper study and understanding of the facts than your correspondents have displayed.

UDOBO ADAMS
Benin City, Nigeria.

Letters to the Editor

PRAISE FROM READERS

I congratulate you on another excellent issue of The African Communist. It was, as usual, relevant, well-written and interesting. I find your magazine easily one of the best in the English language. Let me say that I find it relevant not only because it is useful and necessary for us in the United States to know what is going on in South Africa, but also because there is a consistent attempt made in your magazine to talk about your problems in comparison and contrast with problems in other parts of the world. Thus, aside from the major article on black
people in this country last summer, there are comments in many other articles that make direct reference to us here. In short, it gives me great pleasure to send you the enclosed cheque for a two-year subscription. Keep up the good work and good luck in all your enterprises.

RANDOLPH SCHUTZ
Jamaica, N. Y., U.S.A.
The African Communist is certainly a marvellous magazine and the few that I have read have given me a great deal of ammunition, so to speak, in propagating and advancing the ideal of a free, socialist Africa for the future.

A. S. McGROOTY
Dublin

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