SEIZE THE TIME!

The enemy is in deep trouble. It is swaying with economic and political problems. The time is ripe to deliver some stunning blows. Let us seize the time!

The economy is in its worst mess for fifty years. Prices are out of control. The Rand is tumbling. Gold keeps going down. Unemployment is over four million. The wage packet buys less and less each week. Rents and fares keep rising.

Botha's political crisis grows. Divisions at the top are widening. All attempts to buy collaboration with so-called reform have struck the rock of people's resistance. Botha's bag of tricks to keep up white domination looks more soiled than ever.

FORWARD WITH UMSEBENZI!

Organisation is everything! To meet the enemy we have to be organised. And the spread of understanding is the very beginning of organisation. That is why we look upon our newspaper as an organiser.

Without a revolutionary theory the struggle is like a ship without a compass. But political theory is of little use unless it leads to revolutionary practice. Our job as revolutionaries is not just to explain the world; we have to change it!

An understanding of Marxist-Leninist thinking and the way our Party applies it to South African conditions will help us organise the path towards the future. We aim through **Umsebenzi** to create a bond between all revolutionary units and cadres and guide those still searching for a way of struggle. We aim, above all, to stimulate revolutionary understanding and commitment leading to organisation and action.

The liberating ideas which we South African Communists are spreading are truly hated by the racist enemy. They will do all in their power to stop our people from reading and circulating our message. You must therefore be careful. Work out safe ways to spread Umsebenzi. Use it as a weapon in the struggle for liberation and socialism.

- ★ The bantustans have remained comic book countries.
- ★ The attempts to create a good-boy trade union movement has failed.
- ★ The new minority constitution has fallen flat on its face.
- ★ The constellation of states remains a still-born idea.
- Nkomati fever has not spread the African states have seen that a kiss from Botha is a kiss of death.

Power is in Your Fist

Resistance and defiance are spreading. The whole army is now acting like a police force as we saw in Sebokeng. The people are inspired by the example and leadership of our liberation front and its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The mass movement grows in strength. Our youth continue to hit out. November's stayaway strike showed what enormous power there lies in the fist of the worker. The workers in factory, mine and farm can undoubtedly bring the ruling class to its knees.

The economic and political crisis and the growing strength of the revolutionary forces have opened the way, as never before, to people's advance. Capitalism and apartheid equal oppression and misery; both must be smashed.

Botha is in trouble!

Let us intensify the offensive on all fronts! Forward to People's Power!

SEIZE THE TIME!

The Alliance Born in Struggle ANC — SACP



We print short extracts
from the speeches of
Oliver Tambo
President of the ANC
and Moses Mabhida
General Secretary of
the SACP
on the occasion of
our 63rd anniversary



OLIVER TAMBO

President of the African National Congress

It is a matter of record that for much of its history, the South African Communist Party has been an integral part of the struggle of the African people against oppression and exploitation in South Africa. We can all bear witness that in the context of the struggle against colonial structures, racism and the struggle for power by the people, the SACP has been fighting with the oppressed and exploited.

Notwithstanding that it has had to concentrate on thwarting the efforts to destroy it, cadres of the SACP have always been ready to face the enemy in the field. Because they have stood and fought in the front ranks, they have been amongst those who have suffered the worst brutalities of the enemy, and some of the best cadres have sacrificed their lives.

And so, your achievments are the achievements of the liberation struggle. Your heroes are ours. Your victories, those of all the oppressed. The relationship between the ANC and the SACP is not an accident of history, nor is it a natural and inevitable development. Ours is not merely a paper alliance, created at conference tables and formalised through the signing of documents and representing only an agreement of leaders. Our alliance is a living organism that has grown out of struggle. We have built it out of our separate and common experiences.

Today the ANC and SACP have common objectives in the eradication of the oppressive and exploitative system that prevails in our country: the seizure of power and the exercise of their right to self-determination by all the people of South Africa.

We share the strategic perspective of the task that lies ahead.

MOSES MABHIDA General Secretary South African Communist Party

Our Party's stand as far as national liberation goes in South Africa is quite clear. It fully supports the same programme of liberation as the African National Congress, for the seizure of power and majority rule. The National Liberation Movement, to quote Lenin, 'is a necessary ally of the proletarian revolution'.

Our Party's relationship with the African National Congress is based on mutual trust, reciprocity, comradeship in battle and a common struggle for national liberation. Our unity of aims and methods of struggle are a rare instance of positive alignment between the forces of class struggle and national liberation.

We are clear about the priorities of our struggle, first national liberation and then an advance towards socialism.

The Freedom Charter, our people's document and programme of the ANC, sets out a scheme for the desired democratic liberated South Africa. We know full well that the racist regime in 1956 shouted 'Treason' when the programme was declared and it imprisoned 156 leaders of the liberation movement.

This document is now widely accepted as the people's vision of a free South African society. The Charter emphasises People's Power, it is against all forms of discrimination, it guarantees equal rights, freedom of movement, residence, occupation and religious affiliation.

The struggle of our people and our Party is thus a struggle against racism, colonialism, imperialist exploitation and oppression, for liberation, human dignity and peace.

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS MEET

NOTES OF A SIXTH CONGRESS DELEGATE:

Towards the end of 1984 I was a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the South African Communist Party. The years between the Fifth and Sixth Congresses had been full of hardships and trials for our Party. Many of our leading comrades had been jailed or exiled. Some had been executed or killed in action against the enemy. Leading comrades like J B Marks, Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo and others had died of natural causes.

We are a part of the liberation movement of South Africa headed by the African National Congress. The racist regime knows that our Party, founded in 1921, is one of its most dedicated and committed opponents. Our Party was the first to be banned by the reigme—in 1950. But the enemy did not kill us off, as it hoped. The Sixth Congress of the reconstituted South African Communist Party demonstrated that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism enjoy more widespread support among our people than ever before.

I have attended previous Congresses of our Party, but never have I been so confident of the future of our Party and the eventual triumph of socialism in South Africa. The delegates to the Sixth Congress, chosen by a combination of election and selection to ensure a proper balance, were a blend of youth and experience. The proceedings were dominated by the fire and enthusiasm especially of the young. And these young militants were not mere armchair radicals or adventurers. Most of them were, despite their youth, battle-hardened and tested in action. Their ideas were the fruit not just of booklearning but of political and military struggles with the enemy. Our cadres are tried and tested, committed and dedicated, disciplined and determined.

The composition of the delegates shows that our Party has become firmly rooted in the people. The bulk of the delegates, 64%, were African, 18% Indian, 6% Coloured and 12% White. The discussion was dominated by the realistic optimism of young people of working class origin. They have seen action and know what danger means, and are ready to sacrifice everything for the advancement of our cause.



The Congress took place over a period of several days. The following are some of its decisions:

- * Congress was of the opinion that the mood among the oppressed people in South Africa is one of revolt. A state of incipient civil war exists in the country. The urgent task of the liberation movement is to raise the all-round political and military offensive against the apartheid regime. The country must be made ungovernable, paving the way for the victory of the national democratic revolution.
- ★ Congress called for the strengthening of the revolutionary alliance of the ANC, SACP and SACTU to achieve this goal.
- ★ Congress called for the strengthening of the Party internally so as to enable it to lead the working class more effectively to carry out its historic mission.
- * Congress condemned the militaristic adventurism of the imperialists, headed by the US administration. Congress also called for the convening of a conference of the international communist movement to strengthen the world forces working for peace and social progress.
- ★ Congress called for the unconditional release of all political prisoners.
- * Congress adopted a constitution to regulate the work and functioning of the SACP. This is the first constitution adopted by the Party since its reconstitution in 1953.
- * Congress unanimously re-elected comrade Moses Mabhida as general secretary, and also unanimously elected a national chairman of the Party in seccession to the late comrade Yusuf Dadoo. In a future issue the name of the new National Chairman will be announced. The Congress elected a new central committee and laid down guidelines for its work during the coming period.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The new constitution adopted by our Sixth Congress is another milestone in the history of the South African Communist Party. The aims of the Party which are set out in Section Two of the constitution should be studied by all revolutionaries.

AIMS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party is the leading political force of the South African working class and is the vanguard in the struggle for national liberation, socialism and peace in our time. The ultimate aim of the Party is the building of a communist society, towards which it is guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The establishment of a socialist republic in South Africa requires that political and economic power be firmly placed in the hands of the working class in alliance with the rural masses.

To this end, the Communist Party aims:

- A) To end the system of capitalist exploitation and establish a socialist republic based on the common ownership of the means of production;
- B) To organise, educate and lead the working class in pursuit of this strategic aim and the more immediate aim of winning the objectives of the national democratic revolution which is inseparably linked to it. The main content of the national democratic revolution is the national liberation of the African people in particular, and the black people in general, the destruction of the economic and political power of the racist ruling class, and the establishment of one united state of People's Power in which the working class will be the dominant force and which will move uninterruptedly towards social emancipation and the total abolition of the exploitation of man by man;
- C) To participate in and strengthen the liberation alliance of all classes and strata whose interests are served by the immediate aims of the national democratic revolution. This alliance is expressed through the liberation front headed by the African National Congress;
- D) To spread the widest possible understanding of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and its application to South African conditions;
- E) To combat racism, tribalism, sex discrimination, regionalism, chauvinism and all forms of narrow nationalism;
- F) To promote the ideas of proletarian internationalism and the unity of the workers of South Africa and the world and to participate in and strengthen the World Communist Movement.

BUILD THE PARTY!

JUNE 26 Our People's Freedom Day

Mobilise to mark the 30th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter!

MAY 1st — WORKERS DAY

On May 1st 1896 over 340 000 American workers went on strike in support of a demand for an 8-hour working day. The police killed eleven workers. Four workers were falsely charged with killing a policeman and hanged. Workers throughout the world demonstrated support for their American brothers. From that time workers everywhere began to celebrate May 1st as their day.

In the capitalist countries May Day is a commemmoration of past victories which workers won in militant struggles. It is also a rededication to defend those gains and to continue the struggle for socialism. In the socialist countries May Day is a celebration of the progress possible when the working class seizes state power, takes over the means of production and ends all oppression and exploitation. It is also a day of support and solidarity with all those fighting for peace, freedom and socialism.

* * * *

For us May Day is a day on which we demonstrate against the inhuman apartheid system and the super-exploitation of the black working class; against the millions of unemployed, starvation wages, increases in the general sales tax, the uprooting and dumping of millions into the Bantustans, and malnutrition and infant mortality which wipes out our children, the denial of skilled jobs and the system of inferior education for blacks.

On May Day 1985 we must intensify the struggle for freedom. With a long and proud record of struggle our working class is today more organised, united and militant than ever. The use of troops, the murder of over 170 people, the injuring of thousands, the sackings, victimisations and arrests have failed to curb the militancy of the people. It is the working class which must show the way to all the oppressed and democratic forces in our fight to destroy the racist system. May Day is a day of struggle.



PEN PICTURES OF SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS



YUSUF MOHAMED DADOO

Dr Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo was born in Krugersdorp in 1909 and, after attending school in South Africa and India, qualified as a doctor in Edinburgh. Returning to South Africa in 1936, he was one of the founders of the Non-European United Front in 1938 and joined the Communist Party in 1939. He was elected President of the Transvaal Indian Congress in 1945 and President of the South African Indian Congress in 1950. In 1947 he was a co-signatory of the Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker Pact pledging co-operation of Africans and Indians in the struggle against discriminatory and oppressive laws and demanding full franchise rights for all. He was jailed for taking part in the passive resistance campaign of 1946, defiance campaign of 1952 and on several other occasions. After the 1960 state of emergency was declared, Dadoo was sent abroad to organise the external apparatus of the CP and SAIC. Elected National Chairman of the SACP in 1972, he died in 1983. He was awarded *Isitwalandwe-Seaparankoe* in 1955 and received many other international

orders.

JOHN 'BEAVER' MARKS ('J B')

John 'Beaver' Marks — J B — was born in Ventersdorp, Western Transvaal, in 1903. He started work as a teacher but was sacked after appearing on the platforms of the ICU, the ANC and the Communist Party, which he joined in 1929. He played a big part in reviving the Transvaal ANC in the thirties and was elected Transvaal President of the ANC in 1950. In 1942 he was elected President of the African Mineworkers Union and led the strike of 100 000 workers which paralysed the mines in 1946. A member of the executive of the ANC and elected chairman of the Communist Party at its 5th Congress in 1962, J B Marks was sent abroad in 1963 to join the external mission of the ANC. He died in 1972.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

This section of Umsebenzi begins the first part of a series on topics of great importance to every revolutionary. Limited space forces us to be very short. But we hope that readers will be stimulated to think more about the questions raised, to discuss them with their comrades and to find ways of studying further.

HOW TO MASTER SECRET WORK



. INTRODUCTION

This is a series about the role of secrecy in solving the tasks of the Revolution. Secrecy in work helps us overcome the difficulties created by the enemy. Secrecy gives us protection by starving the enemy of information about us. Secrecy helps us build a strong revolutionary movement to overthrow the enemy.

There is nothing sinister about using secret methods to help win freedom. Through the ages the ruling classes have made it as difficult as possible for the oppressed people to gain freedom. The oppressors use the most cruel and sinister methods to stay in power. They use unjust laws to ban, banish, imprison and execute their opponents. They use secret police, soldiers, spies and informers against the people's movements. But the people know how to fight back and how to use secret methods of work.

The early history of struggle in our country is full of good examples. Makanda, Cetshwayo, Sekhukhuni, Bambatha made use of secret methods to organise resistance. Bambatha, for instance, prepared his rebellion against colonialism in great secrecy from the Nkandla forest.

Secrecy has Helped us Outwit the Enemy:
The enemy tries to give the impression that
it is impossible to carry out illegal work.
The rulers boast about all our people they
have killed or captured. They point to the
freedom fighters locked up in the prisons.
But a lot of this talk is sheer bluff. Of course
it is impossible to wage a struggle without
losses. The very fact, however, that the
SACP and ANC have survived years of illegality is proof that the regime cannot stop
our noble work. It is because we have
been mastering secret work that we have
been able, more and more, to outwit the
enemy.

Secret methods are based on common sense and experience. But they must be mastered like an art. Discipline, vigilance and self-control is required. A resistance organiser in Nazi-occupied France who was never captured said this was because he 'never used the telephone and never went to public places like bars, restaurants and post offices'. He was living a totally underground life. But even those members of a secret movement who have a legal existence must display the qualities we have referred to.

Study and Apply the Rules of Secrecy:
Most people know from films and books
that secret work involves the use of codes,
passwords, safe houses and hiding places.
Activists must study the rules of secrecy
and apply them seriously. This enables us
to build up secret organisations linked to
the people. This secret network becomes
a vital force in helping to lead the people
in the struggle for power.

In our series we will discuss such topics as:

- How to set up a secret network;
- The Rules of Secrecy;
- How to overcome surveillance (i.e. observation):
- Secret forms of communication;
- Technical Methods such as secret writing, hiding places etc.
- How to behave under interrogation (i.e. when being questioned by the enemy)

These are among the main elements of secret work. To organise in secret is not easy, but remember: The most difficult work is the most noble!

Next Issue: Setting up the Secret Network

OUTWIT THE ENEMY!



POLITICAL ECONOMY

I. WHAT IS EXPLOITATION?

I suppose everyone at some time or another has met the man — usually a hawker or small shopkeeper — who thinks he has discovered the secret of this world. 'Buy cheap and sell dear! Those who do get rich. Those who don't stay poor'.

It sounds obvious. But is it? Let us look at the majority of the people, who are workers of one kind or another — in factories, farms, mines and offices. They all buy things, it is true. But not to resell them at a profit but to use them, eat them, wear them. So the 'secret of the world' cannot apply to them.

But what about others — the bosses and owners of the farms, factories and mines? They buy many things to put together into the products they sell — raw materials, machines, buildings and so on. And some no doubt buy these commodities cheaply — below their real value and some buy them above their real value. But they buy these things all the time from one another — not from those of us who work.

So if all those buying cheap are getting rich, and all those selling cheap getting poor, half the bosses and the owners would be growing richer — and the other half poorer.

But our eyes tell us this isn't so. All of them are getting richer, or staying rich. Very few of them are growing poor. So here is a puzzle! How can almost all of them get rich when they are all buying and selling to each other? Where does the profit come from?

This is not a new puzzle. Over 150 years ago Karl Marx spent his life trying to solve this puzzle and so get to really understand the secret of our world. And his solution, when he reached it, was both very important and very simple.

He looked away from the goods the bosses sell to one another, and towards the one thing they buy from the working people — labour! And suddenly the puzzle began to come clear. Labour, work was the clue! Work is the secret ingredient that is buried in every product brought to the market. Labour — buried deep in the pro-

duct — is what changes sand into bricks, and sticks into furniture!

Marx was the first to see that when a boss buys your power to labour for a fixed number of hours each day, he pays you the minimum he possibly can to make sure that you can continue working and that you will produce future generations of workers. But when you have finished a day's work, the wage which you get is always less than the value you have added to the product which the boss sells on the market.

Marx saw our world clearly divided into two great classes — the bosses who own all of what he called the 'means of production' (mines, factories, machines etc) and the workers who have nothing to sell but their ability to work. This is the society called 'capitalism'. In it, he saw, the workers will forever be poor and the bosses will forever be stealing for themselves that part of the workers' labour for which they have not paid.

Here is the real solution to the puzzle. It is one we will return to in future issues of this paper.

It is as if a man buys a cow at a market and pays its full value. But overnight, in his barn, it goes into labour and in the morning he finds he has a cow and a new-born calf — more value than he had bought and paid for. So too Labour Power — bought and paid for at its full value, produces greater value when converted into products for the market in which labour is buried.

Marx called this greater value surplus value. And the puzzle was solved! Surplus value is created out of the toil of the workers. But it is taken by the employers for themselves, because they own the land, the machines, and thus also the products brought to market. Workers therefore, are always being robbed of that part of their day's work which creates these 'surplus values'. This is what we mean when we say that the workers are exploited, and that the rich of this world make their profits from the sweat of the working people.

END EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN!



MARXISM AND VIOLENCE

Different Kinds of Violence

Our enemies try hard to paint communists as violent people. They spread the lie that communists prefer to use the gun rather than peaceful means to achieve their aims. But history has shown us that, of all political theories, it is Marxism which has the deepest respect for human life, its protection and its liberation from violence, exploitation and oppression.

It would be completely un-Marxist to follow theories which glorify violence for its own sake. Yet, communists are not pacifists. There are examples where communists have supported or led armed struggles for national and social liberation. What then is the real attitude of communists to violence? When and under what conditions do communists support the strategy of armed struggle or violent revolution? Before we can answer these questions we must take a brief look at the variety of forms in which violence appears.

The school-teacher who relies on the stick to make his students pass their exams is not solving a problem. The drunken bully who, dagger in hand, terrorises ordinary people is rightly regarded as a criminal who deserves punishment. If a policeman were to use violence to stop this bully, he would certainly be applauded by the people. But if the same policeman shoots a worker who is on strike for higher wages, the action of the policeman is completely different. And if the people who are on the scene hit back by stoning the policeman, their violence is understandable.

These are just a few examples to show that violence comes in different forms. It is of course violence in every case, but some acts of violence are unjust and some are just. Revolutionaries support the just forms of violence more especially in situations where the ruling class relies on brute force to conquer a people and to remain in power. There are other situations in which the political system makes it impossible for the people to bring about social change without armed struggle and violent revolution. It is for the revolutionary movement in each country to decide what strategy is best for its own struggle.

Just and Unjust Wars

European capitalism has been responsible for the most murderous wars in the history of humanity. In 1914 the imperialists went to war with one another, like a group of robbers who fight over their stolen goods. Led by Lenin, true revolutionaries the world over refused to support this unjust imperialist war and called upon the workers in both camps to overthrow their capitalist rulers.

Africa has also experienced the brute force of capitalism and imperialism. Every inch of our continent's soil was colonised by foreign military expeditions which seized the land and forcibly subjugated the

people.

In South Africa it began with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck. Our capitalist ruling class conquered us by force and relies on force to remain in power. Whatever the people have tried to do in the past in order to bring about real change has been met by the naked terror of the regime's police and army. And at this very moment the killing goes on in almost every area where black people live.

It is clear that in a case such as ours the people have every moral and political right to take up arms against those who know only force as an instrument of rule. It is in this kind of situation that we communists are committed to revolutionary wars waged by a majority in the interest of the majority. That is why in 1961 our Party helped to bring Umkhonto we Sizwe into existence. Our racist enemy is engaged in an unjust war on the people. And the people must be prepared to wage a just war to win back their birthright. There is no other way forward at the moment.

It has been said that war is a continuation of politics by other means. In our next issue we will deal with the way we communists see the connection between political and military struggle.

DEFEAT RACIST TERROR!



TRADE UNIONISM

Trade Unions and the Party

In a short book called What Is To Be Done?, written in 1902, Lenin explained his idea of a party of a new type — one able to lead the revolution for freedom and the building of socialism.

Lenin divided working class politics into trade union politics and revolutionary
politics. On their own the workers would
fight for better pay and conditions. But
Lenin wanted not just better pay for the
workers, but an end to the whole system
in which a few capitalists own all the
wealth, while the workers must sell their
labour to live.

For such a socialist revolution, a revolutionary theory is necesary. This theory can only be provided by those who have made a scientific study of how capitalism works, who understand the ideas of Marx and Engels and the nature of a communist society. This revolution can only be led by a party of professional revolutionaries people who devote their lives to making revolution. The revolutionary party — the part of a new type — has to be secret, highly disciplined and centralised.

The trade union movement, on the other hand, has to be as big, as broad and as open as possible. Trade unions arose out of the conditions which workers faced when factories were first built. They were created by the workers themselves, as a weapon to be used in their struggles, to make it possible for workers to protect themselves against the united power of the bosses, the government and the courts.

The strength of the workers lies in the fact that workers are many and the bosses and their allies are few. Workers found that on their own, as individuals, they could not succeed. Only by coming together with the other workers in the factory, could they win better wages and other improvements.

The unity of workers does not come about on its own. Workers all over the world have found that trade unions are necessary to unite workers in struggle. The slogan **Unity is Strength** is the basis on which trade unions are formed.

"Trade unions', wrote Lenin, 'are an indispensible school of communism' — a school that trains workers to organise and prepares them for the role they must play in bringing about the socialist revolution and in the building of a socialist society.

There are many organisations which call themselves trade unions: yet they have different ways of working, they do different things and have different policies. Are they all trade unions? How must a trade union work and what must it do? Which trade union policies are correct and which are wrong? What are the tasks of trade unions in the struggle for national liberation?

In this series we will be looking at these questions to understand the role trade unions must play to increase the strength of the working class movement: a strength which 'lies entirely in its political consciousness and its mass character'.



WE SALUTE THIRTY YEARS OF SACTU!

LESSONS OF THE STAYAWAY

For two days last November the wheels of industry and commerce in the Transvaal came to a total stop. We saw one of the most successful political general strikes in our country's history.

Actions of this sort shake the ruling class. They also help to teach and to organise the people for even greater struggles. In this way they become paving stones on the path to final victory. What are the lessons of this mighty workers demonstration? What does it teach?

The stayaway experience has given the hundreds of thousands who went on strike a feeling of great confidence in their collective strength. It has sent a message to all our working people that political and economic demands cannot be separated. It has exposed those meddlers who have been trying to stop the trade union movement from playing a part in the national liberation struggle.

The role of the organised youth is encouraging. Organisations like Cosas and Azaso helped to organise the stayaway and to make it a success. School children joined with factory workers to distribute leaflets at work places.

The unity in action between the trade union movement, the youth, community organisations and the UDF points the way to future advances in mass struggle. Headed by our working class, the strengthening of this type of patriotic alliance is a major task for all revolutionaries.

Those honest people who are still active in organisations like Azapo and Inkatha can now see where their leaders are taking them. Instead of supporting the workers, the political backwardness and careerism of these leaders pushed them into the enemy camp during the stayaway. Those who believe in liberation must start to move away from such so-called leaders.

Like all mighty weapons, the political general strike must be used with great care and skill. When the situation is ripe the national withdrawal of labour can combine with other mass actions, including the use of revolutionary violence, to destroy the racist regime. We should, however, not be tempted to play about with strike actions. If we use the political general strike unwisely or as a routine form of demonstration, we will be reducing its potential when the right moment comes.



Those who organised the Neil Agget protest and the November stayaway read the mood of the people correctly and or time. This shows that the leadership cadres inside the country are growing in maturity. It is more urgent than ever for more and more experienced leaders o our liberation movement to be where the action is — inside the country.

The November protest has shown that the people, and especially our workers are ready to make big sacrifices in the cause of freedom. If properly handled the strike weapon can become one of the key factors in the struggle for People's Power.

WORKERS UNITE TO SMASH RACISM!

SOUTHERN AFRICAN ROUNDUP dirty work by acting as policemen a ANC, just as Matanzima and Sebe

The Pretoria regime continues to attack neighbouring states, to support bands of murderers in Southern African countries and to sabotage economic progress and independence all over the region.

In Angola the South African Defence Force is still occupying parts of the south and gives massive military help and air support to Unita. But with the help of the Soviet Union, Cuba and other Socialist countries the Angolan people are bravely resisting.

In Mozambique, despite the Nkomati Accord which was supposed to end Pretoria's help to the armed bandits of the MNR, the acts

of terror and destruction go on.

In Lesotho and Botswana massive pressure is being used to force these two brave countries to knuckle under. Direct military attacks are supplemented by economic blackmail. So far, however, Pretoria has not succeeded in forcing these countries to sign non-aggression pacts.

In Swaziland they did succeed in getting such a pact, but it has not brought peace to the Swazi nation. On the contrary, ever since the death of King Sobhuza, a friend of the ANC, the Swazi people have known nothing but political dog-fights and increasing

poverty.

And in Zimbabwe the forces of destabilisation and chaos are being steadily prepared. According to Africa Magazine, Pretoria is building up a destabilisation force of former Muzorewa men and other dissidents in camps at Mandimbo Gumbo, Spencer and Pafuri along the Limpopo.



Julius Nyerere Chairman, Front Line States

Why is Pretoria doing these things? There are three main reasons:

First: The racists want to drive the ANC out of the neighbouring states. They want to make the governments of those states do Pretoria's dirty work by acting as policemen against the ANC, just as Matanzima and Sebe do. They want to go back to the times when the Portuguese and Ian Smith guarded South Africa's borders.

Second: The government is terrified that the peoples of Southern Africa will build socialis societies in the region which will be a strong rear-base of the ANC and an example of the benefits of socialism. That is why Angola and Mozambique were first on their hit-list.

Third: The South African capitalist class is not only the ally and handlanger of imperialism. worldwide, but also an imperialist force in its own right. South African big business wants to extend its economic control over the rest of Africa. Today its influence stretches as far as Zaire and Malawi — but this is not enough.

South Africa's capitalists want to bring all the Southern African countries firmly under their control. This is the real meaning of Botha's 'constellation of states'.

Pretoria wants Mozambique to join the Rand Area and the Southern African Customs Union. That will give South Africa control over Mozambique's trade with the world. Then it wants Maputo to join the Southern African Development Bank so it can control Mozambique's internal ecnomic policies. After that, the next target will be Zimbabwe.

South Africa is carrying out these aggressive policies with the encouragement and help of the United States. Pretoria correctly understands that President Reagan's 'constructive engagement policy' really means 'licensed to kill'.

The United States and South Africa are powerful enemies for our people. What weapons do we have to fight back with? First: We must strike where the enemy is weakest — right inside South Africa itself. Only the complete overthrow of the Pretoria regime and the white colonial state will bring peace and security to Southern Africa.

Second: The peoples and leaders of the region must keep up their brave resistance to the Pretoria bullies. It is now perfectly clear that coming to terms with the militarists in Pretoria is the road to disaster. They will only demand one concession after another.

But in the long run the only solution is to break out of the world capitalist system, of which South Africa is a part, and begin the long process of building socialism. However difficult, this is the only sure way to economic progress and political freedom.

DEATH TO BOTHA'S BANDITS!

THE VICTORY THAT SAVED MANKIND

It is forty years since the Second World War ended. That historic event will be celebrated in many lands. The most significant celebrations will take place in Moscow on May 9th. This is the day when Hitler Germay surrendered unconditionally to the Soviet army. The anti-communist West tries to belittle the Soviet Union's wartime role and talks about its own efforts. They try to hide the fact that it was mainly the Soviet Union that saved the world from fascist domination.

The Forces Behind Hitler

The imperialists try to hide the true causes of the war and the fact that Hitler owed his rise to power to the assistance given by international capital. For it was capitalism's aim to see a militarised Germany crush the Socialist Soviet Union. Hitler at first enjoyed the support of the Western rulers. But later sharp differences between them led to Britain and France declaring war on Germany in September 1939. No serious fighting followed, however, until Hitler's massive invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941.

On the Soviet-German Front

It was now that the real battles began. The Soviet Union fought almost single handed against Nazi Germany and its fascist allies. The main events of the war were taking place on the Soviet-German front. It was here that Hitler concentrated 250 divisions, millions of troops, thousands of tanks, planes, artillery. Until June 1944, 95% of the German army was on the Soviet front. Hitler's armies had easily overrun Poland, France and most of Europe. The world now saw the fascist armies grind to a halt and then saw them being thrown back. The myth that Hitler could not be beaten was smashed. Through four grim years the Soviet forces fought the gigantic military machine of the fascist bloc and bled it white. The invader was expelled from Soviet land. A dozen countries enslaved by fascism were liberated and the Red Army went on to capture Berlin and crush Hitler's Germany. No-one living through those times could forget the major battles at Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Kursk, etc. where Hitler's armies were destroyed. Yet those battles are deliberately minimised in today's capitalist history books.

The Source of Victory

What was the source of Soviet strength? It was the Soviet people — organised, inspired and led by their communist party — that were the creators of that victory. They fought a just war,



in defence of their own Soviet power and socialist system. The Soviet people were united under their great party, determined and ready to sacrifice. By contrast their enemy was fighting for false promises and unjust aims.

The cost of the war was tremendous. Of 50 million that died, 20 million were Soviet. Thousands of cities, towns and villages in the Soviet Union were destroyed. The cost of the war to the Soviet economy was calculated at 2.5-trillion rubles. The USA gained \$52-billion profit and lost 340 000 soldiers.

In Defence of Peace and Freedom

All this explains why the Soviet people work so hard for peace. The victory over Hitler Germany is the victory of all progressive forces. The Soviet victory helped Socialism to become a world system. It also meant that the national liberation movements were strengthened and colonialism collapsed. This had dramatic results in Africa and Asia and in South Africa too.

It is useful to remind our people that the Verwoerds and Vorsters supported the Nazis. Botha's party idolised Hitler and tried to sabotage South Africa's opposition to him. Communists and ANC members such as Slovo, Bunting, Hodgson and David Mashigo, who this government attacks as unpatriotic, were in the South African army fighting for freedom.

Communists today remain in the forefront of the fight to crush Botha's fascist racism.

SMASH SOUTH AFRICA'S FASCISTS!