CONTENTS

5 SACP Holds its 6th Conference
Attended by tens of delegates, the Congress was characterised by the revolutionary enthusiasm and confidence of the participants.

9 Victory Sooner Rather Than Later!
The revolutionary situation in South Africa is maturing, says a communiqué of the Central Committee issued after the 6th Congress of the SACP.

19 Editorial Notes
Making South Africa ungovernable; the anti-Communism of Bishop Tutu; Grenada now a US Military base.

ANC Khumalo

35 How The Red Army Buried Hitler
On the 40th anniversary of the defeat of the Nazi armies in Europe, the author recalls the prodigious feats of the Soviet people which saved the world from fascism.

ANC Khumalo

46 Poem:
Zoya on Guard

Andrei Gromyko

48 U.S. “Star War” Plan must be scrapped
Extracts from an interview with Andrei Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the USSR, with a group of political analysts from the Soviet mass media in Moscow on January 13, 1985.

I.N. Machaliela

51 Dramatic Growth of the Democratic Trade Union Movement
For the first time in the industrial history of South Africa the African workers form the largest single group of organised workers.

R.E. Nyamuko

63 Lessons of the Two-Day Stay-Away
The workers of the Transvaal showed what can be done. Now we must organise the workers in all centres to have “power in their hands” at the same time.

Macandrew

73 Africa Notes and Comment
Ethiopia: Socialist and capitalist aid; Swaziland: Not yet Uhuru; Lesotho: No truck with apartheid.

Georgie

86 Indian People on the March
The outcome of last August’s elections for two of the three chambers of South Africa’s new parliament have once again emphasised the vital role of the Coloured and Indian people in the revolutionary alliance fighting for national liberation.

Z. Nkasi

96 Second Thoughts on the Nkomati Accord
Opinion in the frontline states is steadily hardening against South Africa according to statements by Presidents Machel, dos Santos and Nyerere.

102 Book Reviews

109 Letters to the Editor
The intelligentsia must be won over to our side, from comrades in Africa; How freedom can be won, from Betha Sole Dludwonye.

Cover picture: Soviet soldiers hoisting the flag of victory on the Reichstag in Berlin in May 1945 marking the end of the war in Europe.
Recently, the 6th Congress of the South African Communist Party was held. Attended by tens of delegates, the Congress was characterised by the revolutionary enthusiasm and confidence of its participants who were inspired by the continuing mass upsurge in South Africa and the important contribution of the working class to this struggle.

The Congress carried out an extensive review of the work of the Party in the period since the last Congress. Discussion focused on the task of further strengthening the Party ideologically, politically and organisationally as well as heightening its contribution to the struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution and the advance towards a socialist South Africa.

It also debated all aspects of the developing situation in South Africa, paying particular attention to the further enhancement of the role of the working class as the leader of the national liberation and socialist struggles in our country.

The Congress also discussed the international situation. In this regard, it paid particular attention to the counter-revolutionary offensive of the apartheid regime in Southern Africa and the role of US imperialism in this campaign. It also laid special emphasis on the urgent question of world peace.

The participants noted that the Party had continued to grow in strength, especially inside our country, drawing into its ranks outstanding working class and youth activists in particular. Enemy efforts to destroy it, which now span a period of 35 years, have failed.
The conditions therefore exist for the further growth of our Party, attracting to itself the most advanced and conscious sons and daughters of the working class of our country. At the same time, this organisational work as well as the practical, political and ideological involvement of our Party with the workers in particular, will ensure the continued growth of the influence of the communist cause and enable the working class of our country to carry out its historic mission of taking power from the capitalist class and building a socialist society.

The delegates also noted that in the recent past, certain “left” ideological trends, which pose as Marxism, have appeared inside the country. These trends concentrate their attack on the political positions of our Party as represented in our Programme, especially the characterisation of the nature of the oppression of the African and black majority as colonialism of a special type.

The Congress reaffirmed the correctness of the perspectives spelt out in our Party Programme. The delegates emphasised the importance of the involvement of the conscious and organised working class in the struggle for national liberation as well as its leading role in this struggle. This will ensure that the democratic transformation assumes the most thorough-going revolutionary character and form.

In carrying out this vanguard role, the working class not only advances its own interests and creates the conditions for an uninterrupted advance to socialism. It also makes it possible for the rural masses and the middle strata to benefit fully from the national democratic revolution. It is this fact which makes the alliance between the working class and the other classes and strata among the oppressed people, under the leadership of the workers, both possible and imperative.

The Congress also observed that anti-communism and anti-Sovietism remain the main ideological platform of the apartheid regime and other backward political forces in South Africa. The increased intervention in the affairs of Southern Africa by the Reagan administration is also based on the pursuit of the same anti-communist goals.

The participants accordingly agreed that it remains an important task of the Party to combat this enemy ideology, especially among the working and oppressed masses of our country. It is also important that at all times the Party educates the working class in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, to defeat all tendencies towards tribalism, national chauvinism and racism.

Mood of Revolt
The Congress characterised the mood among the masses of the oppressed people in South Africa as one of revolt. A state of incipient civil war exists in the country. In this situation, the urgent task of the liberation forces of our country is further to raise the all-round political and military offensive against the apartheid regime.

The delegates observed that the racist regime has embarked on a campaign of mass repression in the country and continues with its policy of aggression and destabilisation against the independent states of Southern Africa. All this reflects the growing desperation of the enemy and represents a vain attempt, on its part, to alter the balance of forces in its favour.

However, through struggle, the masses of our people, with the workers at the forefront, continue to shift the initiative into their hands. On the other hand, the peoples of Southern Africa are resisting attempts by Pretoria and Washington to impose the apartheid regime on them as a regional power.

The objective and subjective factors exist for the rapid escalation of the struggle which should aim, in particular, to reduce the capacity of the regime to govern our country. The successful accomplishment of this task requires that all the masses of the oppressed people should be mobilised into struggle. In this regard, special attention should be given to the further organisation and mobilisation of the women and the rural masses, to elevate their involvement in the struggle.

It is also of vital importance that the organised detachments of our revolutionary movement, including our Party, should continue to strengthen their presence among the people, and mobilise the masses to address, in action, the question of the seizure of power.

The Congress pledged that the SACP would continue to work for the further strengthening of the revolutionary alliance of the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, which is headed by the ANC. The delegates hailed the fact of the growth in the strength and popularity of the ANC inside our country and the further heightening of its prestige internationally. They reaffirmed their confidence that the liberation alliance headed by the ANC would carry out its historic mission of leading the masses of our country to
victory in the struggle for the seizure of power by the people and the success of the national democratic revolution.

The Congress reaffirmed the urgent need to struggle for a just and durable world peace. It therefore welcomed the decision of the governments of the USSR and the USA to resume discussion on the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear weapons.

It expressed its opposition to the continued deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe and denounced the efforts of the Reagan administration to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union. It called on the people of the USA and the peace-loving peoples of the world to compel this administration to abandon its bankrupt and dangerous policy of brinkmanship.

The participants pointed out that the biggest contribution that the communists of South Africa can make to the cause of world peace and international security is the defeat and destruction of the bellicose and aggressive Pretoria regime.

The Congress paid solemn tribute to those members of the Party who had died in the period since the last Congress. It made special mention of the last Chairman of the SACP, the late Comrade Yusuf Dadoo who had served the Party and the struggling people of South Africa with great distinction for many decades.

It also saluted all political prisoners held by the apartheid regime, among them many members of the Party. It went on to call for their immediate and unconditional release.

The Congress also extended its revolutionary solidarity to all forces struggling for national liberation, democracy, socialism and peace, especially the people of Namibia, Western Sahara; Palestine, El Salvador; Nicaragua and East Timor.

It agreed that the international situation demands the convening of a world conference of the communist movement in order further to strengthen the unity and effectiveness of this movement as well as the anti-imperialist forces as a whole.

The delegates adopted a new constitution to regulate the work and functioning of the SACP.

They also elected a new Central Committee. Comrade Moses Mabhida was re-elected unanimously as the General Secretary of the SACP.
At the same time, it is exacerbated by the apartheid system. This system imposes constraint on the development of the forces of production, restricts the growth of the market and results in the diversion of large resources to unproductive uses, especially the maintenance and expansion of the apartheid state machinery, including the army, the police and the civil service as well as the manufacture of armaments.

The crisis of the apartheid economy demonstrates every day to millions of our people the inability of the capitalist system to provide the majority with a decent standard of living.

Instead, every passing day imposes heavier burdens on the shoulders of the working masses, resulting in the further lowering of their living standards.

The capitalist class, supported and assisted by the state machinery which serves it, has used the current economic crisis further to redistribute the wealth of our country in favour of the very rich and thus further to impoverish millions of people. It has also taken advantage of it to intensify the rate of exploitation of the working class.

Thus, despite the crisis, the monopoly capitalist groups in the country repeatedly report higher profits and increased profit rates every year. While the economy has contracted, the general index on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange has continued to rise. This apparently contradictory situation results from the fact that the capitalist class is confident that at this stage of the economic crisis, the profits of the major "blue chip" companies will maintain their upward trend.

The private owners of productive property have achieved this result through a combination of measures, including the intensification of the exploitation of the working class, raising the prices of goods and services across the board and increasing lending rates to extraordinary levels. The continued decline in the value of the Rand will also serve to reduce the quantity of goods that the working people can purchase with the wages they earn.

The economic crisis has benefited the very rich in another way. As a result of the crisis three giant monopoly conglomerates, the Anglo-American Corporation, Sanlam and Barlow Rand, control 75 per cent of all shares quoted on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Two years ago these shares were distributed among seven monopolies.

To ensure that the state sector succeeds to keep the wages of its workers down and continues to serve the interests of capital in general, the huge state companies have been allowed to falsify accounts so that they can hide their profits and report losses instead. As a result of this, Iscor did not pay any taxes in the ten-year period up to 1984.

It is therefore clear that the most powerful monopolies have continued to reap huge benefits from this crisis while the working class, and the black workers in particular, have suffered and continue to suffer most. In varying degrees the middle strata, both black and white, are confronted by rising debts. Small and medium-sized capitalist enterprises in towns as well as the countryside have also been hit hard. For these, bankruptcies, take-overs and mergers are the order of the day. Big capital dispossesses the weaker sections of the bourgeoisie and throws some of these into the ranks of the proletariat.

Poorest Hit Hardest
In keeping with the pattern of capitalist economic crises, the recession has hit the poorest sections of the population, first and foremost. As it deepens, its adverse effects spread to other classes and strata, including the bourgeoisie itself. At this point in time, the monopoly section of the capitalist class has been able to take advantage of the crisis further to enrich itself. These monopolists however know that as the situation worsens, they themselves will get affected directly.

The fall in the price of gold continues to have serious consequences for the economy as a whole. Gold accounts for half of South Africa's foreign exchange earnings. The decline in price has contributed significantly to the large balance of payments deficit forecast for 1984. Inevitably this situation will raise the level of indebtedness of the country vis-à-vis the rest of the world, contribute to the reduction of imports and further fuel the process of economic decline.

For the proletariat, the economic crisis has meant a rapid rise in the numbers of the unemployed, the surplus population which Karl Marx characterised as "the lever of capitalist accumulation, the condition of existence of the capitalist mode of production". (Capital I, p 632.) It has also meant a continuous attack on the standards of living of those who are fortunate to have jobs. The enrichment of the strongest sections of the capitalist class goes side by side with the impoverishment of those who get the lowest wages.

The apartheid state has also intervened to impose the burden of the economic crisis on the working people by adopting various means designed to ensure that the bulk of the wealth of our country continues to accrue to the dominant bourgeoisie. Changes in the system of taxation and increases in the General Sales Tax have contributed to bring about this result which is
also pursued through the imposition of rising rental and other charges in the urban townships.

At the same time, the enforcement of the pass laws has continued unabated, with the corresponding deportation of "offenders", as well as retrenched migrant workers, to the Bantustans. Legislation has also been tightened to enable the apartheid state to be better equipped to dump thousands of people in these surplus-population reservoirs. One such measure adopted by the racist parliament was the Aliens and Immigration Act, many of whose provisions are the same as those in the so-called Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill which the apartheid regime was forced to abandon as a result of massive popular resistance.

The masses of the people in the Bantustans continue to be driven deeper and deeper into abject poverty. Here, mass starvation and disease have reached epidemic proportions. The situation is further worsened by the additional burdens which the puppet administrations impose on the people. Faced with a future made hopeless by the capitalist system in confronting this system, these rural masses have nothing to lose but their chains.

Ideological Offensive

Sensing that the masses of the working people would increasingly combine the struggle for the improvement of their material conditions with a direct challenge of the capitalist system, the ruling class and its political representatives have embarked on an ideological offensive to convince the people about the supposed merits of "free enterprise". In pursuit of this aim, these forces continue to rely on virulent anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The dominant economic and political positions of the monopoly bourgeoisie in society have created the situation whereby the capitalist state increasingly reflects the interests and ideas of this most powerful fraction of the ruling class. Indeed, this dominance has resulted in the emergence of a system of state-monopoly capitalism according to which big capital transforms the bourgeois state more thoroughly into its own instrument of rule, dictatorship and self-enrichment.

The major conferences convened by racist Prime Minister Botha in 1979, 1981 and 1983, which were attended by the leaders of the apartheid regime and the most important representatives of capital, were an expression of the extent to which state-monopoly capitalism was developed. The presence of large numbers of businessmen at the signing of the Accord of Nkomati and the role some of them played in preparing the ground for the conclusion of this agreement, also attest to the degree to which the apartheid state serves the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie who seek further to enrench their economic domination of Southern Africa.

Whatever state-monopoly capitalism does, it cannot abolish the contradictions between the working class and the capitalists, between the oppressed and the oppressors, between state-monopoly capitalism and the majority of the people. The objective situation demonstrates and emphasises the antagonistic nature of these contradictions. It points to the incontrovertible truth that they can only be resolved through the victory of the progressive forces over those of reaction.

The struggles which the black workers and the rest of the oppressed masses have waged and continue to conduct, themselves an inevitable consequence and expression of these contradictions, have plunged the apartheid regime into a deepening political crisis.

National Liberation Movement

The single most important feature of this crisis is the inability of the racists to stop the growth and advance of the broad movement of national liberation. The ideological, political and repressive measures that the apartheid regime has used during the 37 years of its existence, to try to defeat and suppress the liberation struggle, have all failed.

In South Africa, as in any other capitalist state, the army and the police are organs used for the defence of bourgeois rule and are the chief instruments of state power. To defeat the bourgeoisie therefore means we must destroy these instruments of state power or render them ineffective. To ensure that the principal means that guarantee its survival are protected, the apartheid regime tries its best to destroy the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The racists have failed to achieve this objective.

Furthermore, over the last few years, the popular offensive has developed to reach levels comparable to those we had attained at the time when fascism resorted to a policy of extreme reaction, starting with the banning of the ANC. Of central importance is the fact that this offensive has been accompanied by the armed actions carried out by Umkhonto we Sizwe.

This escalating struggle has drawn millions of people into struggle, including workers, the rural masses, women, youth and all national groups of our country, including growing numbers of white democrats and revolutionaries. The level of political consciousness of these masses has risen with the progress of the struggle. So has their readiness to die for the revolution, if need arises.
At the same time, the better to be able to use their united strength, the people are organising themselves into democratic organisations, including trade unions, community, youth and women's organisations. The coming together of hundreds of these organisations in a united front and in united action, constitutes one of the most important advances that the democratic movement has made, and is an expression of the objective requirement of the national democratic revolution to unite all classes, strata and national groups that are interested in the victory of this revolution. To quote from Lenin:

"The masses... which have often been ignored and even despised by superficial observers, enter the political arena as active combatants. These masses are learning in practice... feeling their way, defining their objectives, testing themselves and the theories of all their ideologists.

"These masses are making heroic efforts to rise to the occasion and cope with the gigantic tasks of world significance imposed upon them by history; and however great individual defeats may be, however shattering to us the rivers of blood and the thousands of victims, nothing will ever compare in importance with this direct training that the masses and the classes receive in the course of the revolutionary struggle itself". (Lenin: Revolutionary Days.)

The heroic masses of our country have, by entering the political arena as active combatants, destroyed any coherence that the policies of the apartheid regime may have had and reduced this regime to a state of increasing confusion. Through their sacrifices and by the intensity of their political and armed offensive, the people have provoked divisions and strife within the ruling class and its supporters.

The boldest political manoeuvres adopted by the oppressors and presented by them as the beginning of a process of reform, but which were designed to turn some sections of the black population into puppets and direct the people away from the struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution, have been rebuffed by the masses of the people in the most decisive manner. Such has been the fate of the bantustans and "separate development" programme and the amended apartheid constitution with its tri-cameral parliament.

Thus, despite all its efforts, the apartheid regime has failed to expand its social base. Even the black middle strata, whom the ruling class and their state have sought to expand and bribe to come over to the side of state-monopoly capital, continue--in the main--to demonstrate their understanding that their interests would best be served by the victory of the national democratic revolution.

The Resort To Force
Faced by a series of defeats all along the line as well as the certainty that this revolution will continue its forward march, the apartheid regime can no longer rule in the old way. It has been forced to adopt a programme of crisis management which has brought to the fore the defence of the apartheid system as the principal objective of state power.

Demonstrating the correctness of the observation made by Engels that this state power "grows stronger...in proportion as class antagonisms within the state grow more acute", the apartheid regime has responded to the worsening general crisis of state monopoly-capitalism by strengthening the instruments of repression, especially the army. It has gone further to reorganise the state machinery so that the army generals themselves take control of this machinery, projecting the divisions they command as the only force in society capable of ensuring so-called national security through a policy described as "total strategy".

Responding to a threat to its survival, the capitalist class is prepared to turn its back on, and has abandoned all pretence at maintaining the bourgeois-democratic rights of even the white settler-colonial minority. For our country and people as a whole, dictatorial government by the most shameless and brutal defenders of bourgeois rule means intensified repression, militarisation, greater regimentation and unbridled tyranny.

Extreme reaction, encompassing all spheres of social life and the determined pursuit of counter-revolution, is the inevitable response of state-monopoly capitalism to the threat it faces as a result of the mass offensive for the victory of the national democratic revolution. Such a response, inevitable as it is, cannot but evoke greater resistance from the conscious masses. The reaction of the ruling class to the deepening general crisis lays the basis for the exacerbation of this crisis and the further ripening of the revolutionary situation.

These circumstances pose a special challenge to the working class and the working people of our country. In the words of Marx and Engels, "not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself, it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons--the modern working class--the proletarians". (Communist Manifesto)

History demands of the proletarians of our country that they wield the weapons in their hands and, in the van of the masses of our people, sue for the defeat of the racist military monopoly dictatorship. These masses are training and organising themselves in struggle to carry out this task. Every day they display their unwillingness to live under the old order, their
confidence in victory and their determination to make all necessary sacrifices to bring about this victory.

But as Lenin observed: “Revolution arises only out of a situation in which... objective changes are accompanied by a subjective change, namely, the ability of the revolutionary class to take revolutionary mass action strong enough to break (or dislocate) the old government, which never, not even in a period of crisis, ‘falls’ if it is not toppled over”. (Lenin: The Collapse of the Second International)

The aim of the SACP and of the revolutionary alliance headed by the ANC, the objective pursued by the workers and the oppressed masses of our country is to topple the apartheid regime and take power into their own hands.

In the coming period, these need to advance further towards the situation when we shall take revolutionary mass action strong enough to dislodge the racist regime.

The Workers Take Action

The working class must play a central role in this process. The special product of the capitalist mode of production, the working class has the historic mission to lead the alliance of class and national forces engaged in struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution.

This means that the organised proletariat has to engage in mass struggle in ever increasing numbers, side by side with other sections of the oppressed masses. Already these workers have stood up magnificently to the capitalist class and its racist and undemocratic state. The economic struggle for higher wages and better working conditions has seen hundreds of thousands of workers resort to strike action in pursuit of their demands. In hundreds of battles, during some of which workers have lost their lives as a result of police repression, the black workers have forced the exploiters to concede many of their demands.

Among these battles, the mine workers’ strike of last year was of historic significance. It was conducted in the militant tradition of the 1946 miners’ strike which was led by such communists as the late J.B. Marks and which was the precursor of the mass struggles which were conducted during the 1950’s. The Transvaal stay-at-home which followed the 1984 miners’ strike and which advanced economic as well as political demands, was an outstanding demonstration of the power of the organised working-class movement and a practical example of what the working class, in alliance with other sections of the democratic majority, must do to bring the day of liberation nearer. The working-class movement should continue to rebuff all attempts to isolate it from other sections of the struggling masses of our country.

The organised working class movement has both political and economic tasks to accomplish. It must continue its work to expand, strengthen and unify the trade union movement in one federation. The most advanced representatives of the working class have a responsibility to ensure that this movement is revolutionary in character, exactly because it is in the interest of the working class of our country that the national democratic revolution emerges victorious.

Thus the most conscious representatives of the working class should treat the trade unions not only as organisations for the furtherance of the economic interests of this class but also as schools of revolutionary struggle. In struggle, the workers should gain an understanding not only of their economic rights but also of their overall interests as a class. Already, in action, thousands of workers have demonstrated this comprehension. Proceeding from this achievement, we must ensure that the revolutionary trade union movement that we are building takes the lead in the struggle to destroy the racist, fascist and bourgeois state in the interest of the working class as a class.

Political Action

To accomplish this goal, the working class should not be satisfied merely to belong to trade unions, important as these are as mass organisations of the proletariat. In addition, it is in the vital interest of the working class that it strengthens the ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe in order to play its role in accomplishing the political and military tasks of the national democratic revolution.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that, as Lenin wrote, “under capitalism the proletariat... (is) the only class which (stands) directly and completely opposed to the bourgeoisie, and therefore the only one capable of being revolutionary to the very end”. (Lenin: Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat)

To be revolutionary to the very end means to fight for the victory of the socialist revolution, for the defeat of the bourgeoisie as a class, for the passing of power into the hands of the proletariat so that it becomes the ruling class. This is an historic task which faces the working class of our country, as it confronts the proletariat of all capitalist countries.

Therefore in the struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution, the working class cannot lose sight of its obligations as the midwife of the socialist revolution. The proletariat is interested not merely in
the success of the democratic revolution, but also that this revolution is thorough-going and goes as far as possible in undermining the positions of the monopoly bourgeoisie and bringing the maximum benefits to the working class and the oppressed and exploited rural masses.

It is for this reason that the workers cannot stand aside from the struggle to liberate South Africa. It is also clear that these workers must engage in struggle for a democratic South Africa fully conscious of their unique class interests, the necessity to make their imprint on the democratic revolution and to prepare the conditions for an uninterrupted advance from popular democracy to proletarian rule.

Sixty-four years old this year, the South African Communist Party, the vanguard representative of the proletariat of our country, lives on within our country, among the workers, the toiling and oppressed masses. A proletarian party, first and foremost, it fights for freedom and socialism. Vilified, persecuted and feared by the parties of bourgeois rule, including the NP, the HNP, the Conservative Party and the PFP, it stands in the front ranks of the struggle for a democratic South Africa.

Its members have fallen in action both within our country and in our region. Many of its leaders and members suffer long terms of imprisonment together with our colleagues in the national liberation movement: Others belong within the disciplined ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe, and working under the leadership of these organisations, share the hazards of struggle with their peers and do their best to advance the popular cause.

The Communist Party is a party of socialism and is convinced of the ultimate victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and the emergence of a socialist South Africa. To reach that goal, it is necessary that the working class should make the struggle against the colonial apartheid regime its own. It is also of vital importance that the most class-conscious of these workers should join their vanguard, the SACP.

Through the combined political and military offensive of the liberation alliance headed by the ANC, we have forced this regime into retreat. We must turn that retreat into a rout. The black workers of our country have already demonstrated great feats of heroism. In the coming period, the entire people of our country will continue to rely on the working class to intensify the all-round offensive against state-monopoly capitalism for freedom and socialism. We have it within our power to emerge victorious sooner rather than later. The call of the day is:

UNITE! MOBILISE! ON WITH THE OFFENSIVE FOR FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM!

EDITORIAL NOTES

MAKING SOUTH AFRICA UNGOVERNABLE

During the upsurge in the Vaal Triangle last year, the chairman of the Transvaal Stay-Away Committee, Mr Thami Mali, said:

"No amount of intimidation can stop us on our way to liberation... our duty as the oppressed people is to step up our resistance and create an un governable situation".

The Stay-Away Committee had succeeded in organising the most successful strike of its kind ever seen in South Africa. In a bid to prevent the oppressed people stepping up their resistance, the Botha regime went in for a process of wholesale killings, arrests and detentions, and Mr Mali and a number of others were arrested on a charge of "subversion".

Irrespective of the outcome of this and other cases coming before the courts this year, there is no doubt that South Africa is rapidly becoming un governable and the Botha regime is more and more finding itself in a crisis situation. The reason is obvious. The regime is trying to implement a policy which is unworkable because it is not based on consensus and the mass of the people are no longer prepared to acquiesce in their oppression.
Lacking popular support, the regime is forced to resort more and more to the use of force; but the more force it uses, the greater popular resistance grows. The points of conflict, both internally and externally, multiply. The spiral of violence turns inexorably towards catastrophe.

On the surface the Botha regime seems strong. It has an immensely powerful military and police force to do its bidding. It has a huge majority in the white parliament. Despite the current drought, the financial crisis and the collapse in the exchange value of the Rand, it presides over the only developed economy in the whole continent of Africa.

Yet never has a South African government enjoyed less authority both at home and abroad. Never has its lack of perspective and policy been more glaringly exposed.

President Botha thinks himself in a politically invulnerable position because he won the November 1983 referendum on the new constitution by a two-thirds majority, apparently isolating his right-wing opponents in the HNP and Conservative Party. But, as we have pointed out in these columns before, given that one quarter of the electorate did not go to the polls, this meant that only 50% of the white voters endorsed the new constitution, and they did so for widely differing reasons, displaying no ideological unanimity of the sort on which, say, Dr Verwoerd could rely when he presided over the affairs of the Nationalist Party in the 1950s and 1960s. In fact, as an organised force, the Nationalist Party has disintegrated under Botha's leadership, and by-elections since the referendum have made it clear that Botha's electoral base is by no means as secure as he would wish.

He has tried to strengthen his position by calling in reinforcements from the Coloured and Indian communities, but the elections for the Coloured and Indian chambers showed that the ploy was a complete failure, only 18% of the Coloured voters and 15.5% of the Indian bothering to go to the polls. Moreover, the political quality of the Coloured and Indian politicians with whom he claims now to 'share power' is so low that he knows he cannot rely on them for a single instant, that they will desert him at the first sign that his parliamentary ship is beginning to sink. Their credit in their own communities is nil. As a means of mobilising popular support, this rabble of collaborating opportunists are completely useless.

Botha's attempt to gain political adherents among the African majority has been even less successful. In the 29 African townships where elections were held in November and December 1982 for the 'town councils' to be set up under the Black Local Authorities Act, the overall poll was only 21%, while in Soweto it was 10.7% and in Evaton only 5.9%. In some constituencies, including Alexandra, disregard for the elections was so total that candidates could not be bothered to stand and stooge candidates were returned without a contest.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that these councils have no mandate from the people, the regime has equipped them with powers in the hope that as blacks they will be able to implement the apartheid policies with more success than the white administrators were previously able to achieve. The problem, however, was finance. Because Africans are not allowed to own land freehold anywhere, the township councils could not raise any income from rates — the main source of revenue of town councils in white areas. Revenue for the African councils was to be raised from service charges, site rents, fines for infringing by-laws, beer sales, and fees charged by labour bureaux i.e. from the administration of the hated pass laws.

Not surprisingly, few of the boards could balance their budgets. Equally unsurprisingly, the attempts of the African councils to raise money to cover their deficits.by, for example, increasing house rents and service charges met with the most intense opposition from the people. From the time of the elections onwards, the stooge African councillors have been the target for attack. Several have been assassinated, their houses firebombed, their property and vehicles destroyed. During the upsurge of the last quarter of 1984, so many African councillors went in fear of their lives that they simply ran away, many councils resigning en bloc. Townhship administration was in a state of chaos.

It was the rent increases imposed by these councils that sparked off the violent protest of the people last year. A total of 350,000 Vaal Triangle residents refused to pay the increase and by the end of the year had amassed arrears totalling R10 million in outstanding rent, water and electricity bills. The Lekoa Town Council exhorted the residents to pay and sent police to back up officials going' from house to house demanding rent from the defaulters. When this move failed, the Council threatened to evict all those in arrears with their rent, but fear of the consequences if a whole township was thrown on the streets elicited an assurance from the Minister of Co-operation and Development (the euphemism for African Affairs) that the government had no intention of evicting anybody. Employers were asked to deduct the rent arrears from employees' pay packets, but they wisely refused to cooperate. The council then cut off electricity to those houses which had it, but this, too failed to produce any result and the electricity was eventually restored. At the time of writing the arrears were mounting at the rate of R2 million a month, and the residents were refusing to pay a cent until the rent...
The President's Dilemma
In a situation like this, the regime finds itself in a dilemma. It cannot give way because its authority would be destroyed. On the other hand it cannot enforce its authority without provoking further mass resistance. In mid-January it took the next step, authorising 16 African town councils to run their own police force so that they would have a law enforcement agency at their disposal — something not even the white councils possess. We can make the confident prediction that this outrageous step will still further exacerbate the anger and frustration of the people. It was the invasion of the townships by the police and military last year, the house-to-house searches by Botha's armed and jackbooted Gestapo, the assaults and thuggery that followed, that drove the population to mass resistance and directly produced the two-day stay-away that paralysed industry. The transfer of arbitrary power to unrepresentative and greatly resented stooge councils is a recipe for disaster.

Yet it is precisely this so-called 'devolution of power' that is the essence of the 'reform package' that President Botha outlined at the opening of the current session of Parliament last January. He claimed that the regime "accepts the permanence in the Republic of South Africa, in large numbers, of black population communities who find themselves outside the national states", and promised to consider the establishment of an "informal, non-statutory forum", to enable African leaders and interest groups to discuss constitutional reforms with government representatives. He says he will think about allowing some Africans in the urban areas to obtain freehold title to land. But he insists that it is "neither desirable nor practical" to accommodate all communities in the same way because "no population group should be placed in a position to rule over another".

But the white minority at present rules over all others, and will continue to do so in future according to Botha's plan. He can forget about his 'informal forum', which no one with any self-respect would agree to serve on. The African majority are still denied any form of representation in the central parliament, let alone one man one vote, and are offered as an alternative only bantustan and township tyranny, with the ultimate perspective, once all the bantustans gain their 'independence', of losing their South African citizenship rights and being declared foreigners in the land of their birth.

Botha hopes to get the African people to co-operate in their own genocide. His Bantustans are an example of what he is aiming at — 'independent' states where the 'surplus' millions of the African people can starve to death in conditions of indescribable misery and squalor, but for which white South Africa accepts no responsibility, on the grounds that African governments are in power and must accept the blame for their own failures. The fact that the whole Bantustan system was imposed on the African people against their will, that not one Bantustan government has come to power in a free and fair election, is irrelevant to Botha. In the Bantustans he has placed millions of South Africans under the control of tyrannical regimes whose outrages against the people, detentions, murders and other atrocities far outweigh even his own, but this causes him no distress, because he does not aim to capture African votes. In his dream South Africa there will be no African citizens, only African guest workers who can be sent back where they came from if they cause any trouble. Even the tiny handful who may eventually acquire freehold land rights will still be liable to deportation under the pass laws.

And in the Bantustans...
Quoting a Witwatersrand University survey, the Rand Daily Mail reported on December 12, 1984: "South Africa is sowing the seeds of a catastrophe in the rural areas... and could soon be reaping civil unrest worse than the current strife in urban townships. Researchers working in the various 'homelands' are increasingly coming across signs of resentment and resistance to the authorities as more and more people are cast into beggary... without jobs, land or proper food".

At the beginning of January, the South African Institute of Race Relations called for the abandonment of forced removals, which, it said, were placing intolerable strains on the 'homelands' and "are the single most injurious aspect of apartheid and the one that besmirches the name of South Africa more than anything else".

Perhaps the object failure of the Bantustan concept is best revealed by the statistic that though in 1980, 35.7% of the population of South Africa was resident in the 'homelands' (both 'independent' and non-independent), they produced only 3.4% of South Africa's gross domestic product. Now in these poverty- and drought-stricken reservoirs of cheap labour, the spirit of rebellion is spreading fast as one mass removal follows another. "Nothing in the plans of the Botha regime can solve this central contradiction in South African society, because the racists are not prepared to relinquish one iota of white supremacy. The inclusion of the Coloured and
Indian MPs in the new tricameral parliament, for example, leaves the whites with an overall majority of votes at every level, justifiable in racist eyes by the fact that the white population of South Africa outnumbers the combined total of Coloureds and Indians. No plan can be advanced for incorporating the Africans because this would inevitably lead to African majority rule—something Botha and all other elements participating in the present parliamentary set-up, including the white opposition PFP and the Coloured and Indian MPs, are not prepared to contemplate. Hence Botha's frantic and futile attempt to shut out the Africans completely, despite all his boards and committees, talk of a 'new deal'; recognition of the rights of urban Africans, promises of freehold rights and all the rest of it.

The only force capable of breaking through this log-jam is the liberation movement headed by the African National Congress, whose programme as embodied in the Freedom Charter presents the only feasible 'alternative South Africa', and whose standing and authority have grown steadily over the years and are now widely recognised both nationally and internationally. In the past, the leaders of the ruling Nationalist Party were confident that they could suppress the people's revolution by force, but not all their detentions, torture and killings, nor all their aggression against the frontline states, their destabilisation of neighbouring governments, their Cassinga, Maseru and Matola massacres, their Nkomati and Lusaka accords, have brought them the security they seek. While pledging 'reform', Botha intensifies repression. The number of arrests, trials and detentions during 1984 was a record; 1985 is full of trials for treason, terrorism and subversion. The Botha administration becomes more and more militarised. A straw in the wind has been the recent appointment of the Deputy Minister of Defence, Adriaan Vlok, as Deputy Minister of Law and Order, which he explained in his own words as "evidence of good co-operation between the police and the defence force".

Overseas Pressures
The more South Africa is turned into a police state, the greater the resistance of the people mounts, to the point where allies are now becoming fearful of the prospect of revolution. It is no accident that on Human Rights Day, December 10, 1984, Botha's relationship with the United States suffered a blow, with Reagan himself calling on the apartheid regime 'to reach out to its black majority by ending the forced removal of blacks from their communities and the detention without trial and lengthy imprisonment of black leaders'. A few days later at the United Nations the US voted for a resolution passed unanimously by the Security Council calling on all states to refuse to purchase arms manufactured in South Africa, though the US still balks at imposing economic sanctions.

It is not that Reagan has abandoned his policy of 'constructive engagement' with South Africa. His revised stance has been prompted by the countrywide demonstrations against apartheid which have been sweeping America and the various pressures for disinvestment which have been growing in response to the mounting rebellion of our people. It is not merely Reagan who is disturbed by what is happening in Southern Africa; it is the whole military-industrial complex for which he speaks, and which fears that what Botha is offering in relation both to the amelioration of apartheid in South Africa and Namibian independence may be too little too late. It is this same fear that prodded the Democratic Party Senator Edward Kennedy to visit South Africa and that is luring a number of other prominent figures on to the anti-apartheid bandwagon.

For the US military-industrial complex has a lot at stake in Southern Africa. The United States is South Africa's biggest trading partner, with imports and exports between the two countries amounting to R4.2 billion in 1983. A recent study by Professor Carl Nolke, director of the Institute for American Studies at the Rand Afrikaans University, showed that more than 350 US companies have nearly R6,000 million invested in South Africa; that more than 6,000 US companies are involved in US-SA trade; that loans from US banks to the private and public sectors in South Africa total R12 billion; and that the overall US investment in South Africa, public and private and including share holdings, amounts to R28 billion. South Africa is also of strategic importance to America in the cold war, and is the source of a number of vital strategic materials. A sign of the growing lack of confidence in South Africa was the recent congressional report recommending that the US should reduce its dependence on South Africa for metals essential to US defence.

Events during the coming period will make South Africa more and more ungovernable as the Botha regime suffers a paralysis of initiative in the face of mounting pressures from all quarters. There is literally nothing the regime can do to solve its crisis, for it can offer nothing substantive but violence. This is a time for the liberation movement to step up its offensive and create the conditions for a meaningful shift in the balance of national and class forces in South Africa which will open the way for the transfer of power to the people. The ANC has proclaimed 1985 "The Year of the Cadre". Let our corps of Cadres advance now and finish the job.
THE ANTI—COMMUNISM OF BISHOP TUTU

On arrival back in South Africa last January after a five-week tour of countries on three continents during the course of which he met monarchs and presidents, prime ministers, Congressmen and parliamentarians and received the Nobel Peace Prize at a splendid ceremony in Oslo, Bishop Desmond Tutu addressed a press conference in Johannesburg during the course of which he said:

"There will never be stability, security and peace in South Africa until there is justice for all, until apartheid, that system as evil, immoral and unchristian as Nazism and Communism, has been dismantled".

We count ourselves amongst those who were delighted at the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Tutu, regarding it not only as a tribute to his personal contribution to the anti-apartheid cause but as a mark of international support for the national liberation struggle of the African people. We wholeheartedly endorse his view that there will be no security or peace in South Africa until apartheid has been dismantled.

However, we must confess our surprise at the bishop's equation of the apartheid system with Nazism and Communism, as if all three were merely variations of the same theme. Nor is this the first time Bishop Tutu has made this kind of comment. He has done it again and again. In our view it is about time he and others who have voiced similar sentiments changed their tune.

The comparison of apartheid with Nazism is plain to see. Both embody the concept of racial discrimination. Both regard whites as superior to blacks and belief race mixing is a sin. Apartheid, Nazism and fascism are all devices of the ruling class in capitalist states to perpetuate private ownership of the means of production and facilitate the exploitation of man by man — and in particular the exploitation of black men by white men.

In his book Mein Kampf Hitler spoke repeatedly of the need to stop "the process of bastardisation" in Europe, of the need to prevent "the infection of the white race with the blood of an inferior stock", of his determination to halt "the contamination caused by the influx of Negr oid blood on the Rhine" etc. etc.

"It was the Aryan alone", he wrote, "who founded a superior type of humanity, therefore he represents the archetype of what we understand by the term: MAN... It was not by mere chance that the first forms of civilisation arose there where the Aryan came into contact with inferior races, subjugated them and forced them to obey his command".

The whole world knows what Hitler did to the Jews, wiping out 6 million of them in the ghettos, gas chambers and concentration camps all over Europe. Even larger numbers of other 'inferior' peoples were killed during his offensive against humanity — Russians, Czechs, Poles, Yugoslavs, gypsies, communists. 50 million people were killed in the war brought about by Nazi-fascist aggression. Had Hitler won the war, we know what would have been in store for the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, regarded by the Nazis as little better than animals and beasts of burden to serve the master-race.

The leaders of the Nationalist Party saw nothing objectionable in all this, and hoped for a Nazi victory. In 1942 P.W. Botha's predecessor as Nationalist Party leader, B.J. Vorster, at the time a 'general' in the fascist Ossewa Brandwag, openly proclaimed:

"We stand for Christian Nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany German nationalism, and in South Africa Christian Nationalism".

Vorster was interned for his pro-Nazi activities, but later became Prime Minister and State President without altering his philosophy a great deal. Certainly the Nationalist Party in office has done nothing to abolish the 'colonialism of a special type' which has prevailed in South Africa throughout this century, which has preserved white supremacy and black deprivation, and which Bishop Tutu himself declares has left the African people today in a worse condition than ever before.

Seen in this context Bishop Tutu's comparison of apartheid with Nazism is historically justified, even though we notice that certain Zionist quarters in South Africa have objected, coming to the defence of the embattled Botha regime. In view of Israel's record of pillage, murder and devastation in the Middle East, and the close links between Israel and South Africa, this is understandable — incidentally providing justification for the United Nations' resolutions bracketing Zionism with apartheid as purveyors of racial discrimination and oppression.

The Communist Record

But why does Bishop Tutu bring 'communism' into this company? Nowhere in the writings or speeches of any Communist leader, nowhere in Marxist philosophy, is there to be found any justification of racial discrimination. On the contrary, the Communist Manifesto which Marx and Engels wrote in 1848 ends with the words: "Workers of all lands unite". And Lenin in his 1914 work The Right of Nations to Self-Determination wrote:

"Complete equality of rights for all nations; the right of nations to self-determination; the unity of the workers of all nations — such is the national
programme that Marxism, the experience of the whole world and the experience of Russia, teach the workers".

In our own country the journals of the South African Communists, The International, The South African Worker and Umsebenzi from the earliest days carried in almost every issue the slogan of Marx: "Labour cannot emancipate itself in the White while in the Black it is branded", and the South African Communist Party throughout the 7 decades of its history has stood uncompromisingly by the principle of equal rights for all South Africans irrespective of race, creed or colour.

Where Communists have held state power, they have implemented basic Marxist policies on the national question. In the Soviet Union, with over 100 different national entities, genuine equality of the peoples has not only been written into the constitution but has been implemented in practice, leading to the steady elimination of the inequalities inherited from capitalism and the drawing together of the diverse elements of the population into ever closer bonds of common citizenship.

There are no deprived or oppressed peoples in the Soviet Union today — no ghettos, no slums, no colour bars. The most backward peoples, who in 1917 did not even have a written language, are today able to enjoy all the advantages of Soviet society without any barrier.

The internationalism of the Soviet people was the factor which above all others enabled them to derive the strength of unity to defeat the Nazis in the last war. Moreover, ever since 1917 the Soviet Union has extended a helping hand to the peoples of the world struggling against colonialism for liberation and national independence. Bishop Tutu says he supports the aims of the African National Congress. Let him ask himself — who are the natural allies of the ANC if not the Communists? Is not the South African Communist Party in alliance with the ANC? Have not South African Communists given their utmost, including in many cases their lives, to advance the cause of liberation in South Africa? Who supports the cause of the ANC and SWAPO in votes at the United Nations if not the socialist countries? Who provides Mozambique and Angola, Ethiopia and Afghanistan, Cuba and Nicaragua, Vietnam and Kampuchea, with the means to defend themselves against the forces of counter-revolution?

The glib equation of apartheid with 'Nazism and Communism' is an affront to history and reason, an insult to the liberation movement in general, a desecration of the memory of some of our foremost martyrs and freedom fighters. Nor does it help the cause of liberation which Bishop Tutu genuinely aspires to promote. Bishop Tutu is a fierce critic of the 'constructive engagement' policies of Reagan and Thatcher, but it is only Reagan and Thatcher who can derive any joy from the Bishop's frequent references to the evils of 'Nazism and Communism', for 'constructive engagement' is specifically designed to eliminate the possibility of liberation movements and newly-independent countries opting for socialism. By linking 'Nazism and Communism' Bishop Tutu is helping to implement the objectives of 'constructive engagement'.

Perhaps Bishop Tutu thinks his anti-apartheid radicalism can be made more acceptable to his western critics if he dispels any illusion that he is a crypto-Communist. He should rather follow the example of his predecessor as Nobel Peace Prizewinner, Chief Albert Lutuli, who everybody knew was not a Communist but who as President of the ANC did not spurn the help and friendship of Communists, refused to resort to any form of anti-Communism, and lost not a whit of his reputation for that.

Anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism are the main weapons of reaction in today's world, weapons used by Botha, Reagan and Thatcher to justify internal repression and preparations for war. It is to be hoped Bishop Tutu will come to appreciate this and drop the phrase 'Nazism and Communism' from his anti-apartheid vocabulary.

**GRENADE NOW A US MILITARY BASE**

The world will not forget the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada, population 112,000, victim of United States aggression.

It was on October 19, 1983, that Maurice Bishop, leader of the New Jewel Movement, was murdered in mysterious circumstances in the military barracks of St George's, the island capital. Bishop was one of the co-founders in 1973 of the New Jewel Movement, which in 1979 ended the nightmare dictatorship of Sir Eric Gairy and opened the road to freedom and social progress for the Grenadan people. In the little over 4 years that it was able to exercise power, the Bishop government reduced unemployment from 40% to 12%, illiteracy from 35% to 5%, introduced a free health and dental care system, provided the legal basis for equal rights for women, distributed thousands of acres of idle land to small farmers, improved transport, roads and water supplies and laid the infrastructure for economic development which was maintained at an annual level of 5.5%. It also began, with Cuban aid, the construction of an international airport which was essential for the development of the island's tourist industry.
The redistribution of wealth which took place under the Bishop government was not to the liking of the bourgeoisie who had prospered under the Gairy regime; nor of the Americans, always nervous of anything resembling socialism developing in their backyard. The split in the New Jewel Movement gave Reagan his chance. When Bishop was deposed on October 12 by a Revolutionary Military council headed by army chief General Hudson Austin and Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard, the Americans started their preparations; and when Bishop, three other Cabinet Ministers and two leading trade unionists were amongst a number of Grenadan leaders killed in the confused events of October 19, Reagan put into operation a plan code-named "Operation Urgent Fury" which had been worked out by the Pentagon some months before.

Reagan claimed that the lives of US citizens in Grenada — in the main some 800 students at the US-run St George's University School of Medicine — were endangered and their safety had to be ensured. He called the US invasion of Grenada which took place on October 25 a 'rescue' mission: he was rescuing not only the endangered Americans but also the Grenadan people who, he claimed, were opposed to the Coard-Austin military dictatorship.

Reagan also claimed that Grenada was nothing more than a Soviet/Cuban military base, and that the international airport was being built to promote communist terrorism and subversion in Central America and the Caribbean. He professed to be merely responding to an invitation by the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) and Grenadan Governor-General Scoon to take action to prevent chaos in the region and restore 'democracy'.

None of these claims were true.

*The US medical students were in no danger until the US invasion force landed and started shooting — they and their college administrators said so themselves.

*The OECS issued no invitation to the US to intervene — it did not even have the right to do so. The 'invitation' issued by a group of US satellite states in the region (which did include some members of the OECS) was in fact illegal and in violation of existing treaties.

*Governor-General Scoon never issued an invitation until he was taken from his residence to the US helicopter-carrier Guam and made to sign the necessary authorisation — after the US paratroops had landed.

*Far from Grenada being a Soviet/Cuban military base threatening to spread 'terrorism' in the region, the tiny Grenadan army did not have the firepower or the trained manpower or anything approaching the necessary economic resources to present a threat to any of its neighbours, let alone the mighty US. The total number of Cuban citizens on the island, mostly airport construction workers, was 784, including diplomats and their families. There was no Soviet military presence at all.

By contrast, the US threw 3,000 of its elite troops on to Grenada — and it had taken more than one week to prepare them for action. Talk of an 'invitation' was merely a cover — the invasion came first, then the 'invitation'.

Illusions Dispelled
The population of Grenada was in turmoil at the time. Their popular leader Bishop had been killed, and there may well have been some Grenadans who welcomed the overthrow of the Coard-Austin clique, which had seized power. But if any Grenadans had any illusions that the Americans had come to bring them 'freedom and democracy', they were soon disillusioned.

Freedom of the press and information was the first to disappear. During the first week of the invasion an intensive propaganda campaign which had evidently been carefully prepared was unleashed at full blast by the Reagan Administration. The independent press of Grenada was closed down, and propaganda discrediting not only Coard and Austin but also Bishop and the New Jewel Movement was spread throughout the island. All citizens of Cuba, the Soviet Union, Libya and even Western countries (technicians, doctors, nurses etc. suspected of sympathy towards New Jewel) were expelled. The only source of information was the Voice of America and other US propaganda. The progressive Grenadan press was closed down and its journalists either jailed, exiled or thrown into unemployment. In all, over 3,000 people were detained in US military prisons or war camps. The orders for the administration of the island's affairs came from the US, and the CIA was everywhere. Coard and his wife, Austin and others were put on trial for their lives. The US undoubtedly aims to put in the dock not only the prisoners but the entire Grenadan revolution.

In May, 1984, the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM) was set up with Kenrick Radix, a former Cabinet colleague of Maurice Bishop, as chairman. In its inaugural manifesto it pledged "to continue the struggle to bring bread, peace and justice to the poor and working people; democratic and progressive forces; and to the nation as a whole" in continuation of the Maurice Bishop tradition. In an interview with the Cuban newspaper Granma, Radix explained that the American invasion had brought no benefits to the Grenadan people, was no victory.
There is no victory because our people for the first time in four and a half years are really hungry. Unemployment is something of 40 per cent as opposed to a previous 12 per cent. That is no victory. It is no victory to be hungry! It is no victory to be out of work! There is no victory in not having medical and dental facilities, which were there prior to the invasion. It is no victory for a people to experience the dismantling of all the social and economic programmes. Housing is in short supply. Electricity supplies are short and short still; water supplies are short and short still. The right of education is not guaranteed as it had been before.

Thousands of vagrants were to be seen in the cities and villages; prostitution rose sharply and crime reached unprecedented proportions. Drug addiction became a new and unwelcome phenomenon, and there were even reports that the American 'liberators' were themselves growing marijuana. State farms and peasants' co-operatives were ruined. The tourist industry was reduced to almost nothing.

When the invasion, which Reagan called an act of liberation, took place, the US had promised the United Labour Party of the former dictator Sir Eric Cairy. Gairy himself had not stood for election, but he immediately ordered his successful parliamentary seats at stake, with one seat and over one third of the votes to the New National Party headed by Herbert Blaize, won 14 out of the 15

Scoon to call elections on December 3, 1984. Thanks to the sustained US propaganda campaign to which the islanders were subjected, the US-oriented coalition which had been hammered together for the purpose, the New National Party headed by Herbert Blaize, won 14 out of the 15 parliamentary seats at stake, with one seat and over one third of the votes going to the United Labour Party of the former dictator Sir Eric Cairy. Gairy himself had not stood for election, but he immediately ordered his successful member to resign, charging that voting irregularities had taken place. The hate campaign which had been orchestrated against the New Jewel Movement resulted in the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement receiving only about 5 per cent of the votes, but the Movement also alleged corruption

The first action of the new Premier Herbert Blaize was to call on the United States not to withdraw its occupation forces until he had been able to knock together an adequate security force of his own: Blaize had been Grenada's Prime Minister from 1962 until 1967, when Gairy took over. During the election campaign Blaize received massive financial and organisational backing both from the US government and the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labour Development (AIFLD) which projected him as a 'moderate' between Gairy and Radix. After his victory Blaize declared December 5 a public holiday, and called for a special ecumenical celebration to "dedicate this land to the service of Almighty God". Reporters spoke of "a land plastered with Reagan-Bush '84 stickers".

Anti-imperialist Unity
What of the future? The question of Grenada cannot be considered in isolation from the situation in the entire Caribbean and Central America, and here the guidelines for future developments were laid down at the First Consultative Meeting of Anti-Imperialist Organisations of the Caribbean and Central America held in Havana from June 11 to 13, 1984. The meeting had been called largely to iron out differences of interpretation which had manifested themselves in the wake of the events in Grenada, and to ensure the maximum unity in the ranks of the anti-imperialist forces fighting against the Reagan administration's offensive against peace and progress throughout the world.

The meeting called for the immediate withdrawal of US forces from Grenada in line with the resolutions passed by the United Nations General Assembly and the Commonwealth Conference held in India in November 1983.

"Stating that the defeat of the Grenadian Revolution constituted a serious setback for the Caribbean and international revolutions, the participants in the meeting denounced the execution of Maurice Bishop and other revolutionaries and expressed their conviction that, sooner rather than later, the people of Grenada would once more take up the torch of national and social freedom given them by their beloved leader and martyr Maurice Bishop".

The meeting surveyed and denounced the effects of US aggression and destabilisation throughout the region, and declared that the following objectives should be achieved in order to make the Caribbean a zone of peace:

1. an end to the use of mercenaries;
2. an end to colonial and foreign domination;
3. non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of the states in the region, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity;
an end to military manoeuvres in the region that are directed against the people's interests;
an end to bilateral and multilateral military treaties between countries in the area and other countries.

Taking part in the meeting were 28 organisations and fronts from Central America and the Caribbean, including the Communist Party of Cuba, the People's Progressive Party and People's National Congress of Guyana, the Workers' Party of Jamaica and two other parties from the island, the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front as well as the Democratic Revolutionary Front of El Salvador, the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada, the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity and representatives from progressive and workers' parties from many other Caribbean islands including Puerto Rico, St Vincent, St Lucia, Martinique, the Dominican Republic, Curacao, Barbados, Bahamas, Antigua, Haiti and Guadeloupe.

"We recognise that we are brothers because we are confronting the same enemy which oppresses and exploits us", said their communiqué. "Now, faced with US imperialism's aggressive policy, the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America need close unity, diverse means of rapid communication, mutual support, encouragement and shared criticism in order to survive, struggle and win. We need ongoing exchanges in order to effectively coordinate our own resistance — coordination based on all that unites us and which enables us, as brothers and comrades, to tackle the differences and matters that separate us".

The peoples of the Caribbean and Central America are showing in battle against US imperialism today how much they have been inspired by this declaration. We in South Africa could well learn some lessons from our comrades in the western hemisphere about how to build a united front in our own struggle for national liberation in South Africa.

40 Years on
How the Red Army Buried Hitler

By ANC Khumalo

The hearts of the people of the world were beating for the soldiers of the red Army as they fought their way into Berlin during the latter days of April, 1945. The victorious Soviet army that had driven back the fascist hordes from the gates of Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad in the grim days of 1941-42 had now launched the final onslaught on Hitler's citadel.

When they started the war the fascist adventurers did not imagine this was how it would end. The hour of reckoning for all their evil deeds had come.

By the end of April the red banner was hoisted over the Reichstag and the Berlin garrison surrendered two days later. Hitler, who had dreamed of one thousand years of world domination, could only marry his mistress and commit suicide.

On May 8, representatives of the vanquished nazi Germany signed the documents of unconditional surrender and the following day Soviet forces went on to complete the liberation of Czechoslovakia where the last remnants of the German forces surrendered. May 9 witnessed the victorious end of the war in Europe and the entire world celebrated this epic deliverance from fascist slavery in a war that cost incalculable suffering, destruction and the loss of fifty million lives.
Particular gratitude was felt for the Soviet Union which had borne the brunt of the war, lost 20 million people and been so instrumental in nazi Germany’s defeat. As we prepare to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of this historic event, it is important that all should understand the full meaning of the war and the significance of that great victory.

To begin with, we need to examine the causes of the war and the question of who was to blame for it. We need to consider whether it could have been prevented. This is all the more necessary because forces similar to those that built Hitler threaten once again to plunge the world into war as a result of their anti-Soviet crusade. We need to show that the principal force that crushed Hitler’s Germany was the Soviet army and people. Western ideologists constantly falsify wartime events in order to exaggerate the significance of their side’s contribution and diminish that of the Soviet Union. They wish to obscure the power and ability of the Soviet Union which won such prestige in the struggle against Hitler, so that it should not be viewed as the champion of peace and security today.

Pre-War Events in Europe
The Second World War commenced on September 1, 1939 with nazi Germany’s unprovoked attack on Poland. Britain and France declared war on Germany. At this stage the Soviet Union was a non-participant, as was the other wartime ally, the USA.

Behind the outbreak of war lay complex events and forces. Most salient was the fact that nazi Germany and its allies had enjoyed the connivance of the rulers of Britain, France and the USA, since the chief aim of fascism was the destruction of the Soviet Union. Sharp contradictions between the imperialist states, however, led in 1939 to the outbreak of armed conflict between fascist Germany and Italy in the one camp and Britain and France in the other.

Ever since the advent of Soviet power in October 1917, the imperialists had sought to destroy the world’s first socialist state. During the civil war of 1918-22, fourteen invading imperialist armies in support of internal counter-revolution had attempted, in the words of Churchill, “to strangle the Bolshevik baby in its crib.”

Alone and isolated, but enjoying enormous support from revolutionary movements in all countries, the young Soviet Union built up socialism under very difficult conditions. It was resolute in the struggle to prevent war, following Lenin’s principle of peaceful coexistence, and constantly sought to forge collective security pacts to preserve peace and prevent fascist aggression.

The Rise of Hitler
The internal situation, already tense and fraught with danger after the capitalist economic crisis of 1929-33, worsened with the coming to power of Hitler’s nazi party in 1933. Hitler was backed by the German monopolists, assisted by foreign imperialists who dreaded the possibility of a socialist revolution in Germany. The crisis of world capital had resulted in 4 million unemployed in Germany alone, galloping inflation, and the growth in strength of the communists.

What happened in Germany was a classic example of the bourgeoisie dispensing with the niceties of parliamentary democracy and calling to power fascist dictatorship in order to protect the capitalist system.

Hitler called his party ‘national socialist’ (nazi for short) in order to deceive the German people about his objectives. The first step in his programme was the elimination of the powerful Communist Party and the democratic rights of the German people. With billions of marks at his disposal (30 billion from the USA alone between 1928-33), he began war preparations and built Germany into a gigantic military machine. His declared aim was to crush the Soviet Union and proceed to the domination of the world with the extermination or subjugation, according to his racist creed, of all the ‘inferior’ peoples such as the Slavs, Jews and blacks.

In the belief that war could be averted, the Soviet Union called for a firm alliance against Hitler, but Britain, France and the USA were not interested in seriously opposing him. Hitler proclaimed that his main area of interest lay in finding ‘lebensraum’. Moreover he was the servant of imperialism.

The attitude of all the powers was expressed during the Spanish civil war, where only the Soviet Union sprang to the defence of the legally elected republican government, whilst Britain, France and the USA followed a disastrous policy of non-intervention. This allowed the fascist General Franco, openly supported by German and Italian forces, to succeed in his criminal rebellion. In 1938 nazi Germany was allowed to annex Austria, and in September of that year came the shameful betrayal of the Munich conference where Britain and France consented to the seizure of Czechoslovakia by Hitler. In a last effort to save Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union offered tanks and troops to the bourgeois government, but Romania and Hungary refused to give them the right of passage.

After the fall of Czechoslovakia, Poland came into the line of fire, with Hitler demanding the return of Danzig (made a free city after World War I) and the Polish corridor giving Poland an outlet to the Baltic Sea but separating the territory of East Prussia from Germany proper. Poland, itself