Things are coming to a head in South Africa. We are very fast coming to a crisis in our history. The Nationalist government is tightening the screws and driving apartheid and oppression to the limits of the people's endurance. The people are fighting back. As one after another, the Government stops legal and peaceful channels of protest and resistance the oppressed masses are turning to methods that are illegal and non-peaceful. They are looking to illegal organisations like the African National Congress and the Communist Party for leadership and liberation. Violent outbreaks of one sort or another are becoming more and more common. Sometimes, as in the case of the operations of Umkonto We Sizwe, these outbreaks are purposeful, effective and carefully planned on a nation-wide level. But very often, as hunger, persecution and police terror drive one section of the people after another to desperation, we find unplanned, spontaneous acts of resistance and retaliation taking place on a local level, and the development of bodies like 'Poqo' with its outlook of blind revenge on whites.

Former leaders of the break-away Pan-Africanist Congress now living in exile, such as P. Leballo in his recent notorious Masaru speech, have attempted to claim the 'Poqo' movement as a part of their organisation. This claim is made for the purpose of boosting the fallen prestige of P.A.C. which no longer exists as an organised force in South Africa itself. It does not bear serious examination. P.A.C. may well have given rise to Poqo, by spreading the concept that spontaneous outbursts of people's violence are a suitable means of struggle, and by whipping up anti-white chauvinism amongst African patriots. But having produced the atmosphere in which Poqo has grown, neither P.A.C. nor anyone else can claim to control or to lead it. For Poqo is, in essence, an uncontrolled and violent reaction to oppression, not an organised political movement with an ideology and long term policy accepted by all its adherents. Outbreaks ascribed to Poqo, such as those at Paarl and the Baahee River, were not planned by P.A.C. or any other national organisation; they were semi-spontaneous reactions of men oppressed beyond endurance, inspired to action by the political aims of the Poqo movement.

Leballo's wild claims of '150,000 members' preparing for 'imminent revolution' which were designed to terrify ill-informed whites, have provided the Nationalist government with the very pretext they have been seeking with which to justify new extreme measures of repression and militarisation. Irresponsible P.A.C. talk has been grist to the Nationalist government's mill.

The reaction of the Nationalist Government is two-fold. On the one hand it steps up and makes harsher its innumerable acts of tyranny and oppression. On the other it is openly preparing to crush by force the resistance and rebellion which these acts must inevitably call forth.

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There is no freedom of criticism, of organisation, of speech and meetings, of the press. Every spark that still remains after fifteen years of Nationalist rule is vigorously stamped out. The army and the police force are being rapidly expanded and merged with one another. A drive is being made to panic the entire White population and enrol all its adult members into some sort or other of police and military part-time units. A wild and lying propaganda is spread in which every sort of opposition or protest to the Nationalists - ranging from spontaneous 'Poqo'-type outbreaks, to the dignified protests of the Liberals and the Black Sash - are labelled as 'Communism' and subjected to savage penalties.
leaders of national liberation, trade union and other democratic movements are subjected without trial or charge to house-arrests and a wide variety of other administrative penalties, prohibitions and bans.

VERWOERD AND VORSTER ARE STEADILY TURNING THE COUNTRY INTO AN ARMED CAMP: RULED BY DEGREE AND MARITAL LAW. THEY ARE HEADING FOR CIVIL WAR.

Without doubt these ruthless measures of the ruling class, born of panic and desperation have taken a heavy toll of all who, in the past, have had the courage to stand up publicly for the people's rights. They have greatly narrowed any hope of a peaceful change to a free South Africa. They have succeeded in intimidating some opponents of the Nationalists and causing them to waver in their faith in the victory of the people over the oppressors.

But the great mass of our people, particularly the African workers and peasants, are not intimidated. They are determined to win their freedom, whatever it may cost. And they know that freedom will be won. The white minority dictatorship cannot last. Whether it is looked at in relation to the rest of Africa and the outside world, or in relation to the balance of long-term forces in South Africa itself, the position of the Verwoerd government is hopeless.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WORLD

For a number of years the African National Congress and its allies have conducted a sustained and tireless campaign to expose the facts about apartheid to the outside world and to call for solidarity with the freedom struggle of the South African people. An important milestone in this campaign was the decision taken by the last General Assembly, by a majority of more than two-thirds, requesting member-states to boycott and isolate the Verwoerd regime in view of its persistent and shameless violations of the UN Charter. The Security Council was also asked to consider the expulsion of South Africa.

The Nationalist government makes light of these weighty decisions and claims they will never be put into effect. They are relying on the big financial interests in the imperialist countries with heavy stakes in South Africa. But, in the long run, these interests cannot prevail over the anger and indignation felt by the vast Afro-Asian, socialist and democratic majority of mankind against the outrages of this Nazi white supremacy regime.

It is true that, as yet, the General Assembly resolution, the Afro-Asian resolutions on the boycott of South Africa and other important decisions have not been treated with proper respect by all states and governments. Even countries which supported these decisions, including some African, Asian and socialist countries, have themselves failed to carry them out consistently.

However, it would be wrong to think that because of these failings the decisions themselves are "unworkable" or cannot be made effective. The same pressures which led to the decisions being taken will, sooner or later, lead to fully practical steps to carry them into effect. In one field after another, whether in diplomacy, commerce, sport or culture, world opinion is challenging South African apartheid and inflicting defeat after defeat on this hateful concept. The movement for solidarity with the people of our country is a sustained and protracted campaign. In this campaign the decision of the General Assembly marks an historic turning point from which further great advances can and will be made.
Looked at from the viewpoint of the historical process, the South African regime is steadily and swiftly being driven into a position of isolation, in which the armaments, capital and other forms of material and moral support which sustain it from abroad will come after another be cut short.

**THE BALANCE OF FORCES WITHIN**

Even more important, inside South Africa itself - in spite of the massive apparent and ever-growing state machine of domination and repression - the balance of forces is steadily changing in favour of the people and their liberation forces, and against the oppressing minority.

A MINORITY, HOWEVER HEAVYLY ARMED, CANNOT PREVAIL OVER THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE WHEN THE MAJORITY IS ORGANISED, DETERMINED AND CLEAR IN ITS PURPOSE. EVERY NEW ACT OF TIRANNY AND OPPRESSION BY THE GOVERNMENT CALLS FORTH ACTS OF REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST AND RESISTANCE BY THE MASSES. OFTEN SUCH ACTS MAY BE UNPLANNED, DESPERATE AND UNSUCCESSFUL. THEY MAY BE ANSWERED BY HEAVY AND COSTLY REPRISALS. BUT IN THE PROCESS THE FORCES OF LIBERATION ARE BEING FORGED. THEY ARE BECOMING MORE STEELED IN THEIR DETERMINATION. THEY ARE BUILDING EFFECTIVE AND INDEPENDENT ORGANISATIONS. THEY ARE ACHIEVING GREATER CLARITY OF PURPOSE AND DIRECTION.

The violent clashes which have occurred in the Cape and elsewhere are signs of the growing revolutionary upheaval in our country. The so-called 'Pogo' operations are a reaction against unendurable oppression, and one cannot doubt the courage and patriotic feelings of those who took part in such actions as the storming of police stations. But at the same time many of these acts show negative and even harmful features. Planned badly, or not at all, they have the nature of spontaneous outbursts: acts of desperation not acts of responsible and thoughtful revolutionaries. They reflect grave political backwardness, their only basis often being a crude, terrorist policy of hitting back and indiscriminate reprisals against the white community. Such a policy is far removed from the outlook of the advanced elements of the African people, as it has been formed in the course of a long experience of struggle for national liberation headed by the African National Congress, the trade unions and the Communist Party. At the same time, these acts of desperate retaliation have a positive side, although they cannot succeed in their objectives and although they involve heavy reprisals, setbacks and temporary defeats.

For from these defeats the people are drawing the conclusion, not that resistance is futile, but that it should be planned, purposeful and principled. The leaders of the African liberation movement have not merely taken a negative or critical attitude towards the 'Pogo' type outbursts. They have acknowledged that exclusively non-violent methods are no longer of use. Indeed it is notable that at the recent Kosi Afro-Asian Conference in Tanganyika, a spokesman of the African National Congress publicly announced support for and Congress connection with the fighting organisation, Umkonto We Sizwe.

Such statements, and the increasing activities of Umkonto itself, show that the African people and their leaders are rapidly absorbing the lessons of the abortive 'Pogo' outbreaks: that they understand the duty of experienced and responsible leaders. They do not in any way seek to dampen or discourage the revolutionary spirit abroad among the youth, the workers and peasants and the oppressed people generally. Instead they aim to harness that spirit, not to reckless adventures, but to effective, planned action. Only such a dynamic and militant policy can avoid the repetition of fruitless acts of violence, instigated by
desperate organisations of the 'Poqo' type, or even provoked by the authorities, and involving unnecessary bloodshed, reprisals and setbaoks.

Another important lesson which the oppressed people are fast learning from the present total phase of our history is that every attempt to redress or rectify a local or partial grievance is necessarily connected with, and can only be won by, the defeat of the nationalist government itself, and the ending of white minority rule. Where every protest and every demand is met merely by bloody suppression by the State, it becomes clear to one section of the people after another that the State itself is the obstacle to any sort of advance, and that no sort of happy or tolerable future is possible without the removal of this tyrannical State and its replacement by one which embodies the will of the majority of the people.

Does this mean that it is useless to campaign on any sort of local issue or partial grievance, and that the time has come to forget about such immediate questions and speak only in general terms of freedom? No: that would be wrong: such a conclusion could only be reached by parlour-politicians who live in isolation from the people and their daily needs and problems. Real liberation leaders who are close to and part of the masses cannot escape their duty to take part in their everyday struggles for higher wages, against pass laws, group areas and mass evictions, against Bantu Authorities and Bantustans, whether these struggles are on a local or a national scale.

But it does mean that in future every local struggle will more and more tend to broaden into a nation-wide struggle. It means that where the State and its police and military attempt to suppress strikes and demonstrations by force and violence the people are more and more going to be organised and prepared to defend themselves and strike back. It means that each campaign on a specific issue, whether it be the crucial struggle against the Government's newest 'Bantu' laws: the workers' demand for a living wage: the peasants' struggle for land and against Bantu authorities and Bantustans, whether these struggles are on a local or a national scale.

The best guarantee of the speedy victory of the South African revolution is that the seasoned and devoted leaders of the most representative and influential liberation organisation, the African National Congress, have grasped the essentials of this situation and courageously advanced a correct policy. It is now their historic task and responsibility - despite all the difficulties and dangers of work under illegal conditions and Nationalist terror - to convey this policy to the people and organise them in action to carry it out. In this hard task the A.N.C. can count, as in the past, on the unqualified support of our Party and all its members.

It is within the general framework of this outline that certain specific and critical problems should now be considered.

The Pass Laws - A New Round of Struggle

The pass laws have always been a weapon in the hands of the white colonialist state to oppress and exploit the African people. But the government is now intensifying and worsening the pass system in a way which changes its character. Pass laws have become much more than a source of constant irritation and humiliation, leading to summary arrests, raids and fines. In the Western Cape the pass laws are being used to evict Africans forcibly from the entire area and to return them to starvation in the Reserves. The government openly states that its aim is to close the entire Western Cape to Africans. This is just a beginning. It is the
intention to follow out the same aim, area by area, throughout the country. It is for this purpose that the pass laws have been extended to apply to African women, more and more of whom are being endorsed out of urban areas. The latest 'Bantu' legislation recently introduced in Parliament makes the aim clear. It is to turn all Africans into 'foreigners' in the 'white' sense — that is the main urban and industrial centres of South Africa. Here, Africans are to be deprived of all rights of residence, labour and family life. All Africans are to be turned into migrant labourers, forced by hunger from the crowded, starving Bantustans to temporary jobs under compound and contract conditions in 'White South Africa'.

The working out of this policy has already led to the desperation and bitterness of the Africans in the Western Cape. It will do so everywhere. The fight against pass laws is not a 'Western Cape' issue alone. It is a basis for nation-wide political action and resistance. In present conditions this cannot be just a repetition of previous anti-pass campaigns aimed at the curtailment or abolition of pass laws. Today the fight against pass laws has become a fight for the right to live and work in that 87 per cent of our country which is arrogantly claimed as 'White South Africa'. It is a fight against deportation to Bantustans and the seizure of the rest of the country. It is a fight for citizenship, for land and freedom.

EVENTS ARE FORCING THE PEOPLE INTO STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PASS LAWS. THEY CANNOT DO OTHER THAN RESIST. BUT UNLESS THE PEOPLE SEE THIS RESISTANCE AS WHOLE, AS AN INSEPARABLE PART OF THE GENERAL STRUGGLE OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE FOR FREEDOM, SERIOUS MISTAKES MAY BE MADE. 'EVEN THOUGH CONDITIONS ARE DESPERATE, RESPONSIBLE LEADERS CANNOT MERELY FOLLOW THE POLICIES OF DESPERATE AND IMPATIENT MEN WHO GROW RECKLESS AND CLAMOUR FOR ANY SORT OF ACTION REGARDLESS OF THE CONSEQUENCES, SERIOUS REVOLUTIONARIES CANNOT ENGAGE IN DESPERATE ADVENTURES WITHOUT THOUGHT TO THE FUTURE.

The new round of struggles against the pass laws poses most acute problems for the people and their leaders: but all these problems can be overcome if they act in a way that is both militant and principled, without yielding to desperation tactics or opportunistic concessions to backward elements.

Consider the position where, faced with intolerable pressures by the application of the pass laws, the African people of some area decide upon mass pass burning followed by a local general strike. Clearly, if they are ready for such action, militant leaders cannot and should not restrain the people. It would be wrong and in present conditions unrealistic to tell them to wait for some future 'national day of action' which may never materialise. Action must be taken on local initiative when and where the masses are ready to respond: their action will inspire the people elsewhere and draw them into action too.

But one cannot overlook that any action anywhere is almost certain to be answered by savage reprisals from the government, the police and the military. Unless alternative proposals are adopted and prepared for, such reprisals could lead to blind rioting and to indiscriminate, 'Pogo'-style attacks on white civilians and property. But such an outcome cannot be regarded with approval or favour by African patriots dedicated to the cause of freedom. Riots and pogroms can only lead to massive state retaliation, a serious political setback for our cause and its prestige at home and abroad and a crushing defeat of the people. Freedom fighters must not flirt with such ideas or remain cowardly silent in the face of them. That way lies disaster for our people and the cause of South African freedom.

Revolutionaries fight against and oppose such ideas and tactics, not because they are violent, but because they are wrong: because they are unprincipled because they aim only
to produce terror for the sake of terror. The people of this country will not be roused to
struggle by such actions, which hold out no prospect of the overthrow of the state of oppress­
ion but only prospects of wide-scale blood-letting. Instead the people will be driven into
activity.

The answer to government terror is not wild rioting, but organised and planned mass
self-defence and resistance. Police and military violence against peaceful pass-burners or
 strikers cannot succeed if the brave and disciplined young freedom-fighters are organised and
prepared to stand up in defence of the homes, the lives and the security of their own people.

TODAY IN MANY PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, GOVERNMENT POLICY IS DRIVING PEOPLE INTO RESISTANCE
TO A STAGE WHERE THEY ARE CLAMOURING FOR ACTION. LOCAL LEADERS CANNOT BE BEHIND THE PEOPLE,
OR THEY WILL CHASE TO BE LEADERS AND THE BLIND FORCES OF DESTRUCTION AND REVENGE WILL TAKE
OVER. BUT LOCAL ACTION MUST ALWAYS BE PRIMOTIFIED, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ESTABLISHED POLICY
AND GENERAL DIRECTION OF THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP. NO DESPERATION: NO ADVENTURISM: BUT FIRM
RESOLUTE AND REVOLUTIONARY ACTION! THAT SHOULD BE THE WATCHWORD OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE
AND THEIR LEADERS IN THE DIFFICULT DAYS AHEAD. THAT IS THE POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

How can we live, how can we keep our families, on the miserable wages we are paid?

the millions of low-paid workers, especially the Africans, in the factories, shops and
other businesses in the towns, no question is more pressing than this.

Everybody, even many employers’ associations, agree that Africans are paid far too
little. Yet hardly anything - for most workers nothing at all - is done to raise the wages.
The result is terrible poverty. Whole families live close to starvation. The worker
cannot manage to feed his family, to buy clothing, to pay for rent, transport, taxes, school
fees and all the other expenses out of his wages. His wife is forced to go out to work and
neglect the children, and still there is not enough. Often the neglected and hungry children
turn to crime. Always there is trouble with the police. Always the answer is the same -
WE HAVE NO MONEY.

Why are African wages so low, when Europeans get far more pay often for doing much
less work? African workers are seriously considering this question - and finding the
correct answer. It is not that they are less capable and efficient workers: it is that they
are discriminated against on racial grounds. Their trade unions are not recognised: their
strikes are illegal. Even when certain employers would be prepared to negotiate with the
workers they are stopped from doing so by fear of the government.

WHY ARE THE GOVERNMENT AND THE WHITE BOSS CLASS SO DETERMINED TO KEEP AFRICAN WAGES AT
STARVATION LEVEL, TO STOP ANY BIG AND IMPORTANT INCREASE ANYWHERE? IT IS BECAUSE THE WHOLE
WHITE LOCAL AND FOREIGN CAPITALISTS, ALL REST ON THE FOUNDATION OF CHEAP, SWEATED AFRICAN
LABOUR AND THIS TWISTED ECONOMIC STRUCTURE IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE TWISTED POLITICAL AND SOCIAL
SUPER-STRUCTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA, OF APARTHEID AND ALL THE VICIOUS ANTI-AFRICAN PRACTICES OF THE GOVERNMENT.

That is why it is impossible to look at the wage demands of the African workers from
a purely economic and trade union point of view. Every strike of African workers, even in
one factory, is immediately looked at as a political and a police matter. The government and
the bosses and the mine owners and the farmers are very keenly aware that a real big jump up in wages for one group of workers, even in one trade or industry, will inspire the millions of underpaid workers elsewhere, in industry, in commerce, on the mines, on the farms, to demand a fight for more money for themselves, too.

The workers are very well aware of this as well. That is why it is so rare to see a strike of workers, these days, in one factory or one industry. It is not that they do not have plenty of reason for striking: it is because they know that if one group of workers come out on strike on their own, all the forces of the state and the police will be brought in to hammer them, to arrest them, to victimise and deport them.

That is why, when African workers think or talk about striking for higher wages, it is in terms of a general strike for general demands rather than the traditional trade union pattern of each section fighting piecemeal for its particular demands in each particular industry or trade. And this is a sound and healthy approach: for although conditions may differ in detail from one industry to another, all African workers in general are subjected to colonial-type exploitation on the same miserable general standard of pay. To meet this situation what is needed is the greatest possible united action of the majority of the working class.

This does not mean that the workers and their trade union leaders should not undertake strikes and other actions, whether legal or illegal, in a single industry or even a single factory. Where the need arises and the workers understand and are prepared for the consequences, they will take industrial action. And they will be correct to do so, for a single victory, even a small one, in a single strike, may be enough to spark off and inspire a whole series of similar actions among other workers, a process which the authorities may be unable to subdue.

What it does mean is that in the present period the advanced section of the workers should take a forward and militant line of policy in the fight for a living wage. They should inspire the workers with confidence in their own strength and unity. They should strive to broaden out every militant struggle for higher wages with a view to including every category of workers in regional and national general strikes.

Finally, they must aim to see that the workers are made fully aware of the political aspect of their fight for decent wages, conditions and opportunities of work. Fundamentally the fight of the African worker for a living wage is part and parcel of his struggle for citizenship and trade union rights. To win this fight it is necessary to destroy White minority rule and establish a state of national democracy.

The fight of the urban workers for more wages is part of, and merges with, the fight of the whole people for the right to live and work in this country. The fight for land and freedom, the fight to win the national democratic revolution. The workers are not and cannot be separate from this great movement: in fact, they are its heart and soul and its natural leader.

RURAL AREAS AND 'BANTUSTANS'

The rural areas are no longer the placid backwaters of the country. They are becoming storm centres. The government itself is attempting to enforce its unacceptable policies against the resistance of the people. At the same time it is evicting militant men and women into the country areas from the towns, on a large scale. Both these attacks are having the effect of raising the tempo of revolutionary struggle in the countryside.
Especially in the Transkei and Zululand the government’s attempt to force through its Bantustan schemes, have brought about an explosive situation. Some areas are already close to civil war. The issue is becoming very sharp and clear. The issue is not what sort of Bantustan constitution should be adopted, it is whether the people will accept any type of 'regional self-rule' which means a surrender of their rights to citizenship within South Africa as a whole. More and more people are understanding that there is no liberation by way of accepting Verwoerd's mess of potsherd, by way of separating the Transkei or any other area from the rest of the country. The only way is that of struggle for the overthrow of white minority rule and the liberation of South Africa, our country.

Events are proving the correctness of the policy and decisions of our last National Conference, which, despite campaigns by others for a more 'democratic' or 'genuine' Transkeian constitution, demanded the total rejection of Transkeian separation and called for unity in struggle of the whole country for total liberation.

The liberation movement encourages and assists the rural people in their struggles, and helps to prepare and train in their most revolutionary people for action. But here again, wild ill-planned adventures can and should be avoided. Blended with the patriotic and revolutionary spirit of the rural people we are increasingly seeing the effect of that knowledge of organisation and experience of tactics, strategy and planning which has been gained in many years of political struggle in the towns. The African National Congress itself is turning more and more strongly than ever to the countryside. It is building new A.N.C. branches and strengthening existing ones. The aim is not to displace such popular and respected traditional leaders as Sabata Baliindyabo, or to put forward Congress members as competitors for local leadership and authority, but to assist the local people to unite the radical and anti-government forces in successful local action. Even though many traditional leaders may not share the Congress outlook, their resistance to the government is leading along the same road - a direct challenge to white supremacy and its eventual overthrow by the people.

The struggles of rural people against local oppression and on a local basis cannot by itself bring about the collapse of the Bantu Authorities system. For this, what is needed is a united nation-wide fight by the people of the country and the towns together, to overthrow white supremacy. But these local struggles are a starting point which can ignite the South African revolution. They inspire the country and show that the powerful giant of apartheid can be resisted and checked, where men are ready, organised and united, and where they fight back. Today the Nationalist government has a great advantage in arms and the organised state machine. But the people are stronger in numbers and conviction in the rightness of their cause. In the course of struggle they will gain also the organisation that is necessary for victory.

The government and its running dogs, like Kaiser Matanzima, who aspires to the sorry role of the Tshombe of the Transkei, is inflicting a reign of terror to make the people submit. They have for three years maintained a 'State of Emergency' in the Transkei. They have kept hundreds of people in jail without charge or trial. Their 'homeguards' assault African patriots, rape women, kill, burn down huts, turn farmers off their lands to starve. They are armed and backed by white policy and military.

But history teaches us - and Transkei patriots are proving it again - that neither terror nor force of arms can subdue the spirit of an awakened people. The mountain communities and the Xhosa fighting tradition is reconquering the Transkei from the invaders: and as has happened before, those without arms will learn how to obtain and to use the weapons they need for freedom.
The Communist Party is basically an organisation of urban workers. But it is a fundamental principle of our policy to build the closest ties of friendship between the workers and the peasants. Especially in a country like ours, where such close links already exist 'tween the 'Afrikos in the towns and their brothers in the platteland, it is the duty of every member of our party to assist the rural people in their bitter struggles and to show in practice that the staunchest ally of the peasant masses is the industrial working class of South Africa. Our workers must strengthen their personal ties with the countryside: they must work with the greatest sympathy, tact and patience, not to divide the rural people but to unite all patriotic forces among them for the overthrow of minority rule and ownership, and the transfer of the land and the government of the whole of South Africa to the whole of the people.

It is a usual tactic of fascists and other reactionaries to present a terrifying and completely distorted picture of 'Communism', and then to label and smear all critics, all advocates of change, as 'Communists'. The Nationalist Party are expert students of Hitler and McCarthy in these tactics. The African National Congress in particular has been made the victim of these smearong methods.

In its press and radio propaganda, the Nationalist Party paints an absurd picture, that as Communist Party has 'captured' the African National Congress and other liberation organisations, that it 'controls' these movements and decides their policy for them. This propaganda, which is aided by people like the P.A.C. and certain leaders of the Liberal Party, flies in the face of truth and commonsense. The Communist Party has no desire to 'control' or dominate any other organisation, and it is ridiculous to imagine that the leaders of the A.N.C. and its allies, who daily face persecution and even death to maintain the existence and independence of their organisations, would tamely submit to dictation from our Party or anyone else.

Certainly there is a large area of agreement between the Communist Party and the A.N.C. on policy and strategy. But this is certainly not because either organisation controls the other: it is because like the A.N.C., we of the S.A.C.P., as stated in our programme, regard as our 'immediate and foremost task' a united front of national liberation to destroy white domination and achieve a national democratic revolution, whose 'main content'... will be the national liberation of the African people'. It is not remarkable that the policy of our Party should coincide with the aims and aspirations of the majority of the people and their organisations - indeed this is a tribute to the correctness of Marxist-Leninist theory and its application by our Party to the realities of the South African situation.

Our political policy is correct: it can be understood and accepted by the national liberation movement and the masses of the people. But it is not enough for the leaders to have a correct policy. It is necessary that an adequate machinery must exist to convey this policy to the people and to enable them to carry it out effectively. That is exactly what is missing in the present situation in this country. It is true that the smacking attacks of the government have crippled and made almost impossible the means of propaganda and organisation which have been used in the past. The Nationalists are out to smash all organisations that oppose white domination, to stop their leaders from speaking, writing or meeting one another, to victimise, jail and exile them. Every day some new blanket or individual ban is announced, issued by the Minister of Justice. But all these handicaps can be overcome
by careful and intelligent organisation that recognises that new conditions need new methods and approaches. Failure to take necessary organisational steps would lead to a dangerous gap opening between the people and their leaders.

The period when it was possible to organise wide-scale open and lawful activity for freedom is nearing its end. It is still possible to find new organisational and propaganda methods to carry on the fight. But the methods which served so well in the past are no longer good enough. Most of the work of the liberation and democratic movements is unlawful. Whatever chances remain for carrying out legal mass work of education and organisation must be used to the full. But such chances have become so limited that they form only a minor side of the work that has to be done. The freedom movement has been forced into the position where illegal work is the major side of its activity. All ideas on organisation must now be reconsidered. The main job of the movement is to make its illegal work more effective, more efficient and more successful in reaching the masses of the people and evading repressive action by the authorities.

With the struggle rising in intensity, the most vicious punishments are being meted out to everyone who is known or even suspected to be involved in underground activity. Points of law and court procedures are thrown to the winds, as the state and the judges put the preservation of white supremacy before every consideration of justice, fairplay and the legal tradition. In these conditions, carelessness and recklessness become serious crimes against the people.

OUR PARTY

A tremendous responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY. In the strengthening and the leadership of our organisation rests the key to victory. Our Party is the most experienced and seasoned in underground work. It is guided by and imbued with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism which has been proved time and again to be the only correct revolutionary ideology.

Our Party can only fulfill the great tasks which now face it if it is greatly increased in membership, effectiveness and in the understanding and self-sacrificing work of each individual member.

OUR INSPIRING NEW PROGRAMME - SOUTH AFRICA'S ROAD TO FREEDOM - PROVIDES US WITH AN INVALUABLE TOOL TO RAISE THE POLITICAL LEVEL OF OUR MEMBERSHIP AND TO ATTRACT AND ENROL MANY NEW MEMBERS. IT MUST BE MADE THE B.A.SIS OF A VIGOROUS AND DYNAMIC CAMPAIGN OF EDUCATION BOTH WITHIN THE PARTY ITSELF AND AMONGST REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS WHO HAVE NOT YET JOINED OUR RANKS.

We do not want and never have wanted to enrol members into the Party who are not ready for it or who are likely to prove unstable or unreliable. But the time has come when we must discard the conservative approach which regards any worker who has not yet fully absorbed the teachings or perhaps merely the vocabulary of Communism as 'not ready' or 'unsuitable'. Thousands of people are today able to absorb the straight-forward message of our Programme and are ready to fight and die for it. It is imperative that we find a way to reach these people and draw them into our ranks.

To do all these things properly it will be necessary for all our members not only to give their time and their devoted work to the Party, but also to help raise more money.
and to make the fullest personal financial sacrifices that they can. At a time when every revolutionary is facing imprisonment or even death, there is no sacrifice from which we can shrink.

As a result of the present 'state of siege' mentality of the ruling classes, and the massive resources being devoted to 'security', to police activities, terror intimidation and surveillance of known leftists, the work of our Party, spearhead of the advanced working class, becomes far more difficult and dangerous. To meet the dangers we need to be filled with unshakeable courage and confidence in our Party, our Class, our people and our cause. We have every reason for confidence.

**FORWARD TO VICTORY**

Events in South Africa are moving towards a crisis, culminating in a direct clash, between the forces of reaction, apartheid and barbarism organised by the state, and the forces of liberation.

As the struggle grows more acute, the bravest and most resolute men and women will come forward to lead the people in the path of struggle and victory. The people will organise and fight back on every front - against pass laws, Bantustans and group areas, against starvation wages, against mass evictions, against police state terrorism. They will take bold local initiative against grievances: merging every local and partial struggle into a mighty river of people's insurrection that will sweep away minority bantuism and win people's rule in a free South Africa!

The Nationalist government cannot succeed in its attempts to check the awakened people of our country in their irresistible drive to freedom: they can only succeed in making that struggle more bitter and bloody. Should they persist in this course, the only effect can be that the present outbursts of sabotage and violence will develop into full-scale civil war, beginning with guerrilla operations in various parts of the countryside and culminating in an armed insurrection of the whole oppressed people throughout the country.

It is not the Communists and it is not the oppressed non-White majority who have chosen this path: it is the ruling classes, the Nationalist Party, backed up and encouraged by the United Party, and the big capitalist interests. They are out to keep big profits, stolen land and White privileges, even at the cost of a continuous reign of terror that turns our whole country into one big concentration camp, even at the cost of many innocent lives, both non-White and White.

**THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY OUT OF THE MISERY AND BLOODSHED OF NATIONALIST RULE AND WHITE DOMINATION - THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT. OUR PEOPLE WILL NEVER SUBMIT TO TERROR AND INTIMIDATION: THEY WILL UNITE, ORGANISE AND PREPARE TO FIGHT BACK. DEATH AND SACRIFICES CANNOT DETER PATRIOTS WHO ARE DETERMINED TO WIN FREEDOM: WHO HAVE DECIDED THAT IT IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE TO LIVE LIKE SLAVES AND BE TREATED WORSE THAN DOGS.**

DOWM WITH THE VERWERD GOVERNMENT OF STARVATION, TYRANNY AND DEATH!
DOWM WITH APARTHEID AND PARTITION OF SOUTH AFRICA!
FORWARD TO A UNITED, FREE SOUTH AFRICA: THE WHOLE COUNTRY FOR THE WHOLE PEOPLE!

**UNITE FOR LAND, FREEDOM AND THE RIGHT TO LIVE!**