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ANC CALL TO THE NATION THE FUTURE IS WITHIN OUR GRASP!

Events in our country are moving with astonishing speed. In our January 8th message we issued a call for the intensification of our liberation offensive on all fronts, the transformation of more and more localities into mass revolutionary bases, and the need to take further strides towards rendering the country ungovernable.

Only three months have passed since that call was made and already the surge of people's resistance and active defiance have reached new heights. The face of our country is changing before our very eyes.

- ★ In the black ghettos of the urban areas the legitimacy of authority of all types is not just under attack, it has been largely destroyed. Most of those who served white rule in so-called urban councils have suffered the wrath of the people. But many have respected the demands of the people by resigning.
- ★ The tri-cameral parliament has exposed its complete impotence in the present crisis and continues to be shunned. The Bantustans are universally held in contempt.
- ★ Well-organised stay-aways in localised areas have once again drawn attention to the potential of the organised workers to bring the ruling class to its knees.
- ★ The people, by their actions, are teaching black police and soldiers that there is no place in our communities for those who wear the uniforms of apartheid and who carry out orders to kill, maim and torture their brothers and sisters.
- ★ All attempts to tame our fighting students have failed and more and more schools and universities are becoming flashpoints for freedom.
- ★ The continuing street confrontations with the enemy's armed forces show that our people, in massive numbers, not only want a new order in our country but are also prepared to sacrifice life, if need be, to bring it about.
- ★ Fired by the heroic example of Umkhonto we Sizwe, more and more of our youth are searching for ways to organise themselves into effective combat units to defend the people, deal with the collaborators, and to hit back selectively at the enemy's armed personnel.

★ The people, undaunted by massive state repression, are openly demonstrating over and over again that the ANC is their legitimate and overall leader on the road to People's Power.

On the side of the people the conditions for a revolutionary leap forward are beginning to mature. On the side of the ruling class the economic and political crisis has reached new heights.

It is clear that the racists cannot continue to rule in the old way. The bankrupt and dying regime is being kept alive by those who carry arms in its defence. All attempts by it to find alternative solutions have landed on the rocks. All Botha's reforms, designed to defuse the developing revolutionary assault, trigger off even more vigorous mass opposition. The promised alteration of the sex laws is the latest pathetic manoeuvre. It is another gesture to help the external allies of apartheid to stem the mounting international tide for the total isolation of South Africa. There will be real love across the colour line only when South Africa is completely free.

The growing ferment from below and the deepening crisis from above demand the urgent attention of our whole liberation front and all sectors of our struggling peoples.

The historic conditions which are necessary to ensure the collapse of the apartheid system and the creation by the people of a new social order are beginning to take shape in greater measure than ever before in our history. Yet much more remains to be done. It is the urgent task of our liberation movement and of all patriots to stimulate the further growth of those conditions which could bring the day of the people's seizure of power within our sight.

It is against this background that we once again call on all sections of our people to make the apartheid system more and more unworkable and the country less and less governable. At the same time we must work endlessly to strengthen all levels of mass and underground organisation and to create the beginnings of popular power.

More particularly:

● We call on our nationally oppressed working class to strengthen and unite the trade union movement and to sharpen the weapon of workers' power at the point of production in the struggle for national liberation. A long-lasting national work stoppage, backed by our oppressed communities and supported by armed activity, can break the backbone of the apartheid system and bring the regime to its knees. All patriots active in industrial organisation must examine the lesson of the recent successful stay-aways in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape and must set their sights on combining national

stay-away action with countrywide mass popular actions.

- We call on our communities in the black ghettos to replace the collapsing government stooge councils with people's committees in every block which could become the embryos of people's power.

- We call on our people and, more especially, our fighting youth in every black community, school and university to find ways of organising themselves into small mobile units which will protect the people against anti-social elements and act in an organised way in both white and black areas against the enemy and its agents. Every black area must become a 'no go area' for any isolated individuals or pockets of the enemy's police or armed personnel. The people must find ways to obtain arms by whatever means from the enemy and from any other source. Appropriate forms of combat tactics must be developed for situations in which the enemy is on the rampage against the people. The proliferation of such units and their functioning in accordance with all the rules of underground secrecy will add inestimable power and strength to the armed wing of our liberation movement — Umkhonto we Sizwe.

- We call on all those among the black oppressed who serve in the machineries of apartheid to resign now. The Bantustans, the so-called parliaments for the Coloured and Indian people, the community councils and other organs of racist power must cease to function. They must find fewer and fewer participants as patriots join in the bitter struggle for power. At a time when so many have fallen and are falling to racist bullets, those who continue to sell their people's birthright will be shunned and made to feel the anger of the masses in both town and countryside.

- We call on the unemployed blacks now serving in uniform to stop shooting their brothers and sisters in defence of white rule. They must refuse to carry out such orders. They must organise secretly to turn their guns against their masters.

- We call on those in the white community who have been conscripted into the army to refuse, in their own interests and those of their children, to be used as instruments of massacres and military domination over their black fellow citizens and over the people of Namibia, Angola and other parts of Southern Africa.

- We call on all social institutions, religious, cultural, civic and sporting, which retain a belief in the true brotherhood of man, to side even more vigorously with the cause of people's liberation and stand firm against racist intimidation.

- We call on the people everywhere to defy, in an organised way, the imposition of laws founded on race discrimination, to resist all

attacks on their living conditions and to promote united resistance and action against the apartheid system and its agencies.

● We call on the white community in whose name racist barbarities are being perpetrated daily against the black majority, to move away from its support of apartheid and to increase the ranks of the growing number of democratic whites who are participating in our liberation struggle.

● We call, in this Year of the Cadre, on all political and military activists to work unceasingly to strengthen the ANC's underground presence and to reinforce our leadership core in every part of the country. The ANC-led liberation movement is the indispensable guide to the whole revolutionary process.

● We call on Umkhonto we Sizwe to intensify the armed struggle with all the means at its disposal and, more particularly, to concentrate more and more on actions against the enemy armed forces and police. We also call on our underground to help make such an intensification of armed activity possible by working day and night to create and strengthen our internal political revolutionary bases.

The period ahead presents all of us — whether in or out of the ANC — with an awe-inspiring challenge. Under the leadership of our liberation movement we can and must answer this call of history. Let the blood of our martyrs who are falling before the enemy bullets nourish our battle for freedom. Let our watchwords be:

Unity in Mass Action! Confront the Enemy on all Fronts!

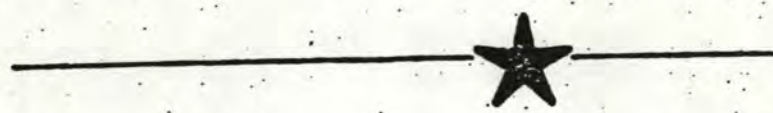
**MAKE APARTHEID UNWORKABLE!
MAKE THE COUNTRY
UNGOVERNABLE!**

**Forward to People's Power!
Long Live the ANC
the Vanguard of
Our Revolution!**

ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANC
PO BOX 31791 LUSAKA ZAMBIA 25th April, 1985

C III

**THE SOUTH AFRICAN
COMMUNIST PARTY
SAYS:-----**



CONVERSATIONS WITH A COMMUNIST

"I am black. I work hard. I earn very little money. My rent is too high and I am worried that if I lose my job I will lose my house and then my right to stay here".

Communist:

I can see that with my own eyes you are black like me. But it needs saying because we black people are in a majority in our own country, yet we have no say in how we must be governed. We have no rights.

You say 'you work hard but earn very little money'. Most people work hard; but it is we workers who, by our hard work, are producing the wealth for others to use. So, when we collect our wages, there is very little. But our boss takes home a nice fat pay packet. Where does he get all that money from? From us. We make the wealth but he takes it. We call it exploitation, where men and women working in factories, in the mines etc., produce goods for other people to profit by. We are the working class, and the men who make profit by our labour are the ruling class.

The ruling class not only likes to squeeze us dry. They own the houses that we live in and take back the money that we have earned by making us pay a high rent. They tell us not to complain, because if we do we will lose our jobs. They know that without that job our families will starve. So we keep working like slaves. But it worries us.

"Not everybody lives like me. I know most whites do not have these problems. They tell me that my life is improving, but practically I find my life becoming more difficult".

Communist:

Most whites do not have these problems because in our country, South Africa, if you are white you have privileges. The ordinary white man and woman has a say in how the country will be governed. They have good schools for their children, enough food to eat, a nice house to live in. But in other countries in the world there are white men who live like us. They are workers who produce the wealth for others to grow fat on. In countries like USA, Britain and France, the working class is white and the ruling class is also white. In many countries in Africa, the working class is black and the ruling class is black. In our country most of the workers are black and all the rulers are white. But this does not mean that all whites are part of the ruling class. Though all whites have benefits that blacks are denied, the real power in our country is in the hands of a small group who own the biggest companies, factories and farms. Their riches are gained out of the sweat of the black workers. They pass on some of it to other whites, but not equally, because there are different classes among the whites too. There are white workers who also sell their labour to the bosses, and they are exploited, although because they

have the vote, they can get a better price for their labour; they get a higher wage than we do. But they too can lose their jobs when times are bad.²⁰¹ They too have to bargain with the bosses for better wages and working conditions. Though most whites support the government, this system of oppression of the black people is not good for them. A free South Africa in which oppression and exploitation is banned would be better for all South Africans, except the bosses who would lose the source of their riches.

"You say you are fighting for freedom and national liberation. But what do you Communists really mean by these words?"

Communist:

That is a good question. Many people use these words and it is right to ask exactly what is meant by them. First I will tell you what we do not mean, then what we do mean. We Communists do not only mean by national liberation that we will have a lot of black faces in the government instead of white faces. We do not only mean that we shall have our own green gold and black flag. We do not only mean that we shall sing Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika instead of Die Stem. Of course, we will make these changes. But we want to change much more than this. There are many African countries today where these sort of things have changed; and now the people are suffering under a new set of black bosses. Often these new black bosses are not even the real owners of the factories and mines, but are acting for some

foreign company which lets a few crumbs fall from the table to their black servants. We have even seen African countries fighting against their own brothers on behalf of some imperialist power, such as France, Britain or the United States.

Is this the freedom we are fighting for? Not at all. We Communists want not only to cut down the weeds of oppression and exploitation but to dig them out by the roots.

So what do we mean by national liberation? We mean that three hundred years of wrongs done to black people must be put right. The land must belong to the people. The big companies, the mines and the factories must also become the property of the people. But we Communists want to go even further than that. We want to build a socialist South Africa in which the mines, the factories and the farms work for the benefit of the people as a whole. We want workers to know they are toiling for their children and themselves, not for the profit of a boss whatever his colour. This is where we are different. We believe that only if our freedom struggle grows and develops into a full socialist revolution, will the freedom of our people be safe. Today our struggle is for freedom and national liberation; but even now we must begin to think further. We must begin to think of moving towards socialism, which is the only guarantee that the freedom we fight for will be real freedom.

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"My child is fighting Bantu education. He got shot down in the street. When I asked why, I was told my son was a Communist?"

Communist:

You know why your child is fighting Bantu education. You know in your heart and from what your child tells you that he is being educated to become a good slave. When you ask "Why did you shoot? He was young, he was my son?" the judge, the policeman, those who work for the government call him a Communist. They know that Communists are always in the fight for justice; Communists are always on the side of the people who suffer. They only have one word in their hearts FREEDOM! Freedom from suffering, hunger and misery. Whenever there is a fight between people and an unjust system, you will find Communists. The enemy knows this. Your child may never have heard of communism, but they gave him the honour of that name because he was doing what communists do fighting the enemy.

"My first born disappeared without telling me. He came back having received military training in Umkhonto we Sizwe, and explained to me that this was the armed wing of the African National Congress which is fighting to destroy the system. He got arrested and is imprisoned on Robben Island. When I asked why, I was told my son is a Communist"

Communist:

Your first born! There is a brave freedom fighter! He fought on the streets with his brothers and sisters. He saw them being shot down. He realised very quickly that sticks and stones cannot match guns; that to fight this system you also need guns. So he left you, his family who he loved deeply, to offer his life for our country and our people. He learnt that the African National Congress is the organisation fighting for our freedom from oppression, fighting for our democratic rights. He uses a Soviet made gun. He is fed while he trains on food from the German Democratic Republic. He is clothed in trousers from Czechoslovakia, shoes from Hungary, shirts from Cuba. He lived in Angola. These are the countries that help the ANC. It is because these countries are Communist that they help oppressed peoples all over the world. The ANC accepts gifts from whoever will help us in our struggle against oppression. But the people who help us most are the Communists. The government of South Africa knows this and that is why they hate the Communists so much, and tell us that Communists are evil. But next time you visit that windswept island ask your son, "are they evil, these people who fed and clothed you?" He will ask you why you believe what the government tells you. He will tell you that in all those different Communist countries, people once suffered as we do, but because they listened to the Communist Party they learned how to overthrow their oppressors. They are free, but they remember very well what it was like to suffer. And that is why they help us now.

Your son taught others inside our country, so they no longer have to leave South Africa to learn how to fight. That is the way our peoples army grows day by day. He learnt his lessons well, and taught them well. That is why those others haven't been arrested.

"I have heard that the ANC and the Communist Party work together. Why then is it necessary to have two organisations?"

Communist:

Our country is rich in people. this richness comes from the culture of our different peoples; we come from different backgrounds, workers in factories, miners, clerks, teachers, doctors, nurses and peasants. What we have in common is "blackness" and "oppression". The white ruling class seeks to divide us into 'ethnic groups' and separate jobs. The ANC unites ALL the oppressed as a South African people whatever their race or work. The ANC, with its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, fights and organises for unity, so that we can overthrow the evil political system which oppresses us. It fights and organises for us to create a free and democratic South Africa.

The Communist Party, like all other Communist Parties in the world, is the special party of the working class. It represents the interests of the working class. In our country we workers have two burdens to carry. WE are black and oppressed as blacks. We are workers and exploited as workers. We want socialism but we know

that the main fight right now is for national liberation. Our Communist Party works closely with the ANC; there is an **alliance** between us. The ANC works with the Communist Party because it knows that in our country, the working class is the leading force in the struggle for freedom. The ruling class knows that too. It therefore tries by all means to destroy the organisation of the working class that can lead South Africa to socialism. It tells people, especially the workers, how bad the Communist Party is; that the SACP is run by whites; that it takes its orders from Moscow; that it dominates the ANC and uses the ANC as a front. But how can all that be true when the Communist Party is the organisation of the South African workers who are mainly black?

"Why do they hate the Soviet Union so much?"

Communist:

The Soviet Union was the country in which the first Socialist Revolution took place. Under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, the Russian workers threw off their chains and were able to build a new country. In 1917 when the Russian Revolution took place, Russia was a backward country. Most of its people could not read or write and lived in poverty. It was known as "the prison house of nations" because inside its borders were many different people oppressed and colonised by the Russian state. During the revolution the walls of the "prison" were thrown down and the peoples won full national freedom; they could choose to become independent countries, or they could join the Russian

workers and peasants in building a new united socialist state. Some, such as Poland and Finland, chose to become nations in their own right. Others chose to join in building socialism. Whatever they chose, it was their free right. Today the Soviet Union includes peoples of many different races and nationalities; it is one of the most powerful states in the world. There are no capitalists. And the means of production are owned by the people. There is no hunger in the Soviet Union. There are no people without jobs. The laws of the land guarantee the right of everyone to have a job, to have a home and to have education for themselves and their children. The people of the Soviet Union participate in its government through the Communist Party, through their trade unions and other organisations and through discussions held in schools, factories, other work places and community organisations. All these are reasons for the racists to hate the Soviet Union. But there are yet more reasons. They know that the Soviet Union is the only country in the world able to stand up to the imperialists and especially to the United States. The President of the United States is the best friend of Pretoria, helping the racists to keep their power, and every day fighting against those who want to be free. It is only the Soviet Union that can keep the United States in check. It is only the Soviet Union that can stop the militarists in the United States from starting a nuclear war that would destroy the world. The capitalists in the United States and other imperialist countries like Britain and France, have reason to want to rule over other peoples because

they make profits out of the countries which they dominate. They exploit the peoples of Africa and Asia in almost the same way as your boss exploits you. But the Soviet Union has no reason to want to rule over other peoples. The Soviet Union is based on an entirely different form of economy, a socialist economy. Under socialism, the factories only produce for what people need. They do not produce to make profits for the bosses because there are no bosses. There is no exploitation in the Soviet Union and for the same reason there is no reason for the Soviet Union to exploit other countries. The Soviet Union has always helped freedom fighters and from the earliest time the Soviet Union has declared itself the ally of the oppressed peoples fighting for freedom.

"My cousin works in a factory in Natal. She lost her job because she asked for more wages and she has now been forcibly removed to Kwa Zulu. When I asked her boss why my cousin lost her job, I was told she was a Communist."

Communist:

Your cousin learnt from the Communist Party that workers must stand together in a trade union to fight for better wages, that alone a man can do nothing. That only a united people can be free. She is hungry, her stomach is empty out there in Kwa Zulu. But her heart is full because she left a trade union behind her at that factory

in Natal. There are always others to take her place. Your cousin first learnt now to organise workers to fight for better conditions. But to make a revolution you need a revolutionary organisation. A revolutionary organisation tells you HOW to change the society in which we live. Your cousin knows this very well. Your cousin lost her job, and her house, but she knows that all that she really has to lose by fighting the enemy is the chains that enslave her.

"How did you become a Communist?"

Communist:

I worked next to someone who once gave me a magazine called the AFRICAN COMMUNIST. I listened to what he said. He said that Communism is when the workers take away the wealth from the capitalist class and give it to the people who produce the wealth. That the factories, mines and farms are then owned by the people who work them. That the country is then ruled by the people for the people.

Communism is a new order, a different way of organising that society in which we live. A society that is planned to benefit the working people with good schools, hospitals and health care for all, jobs for all with decent wages, houses for all. Under Communism, the workers throw off their chains that have enslaved them for centuries and are free to develop and take their rightful place in society, not as 2nd class citizens always wondering where the next meal is coming from, but with that security

that a man has a right to work, to have his children educated, to eat good and healthy food, to develop and educate himself. Under communism it is the workers, the people who work on the land and all the oppressed people, who benefit. They live a life free of exploitation of man by man.

That is why the racists are frightened of the Communists!

That is why I listen to the
South African Communist Party.

It says:

Workers ... Arise ... Unite ...

YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS!



Read Umsebenzi, paper of the SACP!

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