

PRESENT TASKS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY
AND SOCIALISM .

I. Introductory.

Much discussion is at present being directed towards the fact that our political organisations are weak, divided, confused, lacking in direction and energy.

Many reasons have been advanced for this state of affairs.

Some are content to lay most, if not all, the blame on the ruling class which has banned and proscribed the former leaders of the people's organisations, made the most advanced forms of activity illegal, prohibited the dissemination of reading matter of a socialist nature, and by a web of numerous laws made the conditions of political agitation amongst the masses and propaganda amongst the advanced workers extremely difficult.

Others assert that the whole question is one of discipline, of the lack of cohesion and failure to follow "directives" issued from time to time by the former -- now banned -- leaders.

A few recognise that there is a lack of contact between the leaders and the people. Most, however, are not prepared to look more deeply into this contradiction between the masses and their leaders, and prefer to pick out isolated cases of mistakes by this or that committee member in an unconnected fashion, and they fail to see the unity between these mistakes, to see the basic contradiction in our political work.

These various approaches are of course held in varying degrees by different people.

A major difficulty is that open discussion of these burning questions of the working-class movement is frowned upon by the present leadership. This -- besides the general low level of our political understanding -- often makes it difficult to define and understand the various views put forward. These views are invariably cloaked in slogans, high sounding phrases, and superficial statements such as "united front", "sectarianism" "mechanical-ism" "fluid situations" and such like jargonism which is not explained in simple fashion to either the political activists or the masses. This sloganising and talmudism no doubt hides a high degree of political confusion, and a lack of contact with life and the real problems of the workers and the people.

The need is for the basic contradiction in our political work to be made clear, and this must be done in a language that will be understood by every advanced worker. It requires constant discussion, argument and expression so that it will become readily defined and solved.

II. South Africa and the World.

While some awareness is dawning of the weakness, dissipation and stagnation of our political forces, the exploitation of our workers by their capitalist masters, the oppression of our non-white peoples and the contradictions of the world capitalist system are intensifying.

To all with eyes to see it is apparent that the problem is not the lack of activity and spontaneous political expression amongst the people against their oppression and suffering, but that the weakness lies with those who should be leading the people. It is the vanguard that is at present at the rear, and the people who are groping forward without them.

The workers, the peasants and farm-labourers, the other oppressed classes, of South Africa are still languishing under capitalist slavery and the added burden of racial laws and practices.

At the same time one third of humanity has already broken with this slavery and is building a new life -- socialism. They have got rid of their capitalist overlords, made the means of production the common property of the working people and are building a new type of society with a State of the toiling classes. They have abolished hunger and unemployment, national oppression and racialism.

Inspired by this achievement another 700 million people besides the Chinese People's Republic have shaken off the yoke of colonialism and established national independent states. There is no doubt that they will eventually break the economic grip of the imperialists, and take the socialist path. Imperialism is every day losing its hold over the peoples.

While socialism demonstrates that it is a much higher social system than capitalism, the workers of the advanced capitalist states intensify their struggle against the ruling bourgeoisie. The lot of these workers is such that they realise more and more that the only way out of their plight lies through socialism, which will secure the raising of the material and cultural standards of the people. The struggle for socialism by the workers of the advanced countries like Britain, France and Western Germany will still be long and bitter, but the tremendous strength and experience of the world working class movement gained over more than 100 years will in the long run ensure their victory.

For all these countries there are certain features of transition from capitalism to socialism which are similar.

In each country there are also many national peculiarities, and to fail to take account of these is to err on the side of being dogmatic. The very essence of scientific socialism is that it is a creative science, not an armchair dogma or philosophy, but a living guide to action for the workers. This science teaches that it is the common experience of the workers of every single country that there are certain basic laws of development, which if not followed will prevent the victory of the oppressed and will result in a continuation of capitalist exploitation.

These laws include:

- (a) The advanced workers create the conditions for and build a political vanguard of the working class which bases itself on the principles of scientific socialism.
- (b) This vanguard embeds itself deep in the working class, and becomes the respected leader of the working class in the course of struggle.
- (c) The working class and its vanguard gathers around itself all the toilers and oppressed, and becomes steeled in struggle as their leader and guide.
- (d) The working class and its vanguard at the head of the toilers and oppressed classes takes state power from the ruling class and establishes a new state based in one form or another upon the alliance of the workers, peasants and toilers.
- (e) The workers and their allies use the state to make the principal industries, banks, mines and monopolies the common property of the working people. The gradual socialist reconstruction of agriculture, planned development of the national economy aimed at building socialism, then communism, and the continuous raising of the material and cultural standards of the people, are achieved. National oppression is abolished, equality and friendship established between all the peoples and a policy of peace and solidarity of the working people is pursued.

These laws all have as their aim the achievement of the classless society of the future -- communism. Already the most advanced base of the working class, the Soviet Union, has reached such a height that broad vistas have been opened to it of the road to this ultimate goal.

The path outlined above is valid for all countries. These laws are a treasured experience of the world working class movement, and their practical working out is a question for the workers and oppressed of each country. They must win freedom for

themselves, through their own efforts. What is most important is to know and understand our own country and creatively apply these principles. But in each case, whatever forms of struggle are found by the people, the basic path must be followed.

III. South Africa and Socialism .

As will be seen the workers of South Africa are but at the beginning of this long, strenuous and historic path.

The people have waged many bitter struggles, they have many times come into open conflict with the ruling classes, they are continually finding fresh forms of struggle to rid themselves of their oppression.

The early struggles of the tribal societies against the primitive capitalist agricultural society of the Boers, the struggle of these very Boers against the British imperialists, the Zulu rebellions at the turn of the century, the early passive resistance campaigns of the Indian indentured labourers, and many other early struggles remain a treasured experience of our people. The form and character of these struggles assumed a new shape when an urban working class of any importance came into being. The heroic struggles of the English artisans at the turn of the century and in 1913 and 1922 live on in the great heart of the working class. The African workers, the most oppressed of all the workers, have also faced many a bloody battle from the days of the I.C.U., the great miners strike of 1946 and much else besides and together with their fellow workers of other colours daily enrich our history and experience. The workers in common with other oppressed classes underwent in short spaces of time experiences of the most important kind in the Defiance struggle and Congress of the People. These are but a few of the rich experiences which will be of the greatest importance in the future to the workers and oppressed.

But that is only one side of the struggle for a new democratic South Africa.

The other side of our experience is one that makes all the struggles of the past meaningful and full of purpose and direction.

In each struggle we are concerned with something immediate, with the vital momentary interests of the workers. But even more vital is the future of the movement, that is the cause of democracy and socialism.

This other side of our struggle then is the world wide experience of the working class. It is the theory and practice of socialism.

The theory of socialism provides the clue which enables us to discern a reign of law in the seeming chaos of the numerous struggles and contradictions of our society. It shows us that it is the class struggle which underlies the struggles between one group and another. It teaches us that the interests of the workers-- who seek an end to class society and the exploitation of man by man -- are diametrically opposed to those of the ruling class of capitalists -- who seek the maximum profits for themselves. It teaches us how to direct our political tasks and who is to lead the struggle for freedom from oppression.

Many people say: this is all very well, but socialism is not the question in South Africa. We are concerned with ridding ourselves of passes, colour discrimination, and of the lack of political democracy --- socialism is not the cure for our ills.

The trouble with these people is that they fail to see that the struggle against passes, colour discrimination, and for democracy are linked inextricably with the struggle for socialism .

Why is this ?

South Africa is a capitalist country. That is the ownership of the means of production (factories, mines, banks etc.) are in the hands of the capitalist class . This class consists of financiers, and the bosses of mining, industry and big farming. It is linked with the capitalists of America, Britain and Europe and so forms part of the world chain of imperialism. This class pursues a policy directed against the workers and the people. A special feature of this policy in South Africa is the colour bar and apartheid. The aim of this policy is to secure for the capitalists the maximum profit at the expense of the increasing poverty and ruination of the working people.

Besides being directly aimed at the workers , these racial policies deprive other sections of the non-white peoples of their land (Group areas-) of their vote, and other rights. For this reason these other classes now strongly, now not so strongly oppose these policies and desire a form of democracy based on something similar to the Freedom Charter.

The working class too, desires the Freedom Charter to be realised ; but each class has a different aim in view, in the struggle for this programme.

The peasants are daily broken up, starved and forced to ruination in the reserves and Trust Lands. The Indian traders are deprived of their land and trading rights. African businessmen are prevented from expanding their interests so as to become serious competitors of the ruling white capitalists and overseas imperialists.

These classes are endeavouring to stave off their impending transfer into the tanks of the working class, where they will have nothing to sell but their power to labour. They look upon the achievement of democracy as a stepping stone not only to prevent this, but also as an opportunity to become instead of small commodity producers, or small traders or businessmen, big producers, big traders, big businessmen, exploiters of large numbers of people. As fragments of the middle class they are accordingly not revolutionary in their aims, but on the contrary reactionary in this respect.

The working class on the other hand is the essential product of modern capitalist society. If there were no workers there could be no capitalists. The surplus product of the workers is the very lifeblood of the capitalists. This class not only grows under capitalism, it also becomes concentrated, experienced, organised. By its very position it is unable to exploit others, and on the contrary can only achieve its own emancipation from capitalism by putting an end to all exploitation and establishing a classless society. For this reason it is a truly revolutionary and farseeing class, fitted to lead the struggle of all the oppressed against the present system.

The fact that the means of production are privately owned and that the workers carry on production in a socialised fashion is a contradiction which finds its expression in the struggle between workers and capitalists the world over. It finds its result in periodic crises of overproduction, in which while there is too much produced, too many commodities, there is no one to buy these commodities and the workers are forced into unemployment, and starvation.

The only path out of this is the path of a socialist reorganisation of society.

That is why the working class puts its faith in the cause of socialism, a system which is already demonstrating its tremendous advantages to the working people over the time-worn capitalist system.

The fact that they look upon this path as their ~~own~~ salvation enables the workers to lead and direct the struggle for democracy and the Freedom Charter with the utmost vigour

and consistency. Indeed, the achievement of a people's democratic state is of the greatest importance to the workers: but to them it is but the stepping stone to socialism.

The workers cannot achieve the democratic state -- even in a capitalist sense -- on their own, let alone can they rebuild society on socialist lines without the closest alliance with all the toilers. That is why it is in the interests of the workers to struggle with other oppressed classes against apartheid and for the Freedom Charter.

But from what we have said before it is apparent that the role of the workers is that of leaders, for they alone are truly revolutionary and far-seeing.

We spoke earlier of there being two sides of our struggle. The first is the experience in practical struggle of the workers and all the oppressed. The other side is that which we have been discussing, that is the theory and practice of socialism.

In these two sides of our one struggle, we are able to catch sight of the germ of the contradiction in our political work. That is the contradiction between the struggle and experience of struggle of the people, and the world-wide experience and practice of socialism.

While the people struggle as best they can, there is lacking the element of socialist theory and practice. The workers have not been made conscious of their role, and of their revolutionary capabilities and tasks.

The field for the propagation of these ideals is not wanting.

The attention of the whole capitalist world is turning to Africa. The victory of socialism on one third of the globe, the attainment of political independence by 700 million former colonial peoples, have shrunk the markets and areas of exploitation of world imperialism. At the same time the capitalists are openly admitting that yet another crisis of overproduction is threatening them.

They are therefore seeking -- and as time passes will do so more than ever -- to export their extra capital and goods, and their crisis onto the peoples of Africa.

South Africa is the most advanced country in Africa. It has the most concentrated and advanced working class. In it all the contradictions of capitalist and former colonial society are present. South Africa must therefore provide the leadership to all the peoples of Africa against imperialism.

Amongst our workers there lies then a most fertile field for socialism, which alone can save the people. ...8/

IV. The Political Problem.

The germ of the contradiction in our political work which we have sketched above consists then in this : on the one hand the people are acquiring a wealth of experience in practice and in day to day struggles which for the most part are spontaneous in origin. But this experience remains unconnected, is often lost because of its isolated nature, is without direction and lacks in concerted organised leadership. On the other hand there exists a world-wide experience of the workers and oppressed in the theory of scientific socialism which is capable of giving direction, purpose and ultimate victory to the cause of the working class.

As these two aspects of our political work at present confront each other as opposites and as antagonistic to each other the task of all political work must be to solve this contradiction, and to achieve a unity between the opposite aspects of our struggle which will place our whole movement on a new higher level, and so put an end to the present period of dissipation and stagnation.

We must accordingly discover how this fusion can be achieved in the most rapid manner, with the greatest benefit to the cause of the workers and oppressed, and in so doing show how in practice the necessary direction and organised purpose can be given to our movement.

Political experience and the experience of daily life teach us that what appears to be cloaked as a superficial clash between differing political viewpoints is in fact a clash between different economic or class interests.

This is necessarily so because all politics is a question of State power. The struggle for this power is conducted in various guises and forms between capitalists and workers, between one group of capitalists and another, small capitalists and workers and peasants and so on. These struggles are accordingly class struggles and different classes and fragments of those classes put forward their programmes and attitude to the State power through their own political parties.

We repeat that South Africa is a capitalist country . That is, not only do the means of production belong to the capitalists, but the State power also belongs to the whole class of capitalists. Different sections of this capitalist class contend with one another to manage the affairs of the whole bourgeoisie as the executives of State power. At present the National Party is the chief executive of the capitalist class. The United Party contends with it for this position. But both parties agree

agree absolutely on the most basic question ; namely, that the State power must belong to the capitalist class at the expense of the workers and oppressed. By holding the State power they seek not only to further the aims of the whole capitalist class (with particular reference of course, to the segment of it that they personally come from and represent) but also to keep to manageable proportions wither by police terror, or "concessions" or reforms or in some other way , the struggle between the capitalists and the workers and toilers.

Despite all the talk of democracy and the like which is peddled by the capitalists, and the 'right' given every five years to the electors to choose which section of the ruling class shall misgovern them (a "right" which of course in South Africa belongs only to one-fifth of the population) the State system in our country, like all capitalist countries, is in fact a system of the dictatorship of the capitalist class in the interests of the capitalist class as a whole. The particular capitalist party in power may bring about a change in emphasis, more or less "reforms", more or less use of the punitive power of the armed forces of the State against the oppressed, but we repeat that in essence it is a capitalist state , a dictatorship of the ruling bourgeoisie .

It is particularly important to remember this when examining political parties of the middle classes, professionals, small capitalists and the like such as the Liberal Party. At present the Liberal Party does not enjoy the support -- at least the open support -- of the big bourgeoisie, but is a relatively small middle-class party. It seeks far-going reforms within the present structure of the South African capitalist state -- such as votes for all, free trade unions and so on. But in essence it supports the capitalist system, and for all its liberal theories about the State representing "everyone" it intends to keep up the system of private ownership in the means of production. And as one liberal himself expressed it: " A monopoly of economic power cannot be sustained without some minimum influence and share of control over political power". (R.Horwitz in Contact Vol.1.,No.1 dated 8/2/58 p.13).

In other words although the Liberals would give greater opportunities to the workers to organise, assemble and "vote", they support a government in a capitalist system, a dictatorship of the capitalist class.

We cannot understand the full import of the contradiction in our political work unless we understand these truths about the nature of the capitalist state in our country.

In fact, the question of the attitude of various classes, and their parties, to the State power becomes particularly important when we delve further into the organisations of the people, the Congress movement.

Every practical worker in the mass movement, knows the weakness, dissipation, lack of cohesion and purpose amongst the national liberatory organisations.

Those who seek to find the reason for this stagnating state of political work in this or that isolated mistake in an unconnected fashion, or who insist on more rigorous "discipline" or who are content to lay the blame on a mistaken manoeuvring for position, fail to see the dual character of the struggle being waged in South Africa. This consists in the class struggle on the one hand, and the national struggle against colour oppression on the other.

Discussion often takes place within Congress without the so-called "working-class" leaders pausing for a moment to examine the class content of the particular question in issue. They fail to discern the various contrary viewpoints as being the viewpoints of particular classes, and as a result the working-class section remains scattered and disorganised, not putting across a concerted working-class point of view.

They fail to see that the Congress is a form of alliance between various classes for the achievement of a common goal, the Freedom Charter.

So there are together in the mass Congress organisations African capitalists, Indian capitalists, and traders, African, Indian, Coloured and white professionals and intellectuals, clerical and white collar workers of all colours, African people from the countryside, workers of all colours.

Because each of these classes has a different relation to the means of production each of necessity puts forward -- ~~with~~^{with} consciously or unconsciously -- a policy best suited to its class interests. Those who own means of production . e.g. Indian factory owners, middle peasants, traders etc. put forward a line which they in general feel will better their particular class position as owners, and consequently exploiters. They want to earn more money, own more means of production and as a result exploit more people more efficiently. Those who own no means of production e.g. workers and farm labourers, seek in general to end their exploitation and adopt a line best suited to their

class interests.

There accordingly exist differences and contradictions between the various classes within the people's organisations.

The justification and importance ~~for~~^{of} the Congress movement, is as an alliance between different classes for the achievement of a common goal, the Freedom Charter. Each of the participating classes knows that this programme betters its interests in one way or another.

By achieveing the Freedom Char~~x~~ter the African capitalists, for example, believe that they will have better opportunities and will not be restricted in their operations as at present. Indian traders will have the right to trade freely; the peasants know that the land shall be divided among them; the workers know that a thousand restrictions on their movement, organisation, and political development will be removed.

The degree to which each of these classes will have its aims realised by the achievement of the Freedom Charter depends, of course, on the strength of each class relative to the others within the class alliance at the time of victory. The Freedom Charter may be realised wither wholly or in part, and a different course may be followed upon its realisation depending which class holds the key position in the class alliance. If the capitalists or middle class elements hold the leading position it is unlikely that all the points of the Charter will be realised, the future path of development will be a capitalist one and depending on the world situation at the time as well, the foreign capitalists would still hold sway over the economy as happens in India. If the working class consciously asserts its leadership and wins the support of the peasantry and other~~x~~ oppressed the future path will be one of socialism as has been the case in China, and the power of the foreign imperialists is more likely to be crushed.

We outlined above the reasons why the working-class is ~~inxfact~~ ~~most~~ fitted to lead all the toilers and oppressed. But whether in fact they do so lead the people depends on the extent to which the workers are organised, become class conscious and create their own steeled and trusted political vanguard. Further the support of the peasants, those living on subsistence economy like rural squatters and labour tenants, and migrant labourer~~es~~ depends on the class consciousness of these elements and the degree to which the working class leadership can offer a solution to their practical demands.

We set out to find the cause of our political disorganisation and weakness. From what we have said earlier about the class position and aims of the working-class, it is apparent that an organised, conscious working class leadership basing itself on the principles of scientific socialism, and supported by all the oppressed classes would be the mortal enemy of laziness, dissipation and weakness in the class alliance.

The workers have nothing to lose and everything to gain by a powerful Congress movement under working-class leadership. For the workers such a leadership and a powerful mass movement means ^{that} the achievement of their immediate programme, the Freedom Charter, is brought all the nearer. Further they are placed in a key position for the advance to socialism.

The results of periods of their conscious leadership are advance, organisation, consistency, and strength. Clear political tasks will be set to the masses, continuous political education and steeling in the course of struggle will take place under their guidance.

The peasants, small capitalists and middle class elements are not capable of giving consistent leadership because politically they waver, fearing the big capitalists the one minute and the workers the next. They have feet in both camps, and are not consistent about their end goal.

The results of periods of their leadership ^{are} ~~is~~ dissipation, unreadiness, and general stagnation.

As they too desire the achievement of either all or part of the Charter these other oppressed classes can only benefit from consistent working class leadership. That ~~is why~~ these classes through the course of struggle against the common enemy can be convinced of the necessity for working class leadership and become firm friends of the working class.

When all the oppressed classes become welded into a single alliance of the type described their relations can be most cordial and based on friendship and equality. In such an alliance what becomes important are not the differences and contradictions between the different classes in the alliance, but their common points and similar objectives.

But while the common points become important, these common points cannot be found let alone emphasised unless it is an alliance in the true sense and not just a collection of an amorphous mass of persons. The class position and ideology of the components of this alliance must be clear ~~in~~ so that points of agreement can be readily defined and points of difference respected.

Failure to see the relationship between well-defined class consciousness of the workers and peasants on the one hand, and the struggle of all the oppressed against colour oppression on the other, has resulted in the present period in our political history, which is one of confusion, stagnation, acrimonious differences within Congress and opportunist leadership.

The class consciousness of the workers far from being the enemy of heightened national struggle is the prerequisite of the ending of the present period.

A class conscious working class under its own organised, disciplined and experienced vanguard will be able to pull the Congresses out of their present rut, and heighten a hundredfold the level and state of Congress organisation.

Only by arousing the class consciousness of the peasantry, rural squatters and labour tenants, and helping them "stand on their own feet" will these classes -- forming the bulk in numbers of our population -- be brought actively into the struggle against national oppression as reserves of the working class leadership in the struggle for the Freedom Charter.

The alliance of these two giants, the workers and rural oppressed, would constitute the main base of the mighty class alliance whose task would be to capture state power for themselves.

The establishment of such an alliance presupposes and goes hand in hand with the growth and steeling of the political vanguard of the workers and oppressed, which bases itself on the principles of scientific socialism and develops these principles under South African conditions.

Such a class alliance with the political vanguard of the workers at its head, would attract all the other oppressed, large sections of the middle classes, many professionals and intellectuals, some smaller capitalists, and all freedom-loving people for the achievement of the immediate programme of the working-class, the Freedom Charter.

Because these tasks were not fulfilled the working class was plunged before its time into an amorphous type of alliance, the contradictions between the working class and other oppressed classes ~~were~~ have for the present been decided not in favour of the working class and the advance of the movement of the oppressed,

but in favour of the capitalist and reformist elements. The working class, lacking in class consciousness and political leadership, has found itself under the leadership of non-working class elements, reformers and not revolutionaries. It has tailed behind the movement of the masses instead of leading it. In this

field bourgeois ideology had had a victory over the workers at the expense of working-class ideology. Only the capitalists can rejoice at this

The result is mistake after mistake in practical work, the losing of the confidence of the masses by the Congress organisations, a falling-off in membership, the absence of clearly stated political tasks and a host of other unsettled disputes.

A symptom of the deep-lying contradictions in our work is found in the sloganising, jargons, and political swearwords which characterises the work of many so-called working class leaders. Scientific socialism teaches that in the examination of problems we must avoid stagnation of thought, subjectivism and isolation from happenings. This isolation results in dogmatism and sectarianism which hinders our advance. A working class leadership that has withdrawn into the shell of sectarianism that has lost contact with the masses, cannot bring victory to the cause of the working class. The other side of the problem presents itself in the tendency to inject right wing opportunism and bourgeois ideology into the working-class movement.

It is precisely in this tendency to withdraw from the masses, these reformist illusions, the dogmatic approach to problems, in a word in bourgeois ideology that our present weakness lies.

A working class leadership which bases itself on and creatively develops the principles of scientific socialism, and which has deep roots among the masses cannot commit the grave mistakes we have referred to above.

The basic contradiction in our political work is the contradiction between the working-class leadership and the working people.

This contradiction has its class basis in both the temporary high business activity in South Africa which has intensified, with the aid of colour privileges, reformist illusions amongst a section of the white workers, and members of the middle class, as well as in the fact that petty bourgeois elements who have not made the effort to learn from the working people and to reform themselves from their bourgeois class background occupy the leading positions at present in the working class movement.

The other aspect is that the advanced workers have not applied themselves sufficiently to the teachings of scientific socialism, and have allowed themselves to be misled by bourgeois ideology.

The germ of the contradiction in our political work we expressed as being between the practical spontaneous struggle of the people on the one hand and the theory of scientific socialism on the other.

This germ now reaches its political expression in the contradiction between the leaders and the working people.

The overriding political task is to solve this basic contradiction.

The principle aspect of this contradiction is the failure to observe the first basic law of transition to socialism, namely that the advanced workers must create the conditions for and build a political vanguard of the working class which bases itself on the principles of scientific socialism.

All our efforts must be devoted to this inspiring and historic task.

V. Present tasks.

What then is to be done ?

We have isolated the principle aspect of the basic contradiction in our work. We must accordingly proceed to solve the contradiction by creating the real class basis for a powerful political movement. The working class guided by its vanguard must grow and become conscious of itself. It must go into the very heart of the masses. It must become the trusted leader of the oppressed masses, leading the people to political power, so as to rid them of national oppression and the colour bar, and to create the conditions for the advance to socialism.

This must be the objective of the whole coming period of our struggle.

In practice our present tasks are thus twofold :

- (a) The awakening of class-consciousness amongst the working class and the arousing of the peasantry and rural oppressed.

This will be achieved by developing and accelerating the growth of the basic organisations of these classes, viz.:

- (i) The trade unions must grow a thousandfold. The millions of unorganised workers must be organised first in factory and works committees, then into multi-racial industrial unions.
- (ii) The peasant organisations, and unions of rural workers must be set clear objectives and demands which will awake the rural toilers.

- (b) The spreading of socialist theory amongst the advanced workers.

This will be achieved principally in the following manner:

- (i) The formation of groups of workers everywhere who will discuss and study socialism. These groups however small and disconnected at first, must be organised on a factory and residential basis.
- (ii) Widespread dissemination of socialist literature amongst the advanced workers.
- (iii) The training of cadres. In particular young non-European workers devoted to the cause of the workers, must be withdrawn from their places of work and trained as full-time professional revolutionaries at the expense of the movement.

These cadres will have the task of igniting the spark which will make the whole cause of study and learning amongst the workers take flame. Then they will have to put the study groups on an organised basis together with the general dissemination of literature. To this end a newspaper will form an organising and propaganda link of the greatest value. Such a newspaper open to all to express their views, however undeveloped, will provide the real impetus for the study of our rich political history and the economic development of our country.

Because real life is immensely more complex than and many sided than the method of political abstraction we have been forced to use to postulate our basic tasks, it is clear that the various tasks will overlap and not follow the strict order hoped for by dreamers.

But a certain order in carrying out these tasks must be followed or the result will be chaos and our objective will take longer to reach.

With this in mind we must principally apply ourselves to the second main task set out above, namely the spreading of socialism amongst the advanced workers. This is because the large numbers of men and women required to perform the first task, that of building the basic class organisations of the workers and ^{rural} oppressed, will not come forward until some degree of political education has taken root amongst the advanced workers.

If then we were asked in one sentence to name the task of the present we would reply: Put an end to the present period of stagnation, dissipation and lack of organised working class leadership.

VI. Conclusion.

Our aim has been to show that our mistakes and problems are not isolated, but that they form part of one basic contradiction in our work, the contradiction between the leaders and the people.

This contradiction we have expressed in various forms -- -- the contradiction between the advance of the workers the world over and our own continued oppression, the contradiction between the practical isolated struggles of the masses and the theory of scientific socialism, the contradiction between the national struggle and the need for class consciousness amongst the workers and rural oppressed, contradictions amongst the ranks of the people, and the contradiction between the leaders and the working people.

It also expresses itself as a contradiction between legal and illegal struggle.

Years of purely legal struggle have intensified the reformist illusions amongst a section of the leadership, they have made people proclaim slogans which sound enticing like "Build a united front" before the ground has been laid for working class unity let alone a people's unity.

The task of winning a real united front in legal and illegal struggle against the ruling class lies ahead for the workers. To enter into this task without the principles of scientific socialism, without a steeled vanguard, will mean that the working class enters the field naked, loses its own identity and becomes surrendered to opportunism, and that the cause of all the oppressed is set back.

Once the urgent tasks set out above have been fulfilled a real basis will have been laid for the settling of the contradictions among the ranks of the people peacefully, and the greatest unity will be possible.

The fulfilment of these tasks will set the seal upon the fate of the oppressors.

It will open up to the workers and oppressed the path to peace, democracy and socialism.

Johannesburg.

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