

But the majority of the people of the Transkei will still live below the breadline, slaves to the white-dominated economy, and the capitalist class of South Africa, which will batten on their labour as it has always done in the past. Indeed, it is this special relationship which the Bantustans are designed to maintain. Like the 'Native Reserves' before them, they will remain reservoirs of cheap black labour for the white man's economy. And there is nothing that Matanzima can or will do to change it. An agent of the white man boss, he has already pledged himself to the defence of apartheid South Africa and the West against the interests of the African continent and the whole anti-imperialist cause throughout the world. He is as much a puppet of South Africa as the Saigon clique was of the USA. Nationally and internationally he is on the wrong side of the fence, promoting the interests of the few at the expense of the many.

The African National Congress was founded in 1912 to promote the unity of the African people, and the struggles of the oppressed peoples in the ensuing decades have proved abundantly that it is only through African unity that tribal division can be overcome and national liberation achieved. The Communist Party has always supported the ANC in this objective and the programme of the Communist Party unhesitatingly affirms that the main content of the South African revolution is the national liberation of the African people and the establishment of a state of national democracy in South Africa.

The Transkei and other proposed 'independent' Bantustans are by no means immune from the revolutionary ferment sweeping Southern Africa and the black townships of our cities. These so-called 'homelands' are historically linked with urban protest and struggle, and our people in the countryside have always looked to the workers of the cities and the liberation movement for leadership. Already in the train of the Soweto uprising we have seen signs in the Transkei, Bophutatswana, KwaZulu, the eastern Transvaal and elsewhere, of our people resorting to revolutionary actions.

What can be said with absolute clarity and conviction is that the Bantustans have no future, but the people who live in them (over 7 million) have a major role to play in the liberation struggle for the overthrow of white supremacy and the establishment of people's power over every inch of our beloved country.

DOCUMENT 134:

Message delivered by a member of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party to the First Congress of MPLA in Luanda in December 1977.

Comrade President Agostinho Neto, comrade delegates: on behalf of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party we greet the delegates to this historic Congress and, through them, the whole Angolan people. We greet you also on behalf of the scores of our Party leaders and members who can no longer greet you because they have died in action or have been murdered by Vorster's

police. We greet you also on behalf of those many communists who are languishing in Robben Island and the other racist prisons. We greet you also on behalf of our great working class whose victory, in the words of your President, will be one of the most important achievements in our continent.

What is happening here today is of immeasurable importance not only for every Angolan but also for the whole of our continent, and beyond. In the 60th year of the greatest single event in the modern history of mankind, the October Socialist Revolution, Angola has begun to raise the glorious flag of the working masses. For Africa this event marks a giant step forward in the continuing struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism. By this act clear notice has been given that imperialism will not pass, that Africa is beginning in earnest to reject its role as the hand-maiden of world capitalism, and that its working people are at last finding a way to take control of their own destiny.

The first Congress of MPLA is a stirring climax of your past battles and it is the starting point of a new one. You are beginning your third war of liberation – a war which still demands the vigilance of arms, but whose final victory, as your President has said, will be assured at the point of production in the factories and on the land and by the principal force of your continuing revolution, the working people.

Every one of your victories advanced not only the cause of the Angolan people but also reinforced the cause of progress outside your borders.

In your first war of liberation, together with your brothers in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, you helped pave the way for democratic advance within Portugal itself.

In your second war of liberation you taught that the independence struggle is not just a search for government office, but a striving for real People's Power. You did not pause, as others have done, with the raising of your flag and the singing of your anthem. You showed in the fire of struggle, that the fruits of your people's sacrifices are not up for auction to the local exploiters and other representatives of neo-colonialism. You have learnt the lesson of history that the independence celebration becomes the signal for world imperialism to make a come-back through its local puppets. And you dealt properly with the whole gang – UNITA, FNLA, FLEC and the careerists and demagogues who infiltrated your own ranks as part of the impure load which every revolution carries.

You taught also, in your second war of liberation, that imperialism and its dogs of war no longer have a monopoly of force in our plundered continent and that aggression by world reaction can be defeated by a people's determined struggle supported by the forces of world progress, at the head of which stands the socialist community of nations. Together with your firm allies, notably the Soviet Union and Socialist Cuba, you reaffirmed the meaning of proletarian internationalism. Those who came uninvited, who occupied and plundered Africa for more than five centuries now have the audacity to scream 'foreign interference' when a sovereign state requests the fraternal support of its close allies in order to repel and defend its independence against imperialist invasion.

Your defeat of Vorster's racist forces was a source of the greatest inspiration to the struggling masses of our own country. You showed, in practice, that it could be done. And your triumph was celebrated not only in Angola but in the streets of Soweto, and by the growing resistance throughout the land which the enemy's terror has been unable to put down.

THE CUBA OF AFRICA

But it is not only your example of struggle which fired the imagination of South Africa's oppressed. In his truly outstanding address comrade Agostinho Neto spoke movingly about the ravages of colonialism and the frantic efforts to destroy you at the very moment of your birth. You were left with so little on which to build. Yet the little that you had you did not hoard. You gave comradesly shelter to liberation fighters. You did all in your power, morally and materially, to strengthen their resolve and capacity to intensify their struggles. And you did this with the full knowledge that you are risking further imperialist subversion and further aggressive blows against your young republic. This, dear comrades, is proletarian internationalism of the highest order. And that is why, amongst ourselves, we often speak of Angola as the Cuba of Africa.

We know that the scourge of inequality and racism, the ravages of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the legacy of backwardness and distorted development, everywhere have their roots in class exploitation. And until class exploitation is eliminated there can be no leap into a future of real independence, real national liberation, real democracy and real social justice. In short it is socialism, and only socialism, which can complete the unfinished African revolution. This is so for Angola and it is so for the whole of our continent.

The task you have set yourselves in your third war of liberation – to create conditions for the building of socialism – begins in earnest at this Congress. For it is here that you are creating the instrument, the vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party. Without such a Party, general proclamations about the socialist road have little, if any, lasting meaning. Without a vanguard Party of the workers there can be no real talk of worker's power. Without worker's power there can be no meaningful talk of building the foundations on which to proceed to socialism. Without the guiding ideology of Marxism-Leninism there can be no strategy for the ending of exploitation of man by man. Africa is not outside history. Here, as elsewhere, it is the class struggle, conducted as it is always conducted under specific conditions, which is the motor-force of social change.

FASCISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Our country still faces its first war of liberation. It is a war against a ruling class which, unique in history, has created within a single border an imperialist-colonialist relationship whose dividing line is colour. Perhaps more clearly than anywhere in the world, the corrupt ideology of the ruling class – its extreme racism

and fascist superstructures – is designed to serve the profits of the local capitalist class and its partners in Europe and North America. The slogan on which the present regime came to power 29 years ago was ‘Keep the native in his place’. The recent so-called election in South Africa was a reaffirmation of this very same aim. By its overwhelming vote for fascism the privileged minority has taken a further step on the road to disaster.

In South Africa, comrades, the national struggle cannot be brought to its victorious end without the destruction of the system of economic exploitation and the whole racist state apparatus which serves it. At the same time, the class struggle has as its main immediate content, the destruction of racist tyranny. This aim serves the best interests not only of the main contingent of our revolution – the large and experienced working class – but also all classes and groups who face the discrimination and humiliation of continuing minority domination and racism. Our liberation aims serve also the long-term interests of the majority of the white group whose future in South Africa can only be secured through complete equality and democracy. The issue in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia is not, as the imperialists would have it, the protection of minority rights but the absolute destruction of minority privileges.

South Africa is the home of two political organisations, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, which pioneered working class and national movements on the African continent. The ANC’s history goes back to 1912 and our Party became the first Marxist-Leninist Party in Africa when it was founded in 1921 just four years after the Great October Socialist Revolution, directly inspired by it. These two streams of revolutionary consciousness and organisation reflect the interplay of class and national factors in our struggle. And today, our liberation front, headed by the African National Congress, is moving with increasing momentum towards national liberation and eventual social emancipation.

Comrade President and comrade delegates, what you achieve in Angola is part of that momentum. What SWAPO achieves in Namibia, and what the Patriotic Front achieves in Zimbabwe is also part of that momentum. What we achieve in South Africa will, without a doubt, remove the biggest single obstacle to a free and independent Africa.

Viva O MPLA!

Viva O Internacionalismo Proletario!

Viva O Marxismo-Leninismo!

A Luta da Classe Continua!

A Vitoria dos Operarios e Certa!

DOCUMENT 135:

‘Forward to People’s Power – The Challenge Ahead’, statement issued after augmented Central Committee meeting, *The African Communist*, First Quarter, 1980.