

COPIES OF THIS ISSUE MUST BE ACCOUNTED FOR AND
RETURNED TO RESPECTIVE REGIONAL AND DISTRICT
COMMITTEES AFTER STUDY AND COMMENTS

EXTENDED PB MEETING

Acting on the instructions of the last Plenary Session of the CC the PB recently convened an Extended PB meeting which was attended by the PB plus 12 cadres involved mainly in trade union work. The discussion at the meeting ranged widely and included an assessment of the role of the working class in the democratic and socialist revolutions, the need to complete the process of creating one trade union federation for the whole country and the relationship between the National liberation Movement, the trade unions and the Party.

Special attention was devoted to SACTU's role in the changing situation. A number of decisions were taken some of which still have to be elaborated more fully by our Industrial Sub-Committee, guided by the discussions at the Extended PB Meeting.

What follows contains the general thinking of the meeting on the issues that were covered. It was further decided that our meeting of the three organisations (ANC, SACTU, SACP) should be convened for the purpose of considering the Party's views on the issues which were canvassed at the Extended PB Meeting. Units will be advised of any new questions which are canvassed at the Tripartite Meeting.

ON THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA, ITS ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL DEMOCRACY AND FOR SOCIALISM

1. Defend the Trade Unions:
 - 1.1. The struggle for national liberation in South Africa has reached a crucial watershed. Ranged against the apartheid state power which exists in order to maintain and perpetuate white minority rule there has emerged an alternative democratic power of the future South Africa. These two cannot coexist. Sooner, rather than later, the one must give way to the other..
 - 1.2. The alternative power in our country is represented organisationally by the many formations which recognise the leading role of the ANC in the struggle for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

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The Freedom Charter embodies the broad perspectives of the democratic power whose central thrust is the achievement of the transfer of power to the people. The core of the constellation of social forces which are gathered around and constitute the emergent alternative power is made up of the working class of South Africa.

- 1.3 During the recent period our Party and the ANC have consistently drawn attention to the fact that the balance of forces have shifted in favour of the people, the strategic initiative has passed out of the hands of the Botha regime and into the hands of the people. Accordingly, the Botha regime could only pursue its objectives through repression and more repression.
- 1.4 This is precisely what has been and is happening in our country. Repression has intensified to such a degree that it touches the everyday lives of our people. The Botha regime relentlessly pursues the futile path of destroying every expression of democratic thought and action, and it is doing so by every means at its disposal, while the racist army and police lay siege on our townships, they intervene directly on our workers at their workplaces. At the same time, the regime, directly or indirectly, sponsors "death Squads" and vigilantes against the activists and leaders of the mass democratic organisations. The onslaught by the counter revolution is increasingly directed against the mass democratic organisations, in particular, the United Democratic Front (UDF), and more recently, the Congress of South African Trade Unions(COSATU).
- 1.5 We dare not retreat in the face of this onslaught. While it is important that we learn to live under repression, we would be committing a major miscalculation if we overlooked the fact that the shift of strategic initiative into the hands of our people requires that we use this initiative to press ahead even more vigorously with the intensification of the mass offensive and the armed struggle. Repression is a fundamental condition for the continued existence of the racist regime. Part of our all round offensive should be to mobilise our people to defend themselves and their organisations against repression. The campaign to unban the ANC and the Party must be extended to defend the mass democratic organisations.

In this context it is especially important that we defend with all our power the democratic trade unions and, more particularly, COSATU.

2. On Unity and the Building of One Federation:

- 2.1. Our immediate demands for a national democratic revolution neither shelve nor postpone our socialist goals. The successful prosecution of the national democratic struggle, which would benefit the working class even more than any other oppressed class or strata of our society, is the shortest way to socialism. The presence of the working class must be felt in all the three main organisational instruments of bringing about the national democratic revolution, namely, the national liberation movement headed by the ANC, the trade union movement and the political party of the working class, the South African Communist Party.
- 2.2. Trade unions are a most important mass organisation of the working class. The emergence of SACTU in 1955 was a historic milestone in the development of trade unions and the national liberation movement in our country. Precisely because of SACTU's open adherence to the Congress Alliance and its record as the militant revolutionary trade unioncentre, the apartheid regime treated SACTU as an illegal conspiracy, effectively made it impossible for it to function publicly within the country to advance its aim of maintaining its affiliates and of winning the immediate formal affiliation of the emerging trade unions.
- 2.3. But workers can neither live nor struggle without trade unions. Despite the reign of terror unleashed by the regime in the early sixties, the workers of our country, assisted by the liberation alliance, found ways and means to organise themselves and eventually forced both employers and the state to recognise the existence of black trade unions. In 1985 the workers through their own efforts and with the assistance of SACTU and the national liberation movement as a whole, established COSATU which, at its formation, could claim the affiliation of more than half a million workers. The formation and growth of COSATU constitutes an historic turning point in the development of trade unionism in South Africa. With the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) among others as its backbone, its record of growth and militant action and the principles on which it has been founded, COSATU has established itself as the federation of democratic and progressive trade unions, aligned to and an integral

part of the alternative power of our country.

2.4. On the basis of these developments, the following tasks need urgent attention of the working class movement:

2.4.1. The emergence of COSATU as the main representative of the organised trade union movement needs to be advanced even further in accordance with the principle of ONE COUNTRY- ONE FEDERATION to embrace the whole of organised labour in our country. In particular, this means that:

2.4.1.1. Special efforts be made to ensure that unions which were affiliated to the now defunct TUCSA are drawn into COSATU. COSATU and the entire national liberation movement should elaborate a specific strategy and the relevant tactics to realise this objective.

2.4.1.2. The formation of NACTU is divisive to the process of creating one Federation in one country. The national liberation movement in general and SACTU and COSATU in particular should implement a programme to ensure that the workers in NACTU are drawn into COSATU through the process of establishing industrial unions based on the principle of One industry, One Union. The national liberation movement should give special attention to unifying the two federations into a single force.

2.4.1.3. To all intents and purposes UWUSA is Inkatha and cannot even pretend to be a federation of the workers. Aided and abetted by the regime, it has been created as a force in the service of counter-revolution in order to destroy the militant and revolutionary trade union movement of our country. Particular attention must be given to ensure that it finds no base among the workers of our country, and that those workers who are misled into joining it are won over to genuine trade unionism.

2.4.1.4. Organising the unorganised and the unemployed remains a priority task of the trade union movement. In addition to the agricultural workers (a sector which is receiving attention) we need to examine other categories of unorganised workers which should be targeted for systematic attention. A plan must also be elaborated to organise the unemployed. Ways and means must be found to organise the workers in the bantustans despite the special difficulties that have been created in these areas.

2.4.1.5. Particular attention should be given to analysing the condition of Coloured workers and workers of Indian origin in order to devise plans to draw them into the mainstream of militant and progressive trade unionism.

- 2.4.1.6. The deep-seated and long term economic crisis in our country is beginning to affect the white workers. Small numbers of them are already responding to the need to join the non-racial unions that are being created on the principle of one industry, one union. Persistent efforts need to be made to detach segments of the white workers from the racist unions and draw them into the democratic unions and COSATU.
- 2.4.1.7. With the formation of COSATU considerable progress has been recorded in merging and unifying the many unions coexisting in a given industry. The achievements registered so far are playing a key role in the strengthening of the workers' struggle and COSATU. The process accordingly needs urgent and continuous attention without losing sight of the practical difficulties that exist.
- 2.4.2. Forcing the apartheid state to recognise the right of black workers to organise themselves into trade unions was a momentous victory for the working class movement. This victory highlighted the strategic position of workers in our society, as well as the power they command through organisation and militant action. COSATU has elaborated a militant programme of action around several carefully selected campaigns for this year. These campaigns need to be pursued with unrelenting vigour and supported by the entire democratic movement. At the same time we need to watch out for and exploit fully every new avenue that opens for pushing the employers and the state onto the defensive and to consolidate and advance the people's offensive. In this regard:
- 2.4.2.1. The workers on the mines and the NUM have shown the great potentialities of challenging the migrant labour system by implementing their right to live with and house their families near their work places. Such action should be intensified.
- 2.4.2.2. Despite the growing expressions from employers that they reject the apartheid system, employers are deeply enmeshed in the mechanisms of repression in numerous ways, even to the point of voluntarily subsidising white national servicemen while they are on duty in the SADF. Trade unions should make it their special task to bring pressure to bear on the employers to bring their practices into accord with their condemnations of apartheid.
- 2.4.3. The apartheid state has been compelled to legalise the black trade unions and it is essential that the democratic mass organisations,

and the trade union movement in particular, should both maintain and broaden such legality. As the pre-eminent mass organisation of the working class the trade union movement needs to be broad-based but at the same time intimately involved in the political struggles of our people. It is therefore necessary that the trade union movement, especially, COSATU, draw closer to and become increasingly part of the democratic structures within our country. In this connection it has become more vital than ever that the main sectors of the broad democratic movement (of which COSATU is part) should create standing organs for liaison, cooperation and joint planning.

2.4.4. Our Party should ensure that the growth of militancy and deep interest in socialism among the workers is exploited to draw into the ranks of the Party the most advanced activists and leaders in the trade union movement. Interest among the working class in socialism is growing rapidly and it is necessary that the ideology, organisation and practice of scientific socialism should spread within the trade union movement. In this regard two dangers should be guarded against:

2.4.4.1. Various forces advocating ultra-leftist and workerist positions are actively propagating their views within the working class movement. Such harmful and divisive tendencies need to be combatted and greater attention should be given to ensuring that the Party's presence is felt more strongly.

2.4.4.2. Trade unions and especially COSATU should always be on guard that they do not narrow the mass character of the trade union movement. The basic character of a trade union means that it cannot act as the working class political vanguard. We must guard against premature attempts to formally incorporate the objective of socialism into programmes of trade unions and the federation to which they belong. A more realistic linkage between the economic and political aspects of our struggle in the present phase, and one which correctly reflects the political awareness, of the majority of the membership and the mass popular mood, is to be found in the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the recent NUM Conference.

2.4.5. The international campaign for comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions as part of the campaign for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa is gaining in momentum.

It is important that the workers of our country be mobilised fully behind the campaign and the additional hardships that this may entail for them are explained as part of the political choices that have to be made in order that our people achieve national liberation. With the campaign for sanctions taking root, it is imperative that pressure on governments and multi-national corporations should be stepped up rather than diluted.

3. The Role of SACTU:

3.1. SACTU remains an essential partner of the Liberation Alliance headed by the ANC. As part of this Alliance, it concentrates its main efforts on helping to complete the process of building a revolutionary trade union movement in our country based on industrial unionism and in the spirit in which SACTU was founded. SACTU continues to be the legitimate spokesperson of the revolutionary trade union aspirations of the working class of South Africa.

3.2. Despite the fact that COSATU has emerged as the main representative of the organised trade unions, the trade union movement in our country remains fragmented. The task of ensuring that the whole of organised labour is organised on the principle of one federation, one country requires for its fulfilment the closest and most fraternal cooperation between SACTU (as part of the liberation alliance) and COSATU.

3.3. By the very nature of the fascist condition under which the trade union movement is forced to operate, there are (in addition to the tasks mentioned above) certain vital areas of work which require an input from a revolutionary trade union movement which SACTU, as part of the Alliance, is best suited to pursue. This flows from the clandestine or semi-clandestine nature of such tasks (both internal and external) which must be carried out in cooperation with advanced elements in the trade union movement. Such tasks need to be carried out in such a way as to avoid formal connections with the leadership collectives which could jeopardise their legality.

3.4. SACTU's Internal Structures:

3.4.1. To carry its tasks SACTU needs effective organisation both internally and externally, functioning in the closest cooperation with all arms of the liberation alliance.

- 3.4.2. The more precise nature of the structures best suited in existing conditions to pursue these tasks inside the country should be guided by the following considerations:
- 3.4.2.1. An emphasis on those structures and contacts which can best facilitate the clandestine and semi-clandestine tasks which COSATU itself cannot pursue openly, more particularly in politico-military areas of work.
 - 3.4.2.2. In general, the internal structures and contacts must act under the direction of SACTU's NEC and must monitor the developments in the field of labour organisation and advise the leadership on ways to advance the policies of the alliance in the trade union movement.
 - 3.4.2.3. Through its internal contacts and structures SACTU must help organise the spread of workers' revolutionary ideology among our working people.
 - 3.4.2.4. Our Party must ensure that the most devoted and advanced trade union cadres should be brought closer, and selectively recruited, into our Party.
 - 3.4.2.5. The contacts and structures created internally for the above purposes must always act in a way which respects and enhances the democratic processes of COSATU and the individual unions.

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PARTY CONGRESS

In terms of our Constitution the next Party Congress will have to be convened before the end of 1988. In the light of this requirement the PB had a preliminary discussion on certain preparations which need to be undertaken even at this early stage. Among the issues which requires early attention are the following:

- a) The 1988 Congress will be required to examine our 1962 Programme, 'The Road to South African Freedom'. At some later stage we intend to appoint a commission whose task it will be to prepare concrete proposals and drafts for pre-Congress discussions throughout our Party.

In order to facilitate the work of such a commission we request all Regions, Districts and units to begin to examine the Programme with a view to forwarding proposals which would assist the commission in its work. Such discussions would serve the additional purpose of ensuring that all our members become familiar with the contents of

the Programme which should be discussed in the units section by section.

Comrades are also asked to consider whether the existing Programme lends ^{itself} to being brought up to date by amending various sections or whether they feel a new draft ought to be prepared.

Another option which was raised in previous discussions would be to leave the existing Programme intact and to add a commentary which concentrates on developments between 1962 and to date. We would like to have comments (in terms of the above) by not later than the end of this year.

- b) Units are also asked to begin to examine the Constitution which was adopted at the 6th Congress of our Party and to begin making proposals for any additions or alterations which they consider necessary.

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70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

This year marks the 70th Anniversary of the most important Revolution in the history of mankind. It is extremely vital that our Party celebrates this occasion in a fitting manner.

A number of decisions have already been taken by the PB in connection with the Anniversary, including the preparation of a booklet, stickers, leaflets, radio broadcasts, etc. It is the duty of each region to immediately prepare plans for their own areas. We must make sure that all levels of our national liberation movement are encouraged to observe this anniversary, especially to emphasise its significance at every level of the membership. All decisions made in this connection should be forwarded not later than 15th August.

Regions are also reminded that our Party's 66th Anniversary on 30th July should wherever possible be marked by meetings and discussions through the movement.

All internal units and units operating in the forward areas are especially directed to issue propaganda material (leaflets, etc.) in connection with both Anniversaries.

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AC AND UMSEBENZI

We remind all units that the contents of these two Party organs must be regularly discussed and comments should be forwarded. This would assist the respective Editorial Boards to improve the quality of the journals.

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MEETING WITH FRELIMO WORKERS PARTY

The following is the report of the meeting between the delegation of our CC and the leadership of FRELIMO Workers Party, which speaks for itself.

1. Recently, a delegation of the SACP led by the General Secretary visited the People's Republic of Mozambique at the invitation of FRELIMO Workers' Party. The two Parties held a series of discussions on the situation in our respective countries and in the region, relations between the SACP and FRELIMO WP, the Inter-Party process on the continent and other issues of mutual concern. The FRELIMO delegation was led by Comrade Armando Gebueza, member of the Politbureau and Minister of Transport. The SACP delegation was also received by President Chissano, Marcelino dos Santos and Gracia Machel. It also paid tribute to the late President Machel and other Mozambican and South African heroes buried in Maputo.

2. In the briefing to the FRELIMO delegation, the GS covered the following questions:
 - 2.1. A historical panorama of the development of the CP and its relations with the ANC.
 - 2.2. Our perception of the South African situation: colonialism of a special type, class and national question, relationship between the National democratic and socialist revolutions.
 - 2.3. Characterisation of the current situation and the inter-connection between the struggle in SA and the efforts of Southern African states for independent national development.

3. The hosts expressed their appreciation for the visit, and emphasised the need for constant exchange of views between our Parties. Though conditions in our countries differ, there is a lot that we can benefit from each other. Above all, our struggles are closely

interlinked. In outlining the internal situation in Mozambique the FRELIMO Party delegation pointed out that the country is facing problems in three main areas: economic, security and social. They are however tackling these problems with some measure of success.

- 3.1. The leading role in this process belongs to the Party. Forces of imperialism and apartheid are trying to create discontent among the people and ferment contradictions between the Party and its social base. But FRELIMO is in control. This was clearly demonstrated after the assassination of Machel when the whole nation stood behind the Party and showed confidence in its leadership. The Party itself has been growing. Since the 4th Party Congress the number of cells has increased from 4 200 to 7 000 and membership by about 50 000. Since the Congress, it has been mobilising the population in all areas, in particular to withstand attacks by the bandits in an organised manner.

However, growth itself presents new problems: many individuals still view the Party as a mass movement; they identify with "FRELIMO", and the Party has to find organisational forms to accommodate staunch supporters who are not Party members. This is one of the problems that arise from the transformation of a mass liberation movement into a vanguard Party. Faced with widespread banditry, it is necessary that the Party mobilises all sectors of the nation and build the spirit of patriotism. This includes religious groups such as Moslems and Protestants who, unlike the Catholic Church leadership, are making a positive contribution. With growth also arises the problem of the Party's organisational capacity. Thus recent sessions of the CC decided to streamline Party structures and appoint a number of senior leaders as full-time functionaries of the Party - to eliminate the problem of individuals having too many responsibilities. The Mozambican comrades refer to this process as "de-accumulation".

- 3.2. On the economic front, Mozambique faces the serious problem of aggression. The bandits have destroyed a large part of the economic infrastructure. About 4-million people have been displaced. There is a fall in production, dislocation of transport, shortage of food, scarcity of foreign exchange, etc.

The government has to attend to the material needs of the people: it cannot expect the people to 'just accept' their suffering, and, worst of all, allow a situation in which they blame their woes on "socialism".

The Party has to give the people some perspective, so that even when they have to tighten their belts they should do so with the conviction that in the near future their conditions would be alleviated. It is in this context, the FRELIMO delegation explained, that the government recently introduced new economic policies: increase in prices, devaluation of the currency, joint projects with private companies and agreements with the IMF and World Bank. The hosts emphasised that this should not be seen as a "shift to the West" as some observers have intimated. Many of the measures being introduced now are to be found in the first Constitution of the PRM. However, they could not be implemented because most companies and small businessmen simply abandoned their enterprises. The state was compelled to take over even small restaurants. If there are any changes in their relations with "Western" governments it is the latter who have changed their attitude. Otherwise in the past the "West" sought to isolate FRELIMO.

The new economic policies go hand-in-hand with the vigorous development of the socialist sector. They believe that, in order for the state to increase its capacity to administer the economy and exercise effective economic control, it should 'own' only the commanding heights of the economy. The government is paying serious attention to the development of the socialist sector, and it receives support from socialist countries - though this has been slowed down by the security situation. Economic development is also enhanced by regional co-operation. Through the SADCC, countries in the region are lessening their dependence on SA and will at the same time gradually create viable national economies.

- 3.3. The source of the security problems they face is apartheid. They agree with the assessment of the SACP that the struggle within SA cannot be separated from the efforts of the Southern African states for independent national development. The PRM is a target because of its strategic geographic position vis-a-vis South Africa and, above all, because of its ideological and social policies which are a direct challenge to what apartheid stands for. Pretoria's acts of aggression and destabilisation have not abated. However, the security situation has somewhat improved as a result of armed offensives by the FPLM and its allies. The Party and the government are daily seized with the task of improving the effectiveness of the armed forces.

They still have to deal with many serious problems, but they can confidently say that SA has failed in its strategic aim to secure international recognition for the MNR bandits and project them as an alternative political power. Active support from neighbouring states has assisted a great deal. And the recent security agreement with Malawi has opened up possibilities for joint actions and co-operation in the struggle against the bandits.

Developments on the military front - and in particular the latest attack in Maputo - emphasise the need for all of us to plan and fight together to achieve genuine democracy and peace in the whole region.

4. The delegations proceeded to examine the role of imperialism in the region and the following major points were made:
 - 4.1. FRELIMO is of the view that major changes have taken place in the tactics of imperialism in the region. During the days of Memorandum 39, imperialism was openly on the side of the forces of colonialism. But the change in the balance of forces has forced them to make adjustments. The essence of their policies is still the same: to defeat any genuine social transformations, but they are forced to stand up against racism and, in the case of Mozambique, against the MNR bandits. In its foreign policy, Mozambique seeks to exploit these adjustments and to take advantage of contradictions within the imperialist camp. It also tries to secure as much assistance as possible - without compromising principles. "It is a chess game and the government of Mozambique has to play the game to the best of its ability".
 - 4.2. The SACP delegation agreed in principle with positions of the hosts and expressed our understanding of the situation in which they find themselves. In our own experience today, we have to address questions that a few years ago seemed to belong to the distant future, e.g. details of our "post-apartheid" economic policies. We have pointed out, in reply to such questions, that we would have to balance between the temporary dislocation that results from changing production relations and the imperative of satisfying the needs of the people.
- The "chess game" referred to is complex and deadly. It is necessary to have safeguards. Above all, we should take the people with us; they must all the time know what we are doing. At the same time we must strengthen co-operation among our forces in the region, share

our views and experiences about the pitfalls around which we are trying to manoeuvre. The SACP and the rest of the liberation movement consider it essential that countries of Southern Africa should receive the support of the international community. At the international fora we always tie up the question of sanctions against SA with that of increased support to independent countries in the region.

5. On the continental inter-Party process it was agreed that we should vigorously pursue the decision to have regular consultations. It is necessary, also, to take into account the changed situation and modify previous decisions accordingly.

The Preparatory Committee (SACP, FRELIMO, Congo-Brazzaville) will look into mechanisms for the implementation of the proposal for a seminar of the 12 Marxist-Leninist Parties (plus a number of revolutionary-democratic parties) to discuss individual and collective experiences of the parties in the process of effecting social transformations.

6. The visit was the first official bilateral exchange between the SACP and FRELIMO Workers' Party. The SACP delegation was able to get a first-hand account of both the enormity of the problems the people of Mozambique face and their resolve to overcome them. The delegation was also impressed by the consistent anti-apartheid positions the FRELIMO Party and government adhere to. The visit will no doubt help to strengthen links between FRELIMO Workers' Party, the government and people of Mozambique on the one hand, and the South African people and their liberation alliance on the other.

7. A copy of the press release (Communique) is attached.

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