

UMSEBENZI



VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

WHAT UNITY MEANS

The groups opposed to the racist tyranny are more varied and widespread than ever before in our history. **The most important task facing the liberation movement is to effectively harness all these forces.**

Revolutionary strategy must always try to increase the forces on the side of the people and to divide the enemy. But some elements behave as if we actually grow stronger when we have fewer allies and a greater number of enemies. This happened in the run-up to the banned September Anti-Apartheid conference.

The conference was organised to bring together all opponents of apartheid who accept majority rule but who do not necessarily agree on all aspects of strategy and tactics. It was to be a step towards getting the broadest possible range of forces to move together against the regime on specific immediate issues. Two themes were on the agenda 'Unity and organisation against repression' and 'One person one vote in a united South Africa'.

Yet some voices were raised against the idea of wide participation. The Unity Movement objected to organisations such as IDASA. Azaco, (a Black Consciousness fringe group), refused to sit with NDM whom they described as 'direct representatives of the ruling class'. They also dismissed Inyandza of KaNgwane as 'collaborationist'.

This type of sectarianism is not new. It has kept some of these 'purist' groups permanently on the side-lines of the real struggle. They use revolutionary-sounding language to 'justify' policies which hold back revolutionary advance. And their confusion is greatest on the question of a broad front of struggle.

ONE PERSON ONE VOTE IN A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA



UNITE AND ORGANISE TO RESIST REPRESSION

What is a Broad Front of Struggle?

A front struggle is, by definition, made up of political groups who do not agree on everything. If they did agree on everything there would be no need for a front at all; they would all be in one organisation. **We cannot, therefore, make co-operation with us conditional on the acceptance of all our objectives and our strategy and tactics.**

The crucial question is whether an alliance or a joint platform on a specific issue will help to weaken the main enemy and advance the people's cause. We should also not confuse the different types of fronts and alliances which serve different purposes.

In our situation we can point to three specific categories:

1. The ANC-led liberation alliance. This alliance is made up of organisations who share common objectives in the National Democratic Revolution and who agree on all the key tactics and strategy to achieve these objectives.
2. The fraternal relationship between the ANC and the key organisations of the Mass Democratic Movement. This alliance constitutes the organised mass core of the revolutionary forces even though some of its constituents cannot proclaim all the objectives of the African National Congress.
3. The broader forces who support democratic change but who cannot be counted as part of the revolutionary camp.

Our approach to the third category — the **broader forces for change** — needs to be understood.

Revolutionary Forces and Forces for Change.

The search for a way out of the crisis daily gives birth to more and more forces who seek change in the direction of anti-racism and democracy. These forces for change are not part of the revolutionary camp with whom they have various differences on strategy and tactics.

But we must do all within our power to increase the distance between these forces for change and the regime. We must, on no account, push

them back into the enemy's laager by using clumsy 'leftist' tactics. Talking to them or acting with them on specific issues does not mean that we abandon our independent revolutionary policies.

Those bosses who are prepared to stand with the organised trade union movement against the amended Labour Relations Act have a place on a campaign platform against it. We should not isolate those in the bantustans who, in their daily actions, oppose our country's fragmentation and do their best to make these fraudulent institutions unworkable. We must find ways of engaging those in white politics who are beginning to grope for changes in the direction of genuine democracy.

We must have enough confidence in ourselves not to fear acting with other forces for change on specific common issues or on an agreed anti-apartheid programme. Not every such embrace leads to marriage. The involvement is one of mutual benefit. The parties do not abandon their independence, nor do they necessarily merge into a permanent relationship.

The way forward lies in the direction of **the broadest possible united action against racism.** Mobilising such action will make an enormous contribution to ending the days of the crisis-ridden racist regime.

'Only those who are not sure of themselves can fear to enter into temporary alliances even with unreliable people, not a single political party can exist without such alliances.'
(*Lenin Selected Works*, Volume 1, p 103.)



TAMBO ON 1989 TASKS

In his January 8th speech, President OR Tambo called on our entire national liberation movement to make 1989 a year of militant mass defiance. 'The period ahead poses many great challenges to all of us ... precisely because it contains within it the seeds for major advances. The issue of a new political order has been placed on the agenda.'

In his speech, Comrade Tambo underlines that the racists have been unable to fundamentally reverse our gains. The regime's humiliating defeat in Angola, the unprecedented three-day general strike in June, and our popular October boycott election victory last year, all confirm this basic fact.

The challenge before us is to build on the victories we have scored, to turn the favourable climate into a platform for intensified struggle. This requires the consolidation of our forces, especially in those areas where we are weak, and where the enemy has made some headway.

What are the main tasks that Comrade Tambo has set before the entire liberation movement?

- The perspective of people's power is the central question on the agenda. Our successful mass boycott of the October elections provides one rallying point from which to render the regime's political structures unworkable. All the regime's structures — the Regional Services Councils, the bantustan administrations, Provincial Executive Committees, the National Council and the tricameral parliament — must feel the full weight of popular rejection.

- We must build up a spirit mass defiance, overcoming any tendency to limit our struggles entirely within the confines of the regime's regulations. We must carefully select areas where we can mobilise mass defiance — like Group Areas, anti-squatting laws, the provocative regulations of the Conservative Party in a number of towns, rents and service charges, conscription into the SADF, and restrictions on individuals and organisations.

- The building of underground political structures remains one of the major tasks. This requires greater professionalism, proper planning and the building of effective networks.

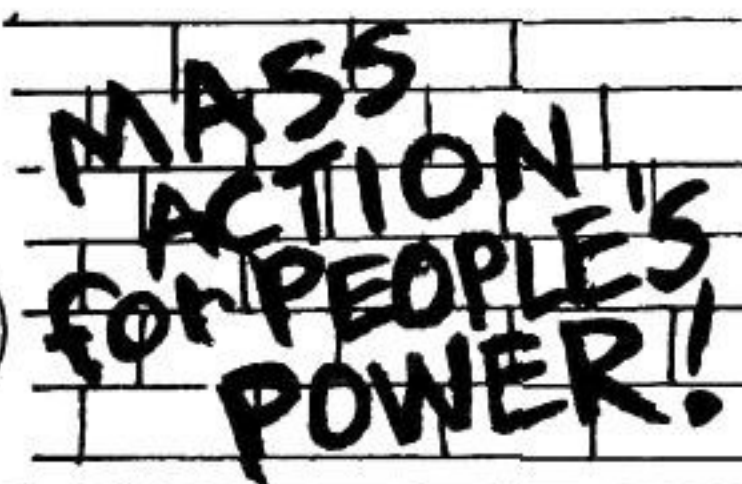
- Every effort must be made to ensure that a lasting solution to the ugly situation in Natal is found. Peace among the oppressed, war on the common enemy must be our guiding light.

- The uprisings of soldiers and rural masses in Bophuthatswana and Venda last year demonstrate the militancy in our rural areas. But these uprisings also underlined our own organisational weaknesses in the countryside. It is crucial that we raise these rural struggles to a higher level, placing before the rural masses the perspective of the seizure of land.

- Despite the banning last year of the planned Anti-Apartheid Conference, the preparatory work drew together a wide coalition of forces. This work must continue, building the broadest possible front of anti-apartheid forces.

- The Labour Relations Amendment Act represents the most concerted attack on the labour movement for many years. The combined strength of workers, the entire democratic movement and all other anti-apartheid forces — within South Africa and internationally — must act to defeat this law.

In taking up the challenge of these tasks, the entire national liberation movement finds itself in a situation that has fundamentally shifted. In the course of the 1980s, the Decade of Liberation, we have succeeded in shifting the balance of forces in our favour. In the words of President Tambo, 1989 must see us 'take advantage of this situation and intensify our offensive for people's power.'



**LONG LIVE THE YEAR OF
MASS ACTION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER!**

READERS VOICE

Umsebenzi is not a bible; it is a tool of struggle. Not every word we write or publish is holy and beyond criticism. We, of course, aim to speak for our Party on the important issues of the day. But we do not only want to teach. We also want to learn. And we believe that our readers, especially those in the frontline of struggle, have always got something to teach us.

So please contribute to 'Readers Voice'.

Give us your thoughts, but try to keep them short — not more than 300 words.

UMSEBENZI READERS' CIRCLES

Dear *Umsebenzi*,

While going through *Umsebenzi* I thought that it may be a good idea if those who read it could establish *Umsebenzi Readers Circles*. This would be specially important for young people who would be able to discuss the articles, debate and learn through trial and error-type of discussions. The sort of *Umsebenzi* slot that we have in cell meetings is fairly hasty and only touches on articles. We need to discuss in greater detail.

CONCERNING PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

In 'Reflections on People's Committees' (*Umsebenzi*, vol.4, no.4) a very important point is made. The writer argues that for the emergence of People's Committees (PCs) it is necessary that conditions should exist 'where the further encroachment on people's lives is threatened by the administration and/or repressive organs of the state'.

It is most important to consider, in this way, what conditions are required to make the formation of PCS a realistic task. It is a question ignored by some observers who have continued to advocate for the continued creation of the PCs at a time when counter-revolution is at its height, and virtually all PCs have been destroyed.

But the writer of the above article has still not gone far enough. For PCs to emerge there needs to be a situation of mass upsurge. The masses must have seen, through their experience in struggle, that reform is not enough, that reform must be supplanted by struggle for revolutionary change. The masses of the people must have reached the limits of their patience in waiting for the ruling classes to meet their demands. They must have begun to take matters into their own hands to introduce the freedoms they want.

During such periods, the masses of the oppressed people engage in independent activity. They destroy the old order, and the old state

organs of power. They begin to take over the administration of their own lives. They use force against those wishing to reverse their political achievements.

PCs therefore occupy a special place in the struggle for people's power. They are a higher form of mass organisation than our ordinary mass democratic organisations. Which is not to say that PCs substitute for, or replace the other mass organisations. They come into being as organs of the uprising.

In short, the following features of PCs must be mentioned:

- As organs of the uprising, PCs need their own revolutionary legality, which can only be assured by the presence of mass upsurge and the revolutionary activity of the masses. Revolutionary legality is needed for the democratic participation of all the diverse forces involved in the life of the PCs. It is needed for open debates and elections. An 'unfinished PC' is more or less a contradiction in terms.

- As organs of alternative power, the PCs cannot exist side by side with the old state for a long time. One power has to give way to the other, sooner or later. If the PCs do not exist within a period of upsurge, and do not have the power of the masses defending them, they are bound to cease functioning as PCs.

'SOFT' AND 'HARD' TARGETS

Dear *Umsebenzi*,

I had mixed feelings about this article (Issue No.3 of 1988). The article does not actually discourage the use of the terms 'soft' and 'hard' targets. I am not sure whether it is correct to define 'soft' targets as bomb-blasts in city centres, although the example of the Ellis Park stadium is used. For instance, the Air Force HQ bomb in Pretoria was also a city centre, but was it a 'soft' target?

The article does clarify the two key elements which should guide us in the use of revolutionary force — namely strategy and morality. The strategic aim is well defined as being to weaken the apartheid regime, diminish its social support base and broaden and unify the popular democratic forces.



However, it is also a way instilling greater confidence in the people, a means of defence for the people under conditions of military and paramilitary repression and a means of undermining the enemy's confidence in its military might.

While the strategic aim is spelt out to some degree, the question of revolutionary morality is dealt with in a one-sided way. I refer to the way the article focuses on white civilian casualties and on the question of black and white having to live together in the future. But the question of civilian casualties and targets relate as much to black casualties as to white. This is an important gap in the article.

THE WOMEN'S QUESTION

Dear *Umsebenzi*,

The article on the women's question (Issue No.3, 3rd Quarter, 1988) possibly required the space of the centre spread because it got right down to the heart of the question, but did not seem to have the space to expand on the question of the debate between neo-feminism and women's liberation. The strength of the article is the way it stresses that women's issues are central to our struggle, that we need more than tokenism and window-dressing, and that there is an inadequate presence of women on the leading bodies of the movement.

The article clarifies what is meant by women's emancipation and stresses that the solution of the women's question cannot be postponed to a later date. But the weakness of the article is that it does not put any meat on these points. I think it is necessary to stress that women's liberation is absolutely bound to the anti-racist and class struggle. We must also guard against extreme feminist tendencies which regard the women's question as a thing in itself. What is lacking is a clarification of the meaning of extreme feminism and a definition of how women's liberation relates to racial and class oppression.

We hope that *Umsebenzi* will, in some future article, put more meat on these important points.

THE STATE IN TRANSITION

Dear *Umsebenzi*,

I liked the article 'The State in the Transition Period', in *Umsebenzi*, third quarter of 1988, although it would have been better called the 'defence of the revolutionary state'. I would just like to emphasise that our starting point must be a democratic constitution which upholds people's power. The application of the Marxist-Leninist theory of state power must flow from a reference point. This reference point will be determined by how we take power and what the character of the constitution will be.

Can we, for example, talk of a Marxist-Leninist approach to the state in South Africa if we envisage a multi-party state arrived at through negotiation and compromise?



WORKING IN THE ENEMY ARMED FORCES

The continued imbalance in armed strength that favours the enemy underlines the absolute necessity of doing work within the enemy's armed forces. In the past this might have seemed like an impossible task. But events in the recent period have shown that there are real possibilities.

In the face of our growing struggle, the regime is less and less able to rule without naked violence. There has been a rapid expansion of bantustan armies, municipal police, kits-konstabels and armed vigilantes. Increasing numbers of blacks are also being drawn into the regular SADF and SAP. A number of black officers now occupy strategic positions in the bantustan armies.

This large increase in the numbers of blacks within the apartheid armed forces is a sword with two edges. On the one side the racists hope to confuse our people and the world with this apparent sign of departing from racism. But on the other side the regime is arming blacks who still suffer the many humiliations experienced by all the oppressed in our country.

It is black recruits who have been used as cannon fodder in southern Angola, Namibia and even in the townships. They are frequently insulted by white officers. In many cases they are underpaid. They are used as the donkeys of the white army and police, and yet they are also exposed to the contempt of their own townships.

It is no wonder, then, that in the last period there have been a number of mutinies of black soldiers and police — in Bophuthatswana, Transkei, Namibia and the Vaal Triangle. But our own conscious, political work within these armed forces is still very underdeveloped.

This work means, above all, **political** work. The long term aim is to paralyse the political direction behind the armed forces, to neutralise them and even to win over sections into active support, arms in hand, for our liberation struggle.

Like all political work, this task requires a careful, planned approach. Using clandestine political units actually within the armed forces, where possible, we need to begin by addressing the basic demands of soldiers and police. Using clandestine and open forms of propaganda, *we must agitate around their daily grievances*. The language must be simple and direct. The best agitation is rooted in a concrete knowledge of the specific group being addressed — their



grievances against this particular officer, or that particular task.

Of course, we need to agitate differently amongst ordinary soldiers and police, and among black officers. As the events in Bophuthatswana have shown, sections of the officer corps can also be won over to the side of the people. In time, our agitation must increasingly shift from basic grievances to a broader political perspective.

All of this means that while we continue to call on black soldiers and police to lay down their arms and resign, **at the same time we must systematically infiltrate relatively large numbers of our own people into these forces.**

Such a plan of infiltration in no way means that we suspend our all-round pressure on, and condemnation of, these forces. The morale of soldiers depends upon the support they get from their families, townships, churches and sports clubs. If they feel pressure from this side, the work within the armed forces is greatly strengthened.

So far we have only spoken of work amongst black troops. But there are also real prospects for work within the white army. The white SADF consists mainly of young white males serving obligatory periods of conscription. It is an army that is, therefore, exposed to the growing political ferment and confusion within the white camp. The white army is more vulnerable to public pressure and less capable, in terms of morale, of sustaining losses than we sometimes imagine.

It was very instructive how the deaths of a few dozen white conscripts in southern Angola produced a large change of heart within white public opinion. Even the white NGK began suddenly to question the 'morality of the war'.

Work within the enemy armed forces is a difficult and long drawn-out task that demands patience and skill. But there should be no doubt about its enormous strategic importance and the real possibilities.

TROOPS OUT OF THE TOWNSHIPS!

DEFEAT THE NEW LABOUR LAW!

The fight against the new law must unite the broad workers' movement and activate the mass of the workers and community at large.

During the course of last year, we engaged in various actions around this issue: the June 6-8 general strike and other actions at local level. As a result the regime offered to negotiate to repeal part of the legislation. Many bosses also started to negotiate. And some of these talks have borne fruit. Agreements have been reached with some companies not to implement sections of the new labour law. But the reality is that the regime went ahead to pass the bill. Some bosses are dangling this sword against democratic unions and others are already implementing its provisions.



What lessons do we draw from this experience? The offer to talk — on the part of the regime and the bosses — was the product of our actions. But too much of our energies were focused on these 'talks'. This left the army of the union membership largely inactive, passively awaiting the results of the talks. Not enough attention was paid to following up the decisions of the COSATU Congress to continually confront

the bosses at the workplace.

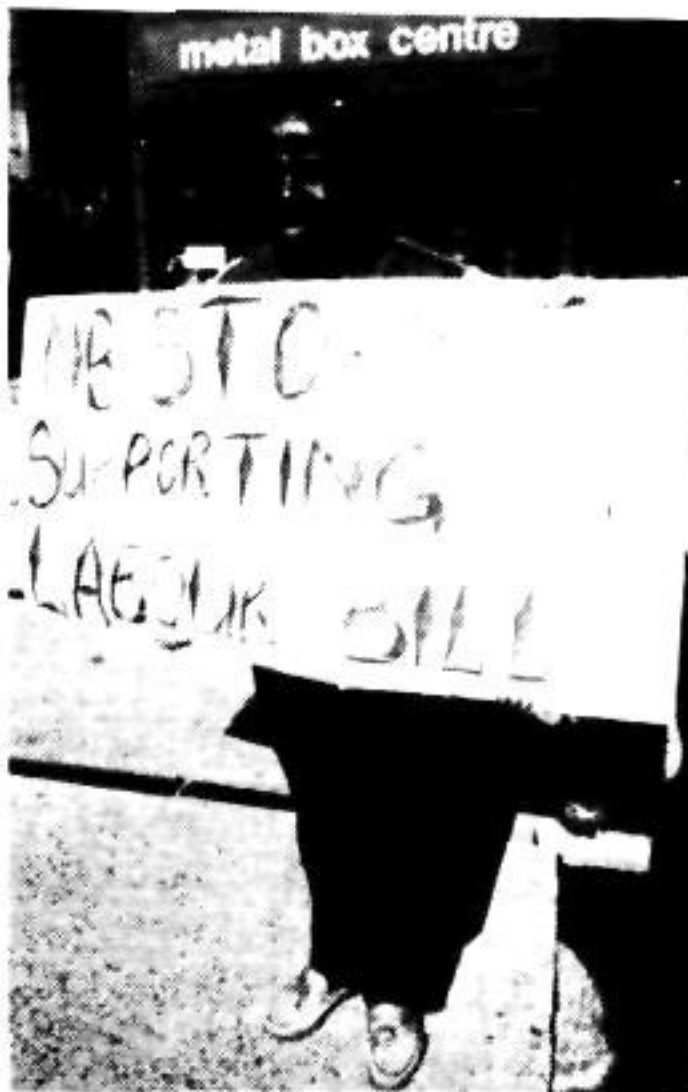
While it is beneficial to seek agreements with specific companies and individual employers, this should not be allowed to distract us from nationally co-ordinated programmes and actions. We must activate the mass of the workers — at national, regional and local levels — to bring pressure to bear on the bosses and the regime. Of particular importance are the efforts to unite the broad democratic union movement — in particular COSATU and NACTU — in action. Without such joint efforts, our offensive will be disjointed and much less effective. The agreements we reach in this regard should be painstakingly followed up.

The Labour Relations Amendment Act affects all sectors of the oppressed people. It is part of the continuing campaign by the regime to destroy all democratic organisations. In addition, this law deprives workers and their families, and the broad communities from which they come, of the avenues to fight for a living wage. They are prohibited from actively supporting other workers and the rest of the community when the need arises. The fight against this law is, therefore, the duty of all patriotic forces. The trade union movement, in consultation with other democratic structures, including the religious community, should mobilise the mass of the people into action on this issue. This applies also to the international campaign that we should generate. Further, those bosses who have started attacking trade unions on the basis of this

law, should be made to feel the wrath of the people through all forms of struggle.

Where negotiations are in progress or become a possibility, we should pursue them. But they must complement rather than substitute mass actions. And we must consciously guard against talks which are aimed at fooling our membership and diverting our energies.

The threat we face calls for a many-sided response. If we gear our forces properly, we shall generate a campaign which will dovetail with other actions and strengthen the general offensive against the apartheid regime. Like the tricameral parliament, rent increases and other provocations of the regime, the new labour law has the potential to help spark off intensified popular revolt. Let us turn the oppressors' and exploiters' weapon against them.



DEFEAT THE NEW LABOUR ACT!

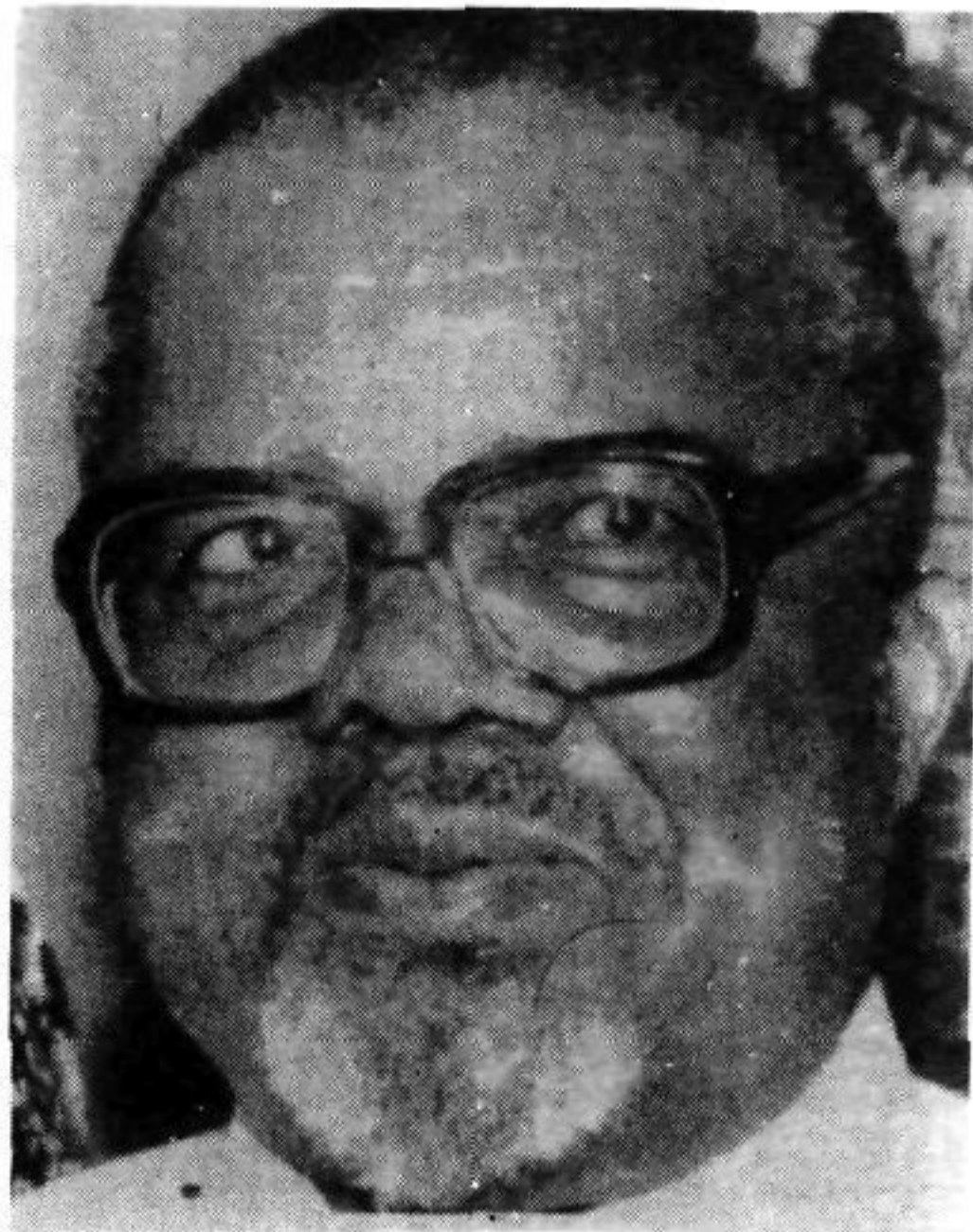
HARRY GWALA MAN OF THE PEOPLE

Harry Gwala — a leading member of the Communist Party, the ANC and Sactu — began organising workers in the 1940s in the distributive, chemical, building and brick industries. He laid firm foundations for worker organisation in Pietermaritzburg. Management in Howick, where Gwala organised rubber workers, will not forget the workers slogan when demanding higher wages: 'Rubber Burns'! Together with Moses Mabhida and Memory Vakalisa, Gwala helped develop Sactu's Natal structures.

Repeatedly detained and banned, in 1963 Gwala was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment on Robben Island. But those long prison years did nothing to dilute his commitment. Upon release he was at the centre of attempts to revive Sactu. Detained again in 1975, he was subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment for ANC activities.

Thami Mkhwanazi, fellow prisoner, said: 'Gwala's main occupation on Robben Island was teaching the theories of Marx and Lenin. His insight into revolutionary politics and his uncompromising Marxist beliefs made him the idol of many youths, especially guerrillas.'

Extensively paralysed, suffering from an incurable motor neuron disease, described by Gwala as a 'rotting of the nerves', he was unconditionally released from prison at the end of 1987.



Unswervingly committed to the fight for liberation, Gwala's voice is again heard. Speaking of unity, he said: 'The people today are united in the struggle against apartheid. The only unity can be that based on action. All those who talk about unity must be seen to be involved in the struggle against apartheid, and not in rhetoric.'

A grandfather, Harry Gwala now lives in Dambuza, a section of Edendale township in Pietermaritzburg.

In his message to the people on 8th January, 1989, President OR Tambo said:
'We welcome that great stalwart of our revolution, Harry Gwala, whose contribution to our cause has been of great significance. It is a great pleasure for me to announce the decision of the National Executive Committee of the ANC to invest Harry Gwala with the highest award of the struggling people of our country, Isitwalandwe-Seaparakoe.'

8 FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!



SA AND CUBAN COMMUNISTS MEET

A delegation of the South African Communist Party recently visited Havana at the invitation of the leadership of the Cuban Communist Party. Detailed discussions were held over a number of days in a spirit of comradeship and warm cordiality. The agenda covered aspects of the international situation, the situation in the sub-continent of Southern Africa and the struggle to destroy apartheid rule in South Africa itself.

At a special session the Cuban delegation was headed by Fidel Castro, pictured in conversation with Joe Slovo who led the SACP delegation.

The SACP delegation learnt with admiration of the detailed events connected with the defeat of the racist forces in Angola which culminated in the latest Namibian Accord. It was also briefed on the impressive social advances achieved by the Cuban people in the construction of socialism in their country.

The talks ended with the signing of a Protocol of Co-operation between the two parties.



HAIL TO CUBAN INTERNATIONALISM!

AMILCAR CABRAL ON COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP AND REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY

Collective Leadership

Collective leadership means leadership, and order or command made by a group of persons and not by one person alone or by some persons in the group. To lead collectively, in a group, is to study questions jointly, to find their best solution, and to take decisions jointly, it is to benefit from the experience and intelligence of each and all so as to lead, order and command better.

In collective leadership, each person in the leadership must have his own clearly defined duties and is responsible for the carrying out of decisions taken by the group in regard to his duties.

To lead collectively is to give to each leader the opportunity of thinking and acting, to demand that he takes the responsibilities within his competence, that he has initiative, that he demonstrates his creative capacity with determination and freedom, and that he correctly serves the teamwork, which is the product of the efforts and the contributions made by all.

To lead collectively is to coordinate the thought and action of those who form the group, to derive the greatest return in the accomplishment of the group's tasks, within the limits of their competence and in the framework of the activities and the interests of the organization.

But to lead collectively is not and cannot be, as some suppose, to give to all and everyone the right of uncontrolled views and initiatives, to create anarchy (lack of government), disorder, contradiction between leaders, empty arguments, a passion for

meetings without results. Still less is it to give vent to incompetence, ignorance, intellectual foolhardiness, only so as to pretend that everyone gives orders.

Although it is true that two heads are better than one, we must be able to distinguish between the heads, and each head must know exactly what it has to do. In the framework of collective leadership, we must respect the opinion of more experienced comrades who for their part must help the others with less experience to learn and to improve their work.

In the framework of collective leadership there is always one or other comrade who has a higher standing as Party Leader and who for this reason has more individual responsibility, even if the responsibility for the group's tasks falls on all the members of the group. We must allow prestige to these comrades, help them to have constantly higher standing, but not allow them to monopolize (take over) the work and responsibility for the group. We must, on the other hand, struggle against the spirit of slackness, and uninterest, the fear of responsibilities, the tendency to agree

with everything, to obey blindly without thinking.

Combat the spirit of the 'big man', the traditional chief, boss or foreman among responsible workers. But combat also the spirit of vassal, subject in the chief's service, the blue-eyed worker, the servant or the houseboy between responsible workers and militants. In the framework of collective leadership, the higher bodies of the Party must demand from those below them the strict carrying out of their duty on the basis of willing and constructive cooperation. The less elevated bodies must demand from the more elevated that they provide specific tasks to accomplish, clear watchwords and take decisions on questions within their competence.

Combat the spirit of the group and of sects, closed circles, an obsession with secrecy among some persons, personal questions and the ambition to give orders.

Collective leadership must strengthen the leadership capability of the Party and create specific circumstances to make full use of members of the Party.

Revolutionary Democracy

In the context of the principle of revolutionary democracy, each responsible worker must bear his responsibility bravely, must demand respect from others for his activities and must show respect for the activities of others.



However, we must not hide anything from our people, we must not deceive our people. Deceiving our people is to build a foundation for calamity for our Party. We must combat this in some comrades vigorously. We cannot allow the population to come to the frontier to fetch merchandise for the people's stores, for example, and once they have arrived find themselves obliged to load up with war material. Doing this is behaving worse than colonialists, it is abusing our authority, abusing the good faith and goodwill of people.

Revolutionary democracy demands that we combat all opportunism, as I have already told you, and that we combat as well

the attitude comrades have of being too hasty in forgiving mistakes. I am a responsible worker, you make a mistake, and I forgive you with the following intention: that now you know you are in my hands. This is not acceptable. No one has a right to forgive mistakes without first discussing the mistakes in front of everyone. Because the Party is ours, for all of us, not for each of us but for all of us. We find it too easy to excuse comrades.

We find excuses very quickly and we must fight this. The time has come to stop finding excuses. There is work to be done, it should be done and done well without excuses.



Amílcar Cabral helped form the MPLA of Angola and, in 1956, was a founder member of the PAIGC — the African Party of Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, which led the war of national liberation against Portuguese colonialism. Cabral was its secretary general until his assassination in Conakry Guinea in 1973.



HOW TO MASTER SECRET WORK

16. NON-PERSONAL COMMUNICATION

Comrade A has been mainly relying on **personal** forms of communication to run the underground unit. With the police stepping up their search for revolutionary activists he decides to increase the use of **non-personal** communication.

These are forms of secret communication carried out without direct contact. These do not replace the essential meetings of the unit, but reduce the number of times the comrades need to meet, thereby minimising the risks.

The Main Forms:

These are **telephone, postal system, press, signals, radio and dead letter box (DLB)**. The first three are in everyday use and can be used for secret work if correctly exploited. Signals can be used as part of the other forms or as a system on their own. Radio communication (coded) will be used by higher organs of the Movement and not by a unit like A's. The DLB is the most effective way of passing on material and information without personal contact.

Comrade A introduces these methods cautiously because misunderstandings are possible. People prefer face-to-face contact so confidence and skill must be developed.

Telephone, Post and Press

These are reliable means of secret communication if used properly. Used carelessly in the past they have been the source of countless arrests. The enemy intercepts telephone calls and mail going to known activists and those they regard as suspicious. Phone calls can be traced and telexes as well as letters intercepted. International communication is especially vulnerable. For example, a phone call from Botswana to Soweto is likely to arouse the enemy's interest. What is required are safe phones and addresses through which can be passed innocent-sounding messages for calling meeting, re-establishing contact, warning of danger, etc.

Telephone:

This allows for the urgent transmission of a signal or message. The telephone must be used with a reliable and convincing coding system and legend. Under no circumstances must the phone be used for involved discussion on sensitive topics.

Comrade A has already used the phone to call C to an emergency meeting (See No 14 of this

series). The arrangement was that he pretended to dial a wrong number. This was the signal to meet at a pre-arranged place and time.

Up to now he has been meeting with her to collect propaganda material. He now wishes to signal her when to pick it up herself, but prefers to avoid phoning her at home or work. If she takes lunch regularly at a certain cafe or is at a sports club at a certain time or near a public phone, he knows how to reach her when he wishes.

A simple call such as the following is required: 'Is that Miss So-and-So? This is Ndlovu here. I believe you want to buy my Ford Escort? If so, you can view it tomorrow.' This could mean that C must collect the propaganda material at a certain place in two days time. The reference to a car is a code for picking up propaganda material; Ndlovu is the code name for the pick-up place; tomorrow means two days time (two days time would mean three days).

Post:

This can be used to transmit similar messages as above. A telegram or greeting card with the message that 'Uncle Morris is having an operation' could be a warning from A to C to cut contact and lie low until further notice because of possible danger. The use of a particular kind of picture postcard could be a signal for a meeting at a pre-arranged place ten days after the date on the card. Signals can be contained in the form the sender writes the address, the date or the greeting. 'My dear friend' together with the fictitious address of the sender — 'No 168 Fox Street' — means to be ready for a leaflet distribution and meet at 16 hours on the 8th of the month at a venue code-named 'Fox'.

Many such forms of signals can be used in letters. Even the way the postage stamp is placed can be of significance.

Press: This is the use of the classified ads section: 'Candy I miss you. Please remember our Anniversary of the 22nd — love Alan'. This could be A's arrangement for re-establishing contact with C if she has gone into hiding. The venue and time will have been pre-arranged, but the advert will signal the day. Such ads give many possibilities not only in the press but on notice boards in colleges, hostels, shopping centres, and so on.



NOTES FROM THE UNDERGROUND

5. The Industrial Zone

Last issue Comrade Masodi spoke about his day-to-day work as an underground Party militant in his trade union. We also asked him to speak about the strategy for underground organising he has begun.

We have written down his comments:

Building an underground network needs a plan. Too often we build new units without any guiding idea. If you are given the task of recruiting, the first thing that jumps into your mind is simply to approach your closest friends. But a vanguard Party is not just a circle of friends. It has to be built with a clear, revolutionary plan.

The first question we discussed in the unit was if I should concentrate on my township, or on the industrial area where I work. We agreed that I must concentrate on the industrial zone. Our Party needs to carry its structures into the very heart of the ruling bloc's power centres.

Next, I drew the comrades a map of the industrial zone, showing which factories are placed where. Then we asked ourselves how many workers did each factory employ? Which factories had strong trade union organisation? What factories had the greatest strategic importance? Does any of them supply the SADF? Which make essential goods for other factories?

We also asked ourselves which factories were involved in the production of chemicals. We must investigate whether there are chemical supplies that can be used for the manufacturing of explosives for our combat work.

Then there were a whole number of questions connected with the physical layout of the zone. What are the main access roads and rail-lines to the industrial zone? Where is the nearest police station and army camp? How possible would it be to barricade the whole zone with delivery lorries. If yes, where should these lorries be located? Where would be good storage places for arms within the zone itself?

'Some of these questions I could easily answer. But many questions left me without a reply. I need to discover much more about my operational area. This means speaking (carefully, of course) to workers from other factories in

the zone. In a small way, these discussions can be the beginning of contacts for the longer term building of an underground network.

'Of course we must be realistic. We are still a very long way from even building a network, never mind launching insurrectionary struggle in the industrial zone. But if you begin by asking the right questions from the start, then the whole direction of your work can be very much improved.

'For instance, as we have begun to give answers to our questions, so the recruitment priorities have become clearer. Too often in the past I have thought of underground Party work in the trade unions as simply reinforcing their above-board leadership. This is only one task. But I never asked how this was leading to our ultimate goal of seizure of power.

'By approaching the industrial zone with our more strategic questions, I have begun to see building the underground in a much broader way. Our aim is to have a solid party network that criss-crosses over the whole zone. That builds strong cores in factories with the greatest strategic value and potential.

'All of this throws a much clearer light on the approach to recruitment. It is no longer just a question of recruiting key unions leadership and shop stewards.

And another thing — there is no way that we are going to make a revolution just in one industrial zone. We need city, regional and national co-ordination and underground communications systems. This leads us to another recruiting task, and to another question. Can we identify workers who, in their daily work, travel within our city, and even nationally? These are comrades who can eventually play a key role in communications tasks.

Well, so many questions, and some ambitious plans! But I firmly believe that unless we think of our longer term objectives, our immediate underground work will always be, as one comrade put it, *the movement of legs without forward motion.*



PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD

8. People's Education — The Link Between the Present and the Future

The slogan 'People's Education for People's Power', which emerged from the National Education Crisis Conference of December 1985 and March 1986, marked an historic turning point because it led both to a change in the strategy, and a revolutionary advance in the content, of the education struggle.

During the entire period from the passing of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 to the end of 1985, the content of the education struggle contained two main features. First, *opposition* to bantu education. Second, *support* (both implicit and explicit) for equal access to white education for Africans. The underlying basis for this position was the belief that white education was the means to skilled and professional jobs and that all that was needed for black advancement was access to that education. No critique was advanced of white education itself, except for its racist content, and no conception of a radically alternative education system was formulated. **The demand for 'people's education' represents a major advance because it goes beyond the narrow limits of these demands** — it starts with the rejection of not only bantu but *also* white education because it is reactionary, authoritarian and élitist and it propagates competitiveness and individualism. But, people's education goes further to define a new objective of struggle, construction of an educational system, democratic in content, teaching and organisation and aimed at developing the 'new person' able to contribute to, and participate fully, in a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

Clearly, only a revolutionary transformation can provide the conditions which will make it possible to build such a system of people's education.

But, as the NECC recognised, the struggle to establish elements of people's education — democratic organisation and curricula, for example — must be conducted in the present period as part and parcel of the liberation struggle. To begin with, the NECC mounted campaigns for the recognition of SRC's, for the democratic administration of the schools by parents, teachers and student committees and to win time in the schools in which newly prepared, alternative syllabuses could be used for teaching.

These initiatives were quickly blocked by the regime's use of emergency powers and the oc-

cupation by the police and army of the townships and schools. In this situation, the NECC and the mass democratic movement was faced with the question of how to continue the struggle for people's education in the face of state repression.

Outside of the schools, in the trade unions, adult education organisations, and some organisations of the mass democratic movement, literacy classes, adult education and training courses have continued and, indeed, expanded greatly. In this sphere, many aspects of people's education find expression in the content, organisation and teaching methods used.

But in the schools, the obstacles erected by the regime make it much more difficult for the organisations to find the correct tactics to carry forward the struggle for people's education. As a result, a tendency has arisen in the education struggle to concentrate predominantly on the theoretical elaboration of the concept of 'people's education'.



The concept of people's education is crucial but the over-elaboration of a theoretical definition of a future people's education is of little value since the way in which people's education will actually be constructed will depend on the concrete conditions at the time of and after the defeat of apartheid. The general definition of the 1986 NECC conference which was summarised above, provides the guidelines. The urgent task for the mass democratic movement is to develop the tactics which will enable it to challenge in action the claims of the state and private schools that they are implementing alternative education, and to renew the struggle to put in place, within these schools, the basis of a future genuine people's education.



UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY ECONOMICS

11. The International Monetary Fund

One of the most powerful institutions trying to run the capitalist world economy is the International Monetary Fund or IMF. In the past ten years it has concentrated much of its attention on African countries. Leading Frontline States have come under great pressure from the IMF to change the way they run their economies, the South African regime has received credit from the IMF, and after the regime is overthrown we will have to decide how to relate to it.

What is the IMF? What policies does it push on to African countries? And what impact do they have?

The IMF was set up in 1944 by the leading capitalist states as an inter-government organisation. It was given the task of helping member governments to regulate foreign exchange markets, especially by lending them foreign currency when their balance of payments was in deficit. Some of its founders thought that this availability of finance would give governments greater freedom to choose their own policies. They could choose to spend more on health care, for example, without having to worry about any temporary increase in imports that resulted. But the opposite occurred, for the IMF became a body that imposes conditions on what borrowing states can do in their own economy.

Most countries now belong to the IMF although, until recently, few socialist countries joined. The money the IMF lends comes from a pool composed mainly of the subscriptions or quotas each country pays to belong. Each member has a direct or indirect vote in IMF decisions, but these are related to the amount they have subscribed, so the rich capitalist countries have the largest votes. The allocation of votes ensures that the USA has been able effectively to control IMF policy.

That policy has turned the IMF into a body which controls developing countries through the conditions that are attached to IMF loans.

Countries such as Tanzania and Zambia have turned to the IMF to borrow dollars when the goods they sell abroad do not produce enough money to pay for goods the country needs to import. They are entitled to draw a small amount without any conditions, but they could only obtain useful amounts by agreeing to conditions imposed by the IMF. The loans are generally for a short term only. The conditions are broadly the

same for each debtor for, says the IMF, they are the only policies that will cure the balance of payments deficit and enable the country to repay the loan. When the country accepts the conditions, the IMF then acts as a policeman supervising the government and monitoring its compliance.

Usually the IMF requires a cut in state spending. It particularly requires the government to cut the amount of money it spends on subsidising the food workers buy. As a result governments accepting an IMF loan are often faced with riots as the masses rebel against the rise in food prices. In addition, the cuts demanded by the IMF often mean less can be spent on education, health and welfare services. For years the Tanzanian government attempted to resist these conditions and tried to negotiate toughly for terms that would enable it to continue to build its welfare system.

One of the most painful conditions the IMF requires is that the government should devalue its currency. This makes dollars more expensive in terms of the country's money so imports cost more, again pushing up the cost of living.

At the same time restrictions on imports have to be reduced (the first result of which is often that the country is flooded with imports of luxury goods for the rich), and restrictions on foreign capital have to be relaxed so that multinational corporations can operate profitably in the country. This gives a clue to the real role of the IMF. **Its job is to create a world where states, particularly governments of developing countries, put no local obstacles in the way of the free operations of multinational corporations across the world.** And in each country where its conditions depress workers' living standards they boost profits.

The South African regime borrowed from the IMF in 1982. Whenever conditions are imposed on other countries the IMF says they will help the country by enabling market forces to operate more freely. When South Africa borrowed, no condition was attached to say that apartheid should be dismantled, although that is the biggest example of state interference with market forces in a capitalist-oriented country.

After liberation, if external finance is needed to construct our new society, the IMF would be a dangerous ally.



MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

11. Varieties of 'Marxism'

In studying the work of any philosopher, we should always ask ourselves three questions: 'What is he saying?', 'What does it mean?' and, finally, 'Is it true?' In other words, there are three connected stages involved in a rigorous reading of a philosophical text: *exposition*, *interpretation* and *critical evaluation*. None of these tasks are easy. But in the case of the philosophical writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the first two tasks are particularly different. One reason for this is that Marxism-Leninism has become the most potent and influential doctrine of our time.

The influence of Marxism-Leninism has spread far beyond the confines of the international community of communist parties and beyond the borders of countries where such parties are in power. The result has been that a variety of expositions and interpretations of dialectical materialism have sprung from the brains and pens of thinkers and scholars, thinking and writing from many different perspectives and in countries which are at different stages of socio-economic development.

For instance, in the 1960s there sprung up among philosophers in capitalist Europe and the United States an intense interest in the writing of the 'Young Marx', particularly the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*. Philosophers like Theodore Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and Jurgens Habermas stressed the importance of the early Marx's ethical concerns, his affinity with Hegelian ideas and his thoughts on the notion of man's 'self-alienation' and loss of humanity in capitalist society. However, these interpretations tended to underplay the theoretical achievements of the mature Marx and paid little or no attention to Lenin's contributions. They portrayed Marx as a moralist and humanist, rather than as a social scientist and political organiser, and their attitudes to the party tended to be hostile and suspicious.

An important counter-tendency to interpretations of this kind was set in motion in the late '60s and early '70s by the writings of the French communist philosopher, Louis Althusser. Althusser and his collaborator, Etienne Balibar, stressed the importance of Marx's mature work, especially *Capital* itself.

The Althusserians spoke of a radical break or 'rupture' between the early texts and later

writings. The latter, they argued, were truly scientific works and the foundation of an entirely new science — Historical Materialism — which constituted the discovery of a new 'continent of knowledge'. Althusser, in particular, compared Marx's achievement of that of the founder of psycho-analysis, Sigmund Freud, and even made use of Freudian concepts in his attempts to explain what he took to be Marx's central philosophical ideas.

As a result, the picture of Marx the humanist and moral philosopher began to fade before the picture of Marx the scientist. It is noteworthy that in these debates little was done to stress the continuities as well as the discontinuities in Marx's thought, so that it became hard to understand how a single thinker could have arrived through a process of self-criticism at the scientific world picture Marx left for us.

An even more significant school of Marxian scholarship began to establish itself in the English-speaking world in the late 1970s. This tendency has become known as *analytical Marxism* or *rational-choice Marxism*. Its leading exponent at present is the Oxford political philosopher, GA Cohen, whose book, *Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defence*, provides an extremely rigorous argument in favour of the basic cogency of Historical Materialism. However, Cohen interprets Marx entirely along positivistic lines and in accordance with the tradition of British analytical philosophy, largely ignoring the dialectical character of Marxist thought.

In our next issue we shall discuss the work of a Soviet philosopher who strove precisely to emphasise and to understand the dialectical character of Marx's thought and to come to grips with Lenin's considerable contribution to the philosophy of dialectical materialism.

Read the AFRICAN COMMUNIST
The theoretical quarterly journal of the
South African Communist Party.

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PARTY LIFE 6. The Party Meeting

Many of us might have experienced the feeling of attending too many meetings, some of which have even seemed fruitless, repetitive and which seem not to take things forward. Some comrades may even spend most of their working time in meetings, allowing very little time for other tasks. Of course we cannot do without meetings — in the mass democratic movement, in our unions, in the underground, in MK and in our Party. Meetings are the means by which we implement our *collective* approach at all levels. Without meetings we cannot *plan, review and assess work and progress, effect accountability and build our structures.*

But how can we make our meetings really assist rather than slow us down in our work? How can we make the meetings a **short, sharp weapon** of struggle? How can we ensure that our meetings are constructive and short especially in conditions where security demands this? There are no ready-made answers but there are some basic principles which we should try to observe in our Party meetings.

- The Party meeting must discuss only those matters which cannot be resolved outside of the meeting by individual initiative or in consultation with one or more other comrades. **Yes, the Party must encourage and strengthen a collective approach to work, but collectivity must not be at the expense of real work or stifle individual initiative.** Neither must collectivity be just for the sake of it. Collective work, both ideological and organisational, must build a common democratic approach, strengthen organisational capacity and harness the collective ability of all (*See the centre-page article by Cabral in this issue.*)

- Each and every meeting must be thoroughly **prepared** for. A meeting is as good as the preparation that goes into it. Each comrade must know what is to be discussed and what he/she must account for and report

on. The worst meetings are when comrades 'think aloud', rambling around the topic.

- The convenor and secretary in particular must have thoroughly prepared for the meeting, knowing what matters have been carried over, what new matters will be discussed and what the aim of the meeting is. Thus they must **set goals and tasks** for the meeting, informing the members what has to be discussed and what must be decided upon. This is not to suggest that they take decisions in advance of the meeting, but that they **give the meeting direction.** Each meeting must be purposeful.

- Meetings must have **continuity.** Decisions must be followed through to learn from correct decisions and rectify incorrect ones. The Party Unit meeting must make individual comrades accountable for assigned tasks and assign new ones. The Unit meeting must **monitor** collective and individual progress. **For this purpose all meetings should begin with a check-up on previous decisions.**

- Even in the most difficult conditions the Unit meeting must be **formal.** There must be office bearers — convenor, secretary and treasurer — with specific duties and tasks assigned to each member. Each meeting must have before it a report/discussion on security. Meetings or a part of one meeting must deal with **operational** or practical tasks and another with **ideological** matters.

- At the conclusion of the Party Unit meeting the date and subject of the next meeting should be set. The principles of secrecy have been dealt with in another section of *Umsebenzi* and are not dealt with here, but obviously they must also apply.

We must sharpen our weapons of struggle in struggle. The Party Meeting is a weapon in our arsenal — it must be sharpened until it is like Ushaka's stabbing spear and MK's Scorpion machine gun — short and sharp.

NO PARTNERSHIP WITH CAPITALISM

Profit Related pay schemes (PRP) or Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOPS) have a clear purpose. They are designed to make employees work harder. ESOPS and PRP are posed as alternatives to trade unionism and ultimately to the social ownership of the means of production. In no sense are they workers' control.

These projects try to make people believe that capitalism and apartheid are unrelated. The aim is to guarantee the economic power of private capital, irrespective of the fate of the apartheid regime. But PRP does not abolish the racial division of labour.

The Anglo American Corporation, which owns more than half the shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, leads the campaign which pretends to dissociate apartheid from capitalism. The free shares they are offering their workers (4% of the total) will not make the slightest difference when it comes to who is to have control over the ownership of that giant monopoly.

The evidence (from countries which operate profit-related pay schemes) shows that they are designed to make it easier for employers to manipulate wages, reduce pay during a slump or when the company is in trouble.

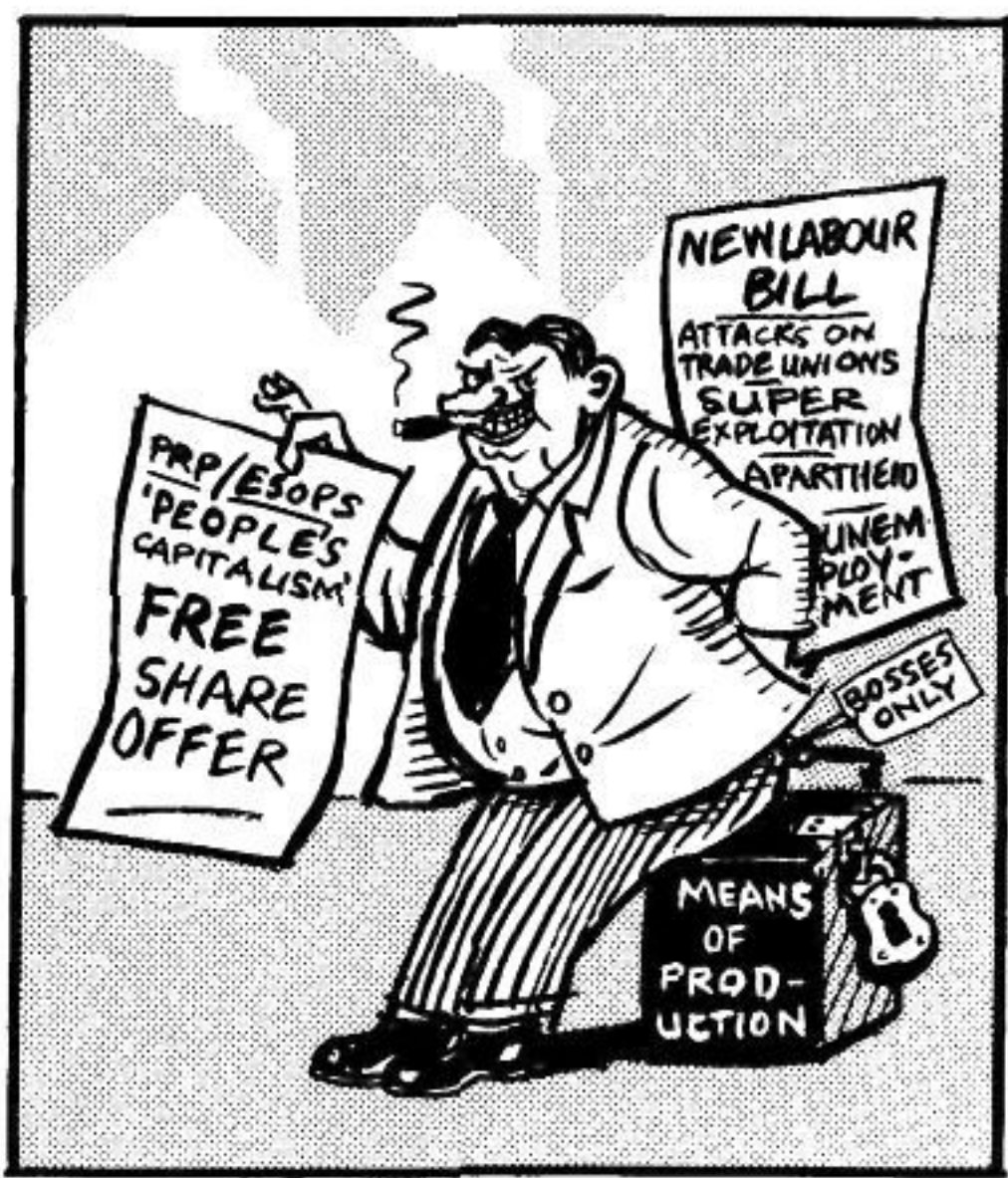
Significantly, reformist ideas involving profit-sharing plans have involved companies like Chrysler and Pan Am in the US — both under threat of bankruptcy. **In return for employee share ownership, the workers have had to agree to wage cuts or pay restraints.** In Britain, West Germany and Japan PRP and ESOPS have been encouraged for the last ten years, but have had little effect on performance or the level of wages and work conditions. 'People's capitalism' has turned out to be a contradiction in terms. Management control remains holy. The schemes are, in truth, wage payments by another name. Even in Sweden, where Welfare Capitalism is most advanced, pay-related reforms have achieved very limited change.

The employers would like workers to believe that ownership of a few shares means that workers become part owners of the means of production. Far from wresting control from capital, it gives workers a false sense of security in their jobs and creates the illusion that they are participating in the decision-making of the firm. In fact, they are just as threatened by unemployment, ill-treatment, poor job safety and dismissal as before. Capital also hopes that if it successfully

sells the idea of share ownership to the workers, they will help intensify their own exploitation. It is also a way of influencing the workers to support the idea of fewer employees so that their share is not diluted across too large a workforce.

ESOPS are also offered in the context of divestment — when foreign companies like Ford and Coca Cola sell their shares to local purchasers. This neither gives workers control over their firms nor enables the new purchasers to raise the necessary capital to carry on the firm.

Trade union activists and workers have to be on the alert against the false notion of 'profit-share' and its consequent identification of the workers' interests with those of capital. There were 18 companies with ESOP-style arrangements in place at the end of 1987, and since then there have been a few more. But most of the trade unions have reacted with commendable hostility to these schemes. They have recognised that they offer little more than an ideological sop to continuing apartheid and class oppression. As capital depends for its profits on the payment of only a portion of what the workers produce, there can be no equality until the workers really share in the ownership of the means of production. For that, they will have to win socialism first.



18 **STRENGTHEN THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES!**

NO SOVIET RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

Not long ago the *Washington Post* wrote that contacts between Moscow and Pretoria are allegedly being maintained in several forms. The newspaper claimed that these include secret meetings within the framework of the talks on peaceful settlement in Angola and deals connected with gold and diamonds.

Yuri Yikalov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Africa Department, gave the following replies to these speculations.

Q: Will SA open its embassy in Moscow in years to come or is the Washington Post mistaken?

A: Yes, it's mistaken. Sadly, the newspaper cites not eyewitnesses but people who just heard of certain events. So in such a situation concoctions are inevitable. The Soviet stand on the apartheid regime remains unchanged. We'll never establish diplomatic relations with that regime in its present form.

Q: But did the USSR and South Africa maintain any 'secret contacts'?

A: There have been no 'secret contacts', at least during the talks on settlement in South West Africa. The Soviet observer always played an active role at these talks. All negotiators, Pretoria and Washington included, noted our constructive contribution to the attainment of the agreements. It's only natural that we had also contacts with Pretoria officials within this framework. Neither advertised nor concealed these contacts, regarding them as a normal way of solving such a complicated problem.

Several years ago closed contacts took place. But they were aimed at releasing Soviet geologists captured by MNR units in Mozambique. *Izvestia* covered this problem in detail. Then we had to be cautious and avoid publicity.

Q: Have you any new information on this score?

A: Sadly, we still don't know anything about Gavrilov and Istomin's fate.

Q: So the USSR continues holding its consistent stand and believes that diplomatic relations with the apartheid regime are impossible. But has anything changed in the Soviet views on the south of Africa?

A: The restructuring and new thinking made it possible to more realistically appraise the situation in the region and search for a new approach to it. One of the examples of such an approach is the Soviet role in unblocking the conflict in

South West Africa by political means.

Q: Does this mean that the USSR will advise the ANC to halt military operations? In what way can the Soviet scholars' statements cited by the newspaper be estimated?

A: I don't know whether they were exact citations. But scholars can hold their own views differing from official ones. I welcome the pluralism of opinions. Let scholars argue, search for new approaches, and hold non-standard viewpoints. But one thing is certain. **The USSR will continue backing the democratic forces in South Africa, who combat apartheid under ANC leadership.**

Q: Do you declare for revolutionary violence?

We've never absolutised armed struggle and call for relying on political wisdom and not on the force of arms while settling acute conflicts. The ANC leadership also doesn't consider violence a preferable and sole way of establishing a democratic and civilised South African state. It's only a reaction to the racist regime's violence against its citizens, both black and white. The apartheid regime has elevated this violence to the rank of its official policy.

Q: Does the USSR maintain any economic ties with South Africa?

The USSR strictly observes the UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on sanctions and declares for comprehensive sanctions against Pretoria to promote the earliest elimination of apartheid. We've never violated sanctions and did not conclude any secret deals with SA.

Q: What about reports regarding 'spheres of influence' on the diamond and gold markets?

A: The *Washington Post*, incidentally, wrote that no one can prove this. One can maintain anything he likes and give no evidence, but it's empty business, especially as far as economics and politics are concerned.

Q: What's your attitude to Soviet newsmen's trips to South Africa?

A: The Soviet public needs to be provided with detailed information about developments in SA. Such trips have nothing to do with political ties and recognition of the apartheid regime. Many readers, USSR foreign ministry officials included, displayed keen interest in the dispatches of your correspondent from South Africa.

PINOCHET ON THE WAY OUT

At the end of last year four leading members of the Communist Party of Chile (CPC) publicly announced their plans to hold a clandestine congress, later this year, inside the country. They were arrested and are now on bail.

At the time of the Pinochet coup in September 1973, the CPC had 200 000 members and 67 000 in the youth section. The fascists murdered many leading communists, including 17 members of the central committee. But they could not kill the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, nor destroy the CPC.

Over the past 15 years the CPC worked strenuously to develop unity in action of all anti-fascist and anti-Pinochet forces. These forces defeated the Pinochet regime in the October 1988 referendum.

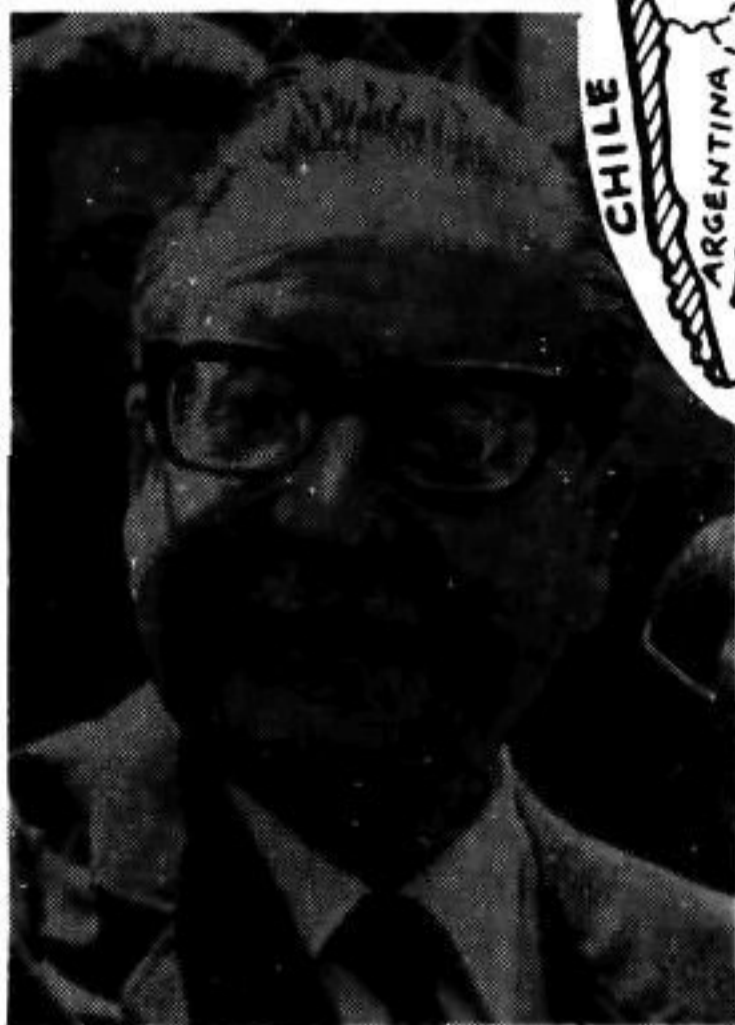
The slogan of the Congress is *'Towards the Winning and Deepening of Democracy. The Struggle of the People in Unity until Victory'*. In the draft documents for congress the CPC points to the achievements of the Salvador Allende government and also to the serious weaknesses and mistakes which made the coup possible.

The Party calls for Leninist norms of party life 'to bear on our daily activities'. Congress is called on to 'define the efforts, short-comings and deformities which limit our vanguard capacity' and to 'confront resolutely all signs of bureaucratism, conservatism and dogmatism.'

The document deals with the catastrophic consequences of privatisation and the external debt. Unemployment stands at 30% and wages have dropped in real value by 40% since 1972. Chilean communists are determined to strengthen the Chilean United Trade Union Centre which includes socialists, communists, Christian democrats as well as workers who have no party political affiliation.

The CPC calls for 'an anti-imperialist, popular and democratic revolutionary alternative.' Chilean communists insist that fundamental freedoms are essential if free and fair elections are to take place. To fight the coming elections the left-wing have created PAIS — the Broad Party of the Socialist Left.

The CPC calls for a mass campaign to force Pinochet to resign and for all those guilty of crimes against the people to be punished. They argue that the military must be democratised and that the state 'should once again take a central role in guiding the economy.'



Salvador Allende

Whilst their immediate aim is to secure people's 'basic needs in health, food, housing and employment', they call for re-nationalisation. However, the economy will still be a mixed one. At the present time the strategic objective is the winning of an 'advanced democracy with a socialist perspective.'

The party document recognises that sister Marxist-Leninist parties are active within the working class. It also applauds the selfless and significant contribution of Christians, sections of the church, human rights groups, citizens committees and organisations of women. It pays special tribute to international solidarity which has helped sustain the Party over the last 15 difficult years.

During 15 years of fascist rule, with its killings, imprisonment and torture, the CPC has remained ideologically and politically cohesive. It remains a powerful political force in Chile and Latin America. The CPC can never be destroyed. Its roots are deep in the soil of Chile. Their victory is our victory.