

UMSEBENZI

VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

FORWARD WITH OUR INTIFADA!

The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party hails our people and especially our working class as the real victors in the September 6th racist elections. After five years of emergency rule and unending terror we showed that bullets, batons, whips and dogs cannot stop our irresistible march to freedom.

While six percent of the population put crosses on ballot papers, we have demonstrated to the whole world that the future is in our hands and not in those of the racist parliament. The voting campaign for the white parliament and its two puppet talking shops was completely overshadowed and sidelined by the open defiance and resistance of the voteless majority. The whole world saw these racist elections for what they really were — an insult to democracy and humanity.



It is crystal clear to all that the results of the elections will not be found in the ballot boxes but in the actions of the voteless millions who voted with their feet, with defiance and resistance in the factories, in the community, in the schools and universities and in the churches.

Those who have assembled in Cape Town to pass laws cannot, by any civilised standard, be regarded as constituting a parliament. The appointed government has no legitimacy and no mandate to rule. It is no accident that the regime celebrated its return to power by mowing down scores of peaceful black protesters in a hail of bullets.

We say to our working class, to all the oppressed and to all genuine democrats that the future continues to be in our hands. We must know our strength and use it with more and more vigour. Without us the whole economy grinds to a halt. Without our participation the whole state apparatus can hardly function. Without our consent to be governed the whole country becomes ungovernable.

The ***Spring Offensive*** must be pursued and must reach new heights in the seasons which follow until we have won our freedom. If we realise our strength and our power and use them to the full we can surely see to it that this election is the last of its kind.

To those among the white community who have seen the writing on the wall and who voted against a future of camouflaged apartheid, we say that you will not find the answer within the narrow confines of white politics.

There is no middle road between racism and majority rule in one democratic, united South Africa. And only when this is achieved will there be peace in our country which, in the words of the Freedom Charter, belongs to all who live in it, black and white.

To our friends outside and to the whole international community we say that you should judge De Klerk and his group by their deeds and not by the sweet talk designed for international consumption. Events have shown over and over again that the only hope for a real solution lies in the direction of increased internal and external pressures.

The new white president has over and over again declared that the reform programme which he is trying to sell will never lead to majority rule in our country. This is the true purpose and meaning of his five-year plan which is designed to find another way to maintain white domination and privilege. And the terror which he unleashed against peaceful demonstrators is an indication of the mechanisms he intends to use to impose his type of 'reform'.

Despite the bows which De Klerk has made in the direction of negotiations, there can be little doubt that if he ever comes to a genuine negotiating table it would be the result of struggle and pressure and not of dialogue or well-meaning diplomacy alone.

The period ahead must be seen as a period of struggle and sacrifice.

Let us raise our own *intifada* to new heights.

Let us say with one voice that we will spare nothing in our quest for a united, democratic, non-racial South Africa based on one person one vote.

Let us see to it that September 6th will go down in history as the last election of its kind.

Through our defiance and the historic stayaway we have baptised De Klerk in fire. The task ahead is clear — to keep the racists under relentless pressure.

NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT TALKS

The new regime was considerably weakened in the parliamentary power struggle. It faces a security establishment which feels a threat to its dominance. It is under pressure from its Western friends to deliver a package of reforms to enable them to divert popular pressures for further action against apartheid. At the same time it knows that schemes for 'power sharing' designed to maintain white supremacy trigger off heightened mass upsurge.

The way ahead for De Klerk is also dogged by a significant polarisation on the edges of the white electorate. On the one side 31 percent voted for no retreat from old-style apartheid, with the possibility that a swing of a further two percent would give the Conservatives up to 50 seats. On the other side 431 000 (20 percent) voted for a vision, however vague, of non-racialism, opening up greater possibilities than ever before of bringing a substantial number of whites closer to the cause of real democracy.

Above all, De Klerk's main nightmare is that the whole election was completely overshadowed by the actions of the voteless majority.

All these realities add up to the conclusion that the De Klerk regime has undoubtedly emerged weaker than its predecessor and with the unity of the white power bloc more precariously balanced than ever before.

The question now is not how far De Klerk is willing to go to meet democratic aspirations.

The people have created a situation which has narrowed his options. We must build on this victory by a further escalation of the internal upsurge and the mobilisation of more external pressures. We must take maximum advantage of the very space we have helped to create through our struggles.

In pursuing our offensive we must take care not to be sidetracked by the spread of racist-fueled illusions that De Klerk has either the will or the mandate to dismantle apartheid in its real meaning.

It is foolish to believe that the white electorate voted to dismantle the essence of apartheid. 80 percent signalled support either for Treurnicht's open, or De Klerk's camouflaged, form of continued white domination. Those who voted for De Klerk endorsed his promise that 'there will never be majority rule' and approved his recipe for blocking it by means of a policy of 'reform' and 'law and order'.

At the moment the air is thick with talk of negotiation. The regime's hint that it is ready to talk is clearly an attempt to find a way out of its present political and economic crisis. It is trying to achieve external and internal legitimacy without abandoning the accumulated white group privileges, especially in the economic sphere.

Our position is clear. We do not reject all possibilities of negotiation or compromise in the course of struggle. We have always regarded the diplomatic arena as an additional terrain of struggle in which we



must occupy the high ground. This the ANC has achieved in the recent period, gaining continental acceptance for its negotiating concept.

But the real question is not whether to talk but on what agenda. And there can be no meaningful agenda unless the starting point is the acceptance of majority rule in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Until sufficient pressure is mounted to compel the regime to even contemplate such a South Africa, the only answer lies in the direction of intensified political and armed struggle.

There is a real need in the present situation to maintain vigilance against all attempts to suck the liberation forces into phantom exchanges intended to raise false hopes, to divert international pressure and to demobilise the masses.

ONE PERSON ONE VOTE!

OUR VIEW OF A VANGUARD

The party's claim to represent the historic aspirations of our working class does not, in itself, give us inherent leadership rights either now or in the future; it merely imposes leadership obligations. Our new programme asserts that a communist party does not earn the title of vanguard merely by proclaiming it.

Nor does its claim to be the upholder of Marxism-Leninism give it a monopoly of political wisdom or a natural right to exclusive control of the struggle. We can only win our place as a vanguard force by superior efforts of leadership and devotion to the revolutionary cause.

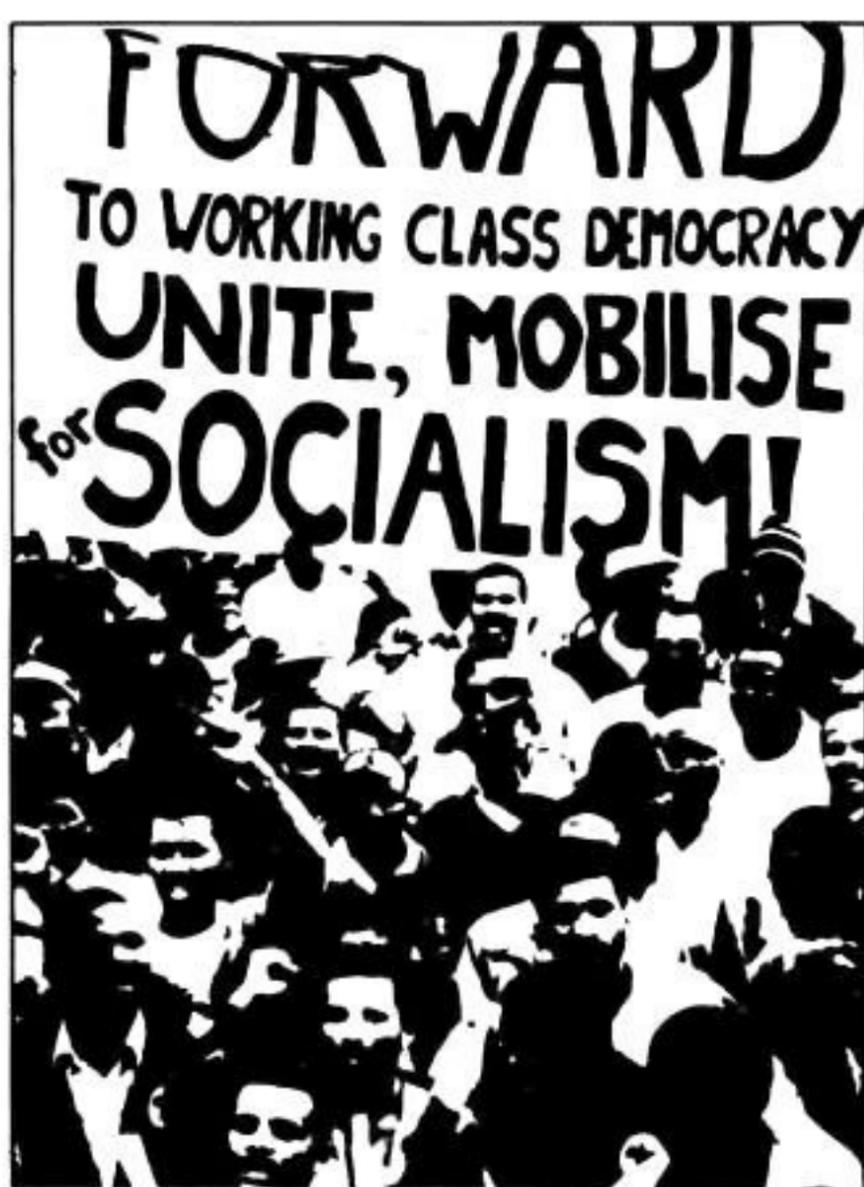
This approach to the vanguard concept has not always been adhered to in world revolutionary practice. It was undoubtedly one of the most serious casualties in the divide which developed between socialism and democracy — a divide which not only distorted the inner life of working-class parties but also led to the exercise of commandism and bureaucracy over society as a whole.

We exercise a vanguard role in relation to trade unions, not by transforming them into instruments of the party and engaging in intrigue, but by striving to give guidance in what we consider to be the best interest of their members; and by individual communists winning respect as the most loyal, devoted and ideologically clear members. The same principle was stressed in relation to the national movement.

In short, the concept of vanguard remains in place. It is indispensable for the working class to have an independent political instrument which safeguards its role in the democratic revolution and which leads it towards a classless society. But such leadership must be won rather than asserted. And it must guard against conflating democratic dissent with counter revolution. On balance, the SACP has moved towards these positions both theoretically and in its revolutionary practices.

Our claim to be a working-class vanguard at the present stage, in the way we have defined it, remains in place even though we accept the ANC as head of the alliance at the first stage.

We must not confuse the need to mobilise and organise the working class as the dominant social



force in the national liberation struggle, and to provide it with political leadership, with the formality of projecting the party itself as the 'leader' of the whole process. Whether it is correct for the party to strive to place itself at the exclusive head of a given revolutionary process depends on specific conditions. In some cases an attempt to do so may retard rather than advance a party's vanguard role. The most advanced class can rarely, if ever, bring about a fundamental transformation on its own. It must always relate to other social forces.

If correct leadership of the democratic revolution requires strengthening of the national movement as the major organisational force, then this is precisely the way in which a vanguard role is exercised in the real, and not vulgar, sense of the term. As long as the party does not lose its independence and identity, then support for, and collaboration with, bodies like the ANC as the mass movement heading the struggle, is in no way inconsistent with the true role of a vanguard organisation.

The shared perspectives between the ANC and the party in the present phase do not diminish the independent role of party objectives. The party must help organise the working class and work to ensure that it occupies a dominant place in the alliance of social forces striving for liberation. At the same time it must spread the understanding of socialist ideology and the inseparable link between national democratic and socialist transformation.

UNBAN THE ANC AND SACP!

WOMEN INSIDE THE MOVEMENT

THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN

Let's be honest, when it comes to sexism we still have a lot to correct within our own ranks. This includes the ranks of the Party, the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement.

Surely every woman in the struggle has experienced situations where she is kept out. Why? ... Simply because she is a woman. These are situations where she could have made an effective contribution. There are many areas where this happens.

In political discussion women are often excluded. When they are present, their contributions tend not to be taken seriously. Male comrades yawn, intervene, change the subject, or nod patronisingly with ears shut. Male comrades who would fiercely deny sexism are guilty of such behaviour. When it comes to deployment in political work, how often are women simply forgotten, while a desperate search is made among a few available male comrades? Of course, when it comes to service or administrative work it is a different story. Then comrades only look among women.

It is usually only a fierce battle on the part of individual women comrades that enables them to escape the problem. There is often a high cost to this individual struggle. Women raising issues of sexism are dismissed as 'Western feminists'. Women fear this label because it is used to suggest you are 'politically unreliable'.

Many women themselves become the victims of these attitudes. Sexism can have exactly the same effects as racism. How many racially oppressed people, without realising it, begin wrongly to regard their situation as somehow their own fault?

So it is with women. They start to be undermined by an uneasy feeling that perhaps they are not really capable of serious, difficult, responsible or demanding tasks.

Unwelcome physical approaches are often made to women without condemnation or discipline being used against the male offenders. Behaviour, like undermining sexist jokes, is often simply ignored in our ranks.

It's not enough just to profess a progressive and revolutionary outlook and to have Lenin and socialism on our lips, if, when it comes to women, chauvinism inspires our practice.



Women's Organisations

As organised women we have for a long time accepted a service role in the struggle. We have cake and jumble sales. We make banners, do catering, organise crèches and make other practical contributions. These tasks can be important in themselves, and they can serve to draw the mass of women into organisational structures.

But do we regularly and seriously question the relative absence of women in leadership and other responsible struggle positions? Do we always look for a more direct or combative role for our organisations around issues which are at the root of our sufferings?

Women have courageously played a key role at times of mass uprising in our country. But women's organisations seem to step aside when the planning, strategising or tactical work is done. We need to balance our activities more if we are both to draw the mass of women into active struggle, and also allow our organisations to realise their full revolutionary potential.

Women's organisation is essential. But it runs the risk of comrades generally feeling they can ignore women's issues because there is a separate structure to deal with them. Only by women being an active and vital force in all aspects of the struggle can we avoid this danger. We have to learn not to be afraid of raising women's issues in the Party, in the People's Army, in the ANC, in the trade unions, and wherever women are.

Involving the greater number of women actively in the struggle, enabling women to reach their full revolutionary potential — this is not merely a question of morality. It is primarily a political question.

Women, more than half the population, suffer some of the worst effects of apartheid colonialism. Our success in unleashing their fullest potential **now** will affect the speed with which we obtain our victory. And it will affect the degree to which we are able to eliminate oppression and exploitation in the future.

FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS!

NOTES FROM THE COSATU CONGRESS



The Cosatu giant is coming of age. Its Third National Congress will always be remembered as one of the major milestones in South Africa's labour history. The Congress helped set the stage for the current mass offensive.

Since its last National Congress, Cosatu has grown both in quantity and quality. The process of consolidating affiliates into national industrial unions has, effectively, been completed. Paid-up membership is approaching the one-million mark. And the intervention of the federation in political struggles has been enormously enhanced.

Discussions and debates at the Congress showed political and ideological unity and a sense of responsibility. Issues which in the past could have divided the federation were debated out in a comradely spirit. This is reflected in part by the far-reaching resolutions on such issues as the workers' charter, negotiations, building the MDM, organisation of women and the Constitutional Guidelines.

The level of political maturity and cohesion at Congress was itself the result of practical, painstaking work. In mass actions against the bosses and the state, many thorny questions are being clarified. Faced with state repression, the federation has closed ranks. In the effort to forge unity with Nactu and independent unions, the areas of agreement among Cosatu members and among workers in general has been widened. Confronted with weakened community-based structures, the trade union movement has taken active part in their revival and strengthening.

It is also in structured consultation between Cosatu and the UDF, in joint seminars and actions around such issues as the anti-apartheid coalition and the Natal peace process that com-

mon perceptions were realised. From these and other experiences, a definite political formation, the Mass Democratic Movement has emerged. Though it is not bound by a constitution, the MDM's basic character is united action on the basis of a common political approach. In the words of one MDM leader, components of the MDM are united by 'a common political programme, a commitment to working class leadership and a recognition of the leading role of the African National Congress'.

In this category fall such formations as the UDF, Cosatu, democratic structures and individuals within the religious community and the South African Health Workers' Congress. The significance of the Congress resolution on building the MDM lies in the realisation that national MDM leadership on its own is not enough. It has to be backed by grassroots organisation and action.

It should be emphasised that the spirit of unity at the Cosatu Congress does not imply that differences have ceased to exist.

Without differences of approach, any organisation would not develop. Political maturity should be reflected in the ability to accommodate diverse views. Such views should be discussed democratically, openly and frankly. Political labelling and counter-labelling has to be avoided. Factionalism should be challenged.

The Cosatu Congress was itself a great beginning. All the decisions require effective follow-up. The spirit of unity needs to filter down to all affiliates, especially unions such as CCAWUSA which are bogged down by unnecessary conflict. In actual day-to-day work, especially at regional and local levels, unions still have to strike the correct balance between 'affiliate work' and the work of Cosatu as an integrated body. The federation's national and regional offices need to be strengthened. And the process towards financial self-sufficiency should be speeded up.

Taking these and other practical steps will indeed be made easier by the profound sense of unity and purpose which Congress helped to consolidate.

LONG LIVE COSATU!

PEN PICTURES OF SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS

CASSIUS MAKE
(JOB SHIMANKANE TABANE)

Cassius Make — single-minded, determined, yet soft-spoken with a quiet laugh and ready smile — was 45 years old when he was gunned down by Pretoria's assassins in Swaziland on 9th July, 1987. Cassius was born in Rustenburg on 6th December, 1942, the son of working-class parents.

Cas, as he was fondly called, matriculated at the Bethel Training College in Transkei. He left South Africa in March 1964, and from the onwards until his untimely death his life was spent in service to the cause of freedom.

During the early 1970s Cassius was responsible for Radio Freedom in Dar es Salaam and later Lusaka.

As the struggle escalated in the post-1976

period, he was entrusted with a senior position in Umkhonto we Sizwe, becoming Deputy Secretary of the Revolutionary Council. Cas also fulfilled many other functions as part of his work with the military headquarters of our people's army.

It was at the ANC's Second National Consultative Conference, at Kabwe, Zambia in June 1985, that Cassius was elected to the National Executive Committee.

Cassius had many unique qualities, not least of which was his ability to work well with the broad cross-section of our people — young and old, soldiers and students, men and women. His unswerving, but undogmatic, belief in Marxism-Leninism led him to join the SACP as a youth. His selfless sacrifices, both during his life and in the very manner of his brutal death, serves as an inspiration to our people, in particular the soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe.



DISMANTLE APARTHEID!

DRAFT WORKERS CHARTER

The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party welcomes the initiative taken by the Third Congress of COSATU to launch and spearhead a Workers' Charter Campaign. As a contribution to this campaign we have prepared a draft which contains some of our preliminary thinking on what such a Charter should contain. This draft is presented as a basis for discussion and does not reflect our final positions. We publish and circulate it as part of the debates, discussions and consultation called for in the COSATU resolution. We invite all structures of our Party, our allies in the National Liberation Movement, the Mass Democratic Movement and, of course, COSATU and its constituents, to examine the draft critically. We express the hope that it will contribute constructively to this important COSATU initiative.

PREAMBLE

We, the working people of South Africa, the main producers of our country's wealth, declare:

- ★ That, **as workers**, we are daily robbed of a rightful share of the fruits of our labour.
- ★ That, **as black workers**, we are subjected to even more intense exploitation by a system of capitalism which uses national domination to keep wages low and profits high.
- ★ That, **as part of the black oppressed**, whose forebears were conquered by force of arms, we continue to suffer all the social, political, economic and cultural deprivations of a colonised people.
- ★ That the most urgent task facing us as workers, as black workers and as part of the black oppressed, is to use our organised strength both at the point of production and among our communities, to put an end to the race tyranny and to help bring about a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa based on one person one vote **as broadly defined in the Freedom Charter**.
- ★ That we see the winning of such a non-racial democracy as part of a continuous process of creating conditions for the building of a socialist society which will be in the interests of all our people; a society free of all exploitation of person by person which alone can complete the liberation objectives in all spheres of social life.
- ★ That we are the most vital constituent of the broad liberation movement in which we play a part both as individuals and through our trade unions and political organisations. We stand ready to work together with all other classes and groups genuinely committed to a non-racial democracy, at the same time safeguarding our class independence and our right to propagate, and mobilise for, a socialist future.
- ★ That we extend a hand of friendship to our white class brothers and sisters whose long-term interests lie in the unity of all labour — black and white.

In order to ensure

- that victory in the national liberation struggle is not hijacked by a new exploiting class, of whatever colour,
- that the immediate interests of the working people are fully safeguarded in the post-apartheid state,

- and that we are not prevented from asserting our democratic right to win the majority of the people for a socialist future,

we, the working people, adopt this Charter (as an elaboration of the Freedom Charter) and pledge ourselves to strive together, using our organised strength, to guarantee its implementation.

OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF THE ECONOMY

The commanding heights of the economy shall be placed under the ownership and overall control of the state acting on behalf of the people. Such control shall not be exercised in an over-centralised or commandist way, and must ensure active participation in the planning and running of the enterprises by workers at the point of production and through their trade unions.

Economic policy shall aim to generate the resources needed to correct the economic imbalances imposed by race domination and bring about wealth redistribution for the benefit of the people as a whole. More particularly, steps shall be taken to do away with the white monopoly of ownership and managerial control.

Participation in the state sector by domestic or foreign private capital, where judged necessary, shall not give such capital a controlling share and all enterprises, whether state-owned or private, shall be compelled to safeguard the interests of their workers and the nation as a whole. The continued operation of market forces in the functioning of the economy shall not prevent state intervention in areas relating to the people's basic needs.

In the period after the defeat of the race tyranny, the fundamental perspective of working class political and trade union organisations shall be to work for the creation of economic and social conditions making possible a steady advance towards a democratic socialist society.

THE RIGHT & DUTY TO WORK & TO A LIVING WAGE

Every adult person has a right and duty to work and to receive remuneration according to his or her contribution. The new state shall, as a matter of priority, work to create economic conditions in which jobs are available to all. Until this is achieved the state shall ensure that social support is provided for the unemployed and members of their families.

All managerial and administrative posts and other

DEFEND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE!

jobs shall be open to every qualified citizen irrespective of race, colour, sex or religion. The equal right of access to jobs, managerial and administrative posts shall be subject to positive measures necessary to correct the imbalances inherited from the era of race discrimination. Public and private institutions shall have a duty to provide facilities for training and opportunities to apply the acquired skills.

The State, in consultation with the trade unions, shall adopt and enforce a national minimum wage.

Child labour and all forms of forced and semi-forced labour shall be prohibited. Special attention shall be paid to redressing the oppressive situation of workers involved in farm work, domestic service and those trapped in the so-called homelands.

THE RIGHT TO ORGANISATION AND STRUGGLE

There shall be no restrictions on the right of workers to organise themselves into political parties or trade unions. Trade union organisation shall be based on the principles of *one industry — one union* and *one country — one federation*.

Trade unions and their federations shall be completely independent and answerable only to the decisions of their members or affiliates democratically arrived at. No political party, state organ or enterprise, whether public, private or mixed, shall directly or indirectly interfere with such independence.

The state shall ensure that the trade unions, as the key mass social organisation of the organised working class, are given the opportunity to participate at all levels of economic planning and implementation.

All workers, in every sector of the economy, shall have the right, through their trade unions, to engage freely in collective bargaining and to use the strike weapon. All legislation dealing with procedures for collective bargaining, including any limitations on the right to strike in exceptional cases, shall require the consent of a majority in the trade union movement.

In the case of all other labour legislation there shall be prior consultation with the trade union movement, whose views on such proposed legislation should be timeously tabled in parliament.

THE RIGHT TO MEDIA ACCESS

Steps shall be taken to break the existing media monopoly by big business and the state and to ensure effective workers' access to all sections of the media.

THE RIGHT TO FAMILY LIFE & SOCIAL FACILITIES

All legislation and labour practices which prevent or interfere with the right of families to live together shall be outlawed. Migrant labour shall be phased out or, in cases where it is unavoidable, provision shall be made for family accommodation during any period of service exceeding three months.

The state shall aim to make adequate accommoda-

tion and children's schools available to all workers and their families, close to their places of work. All enterprises shall help to create local or regional recreational facilities for the workforce, as well as crèches and primary health care facilities.

No parent, male or female, shall be disadvantaged or disabled from any form of employment by virtue of his or her duty to help rear children and, where necessary, this should be ensured by the creation of special facilities including provision for paid maternity and paternity leave.

THE RIGHT TO HEALTH AND SAFETY

Conditions of work shall not threaten the health, safety or well-being of the workforce or of the community at large, or create serious ecological risks.

All workers shall have the right to paid annual leave and paid sick leave.

Those injured at work shall receive proper compensation for themselves and their families. Provision shall be made for the rehabilitation of all disabled workers including, where necessary, the provision of alternative employment.

THE RIGHT TO SECURITY IN OLD AGE

All workers shall be entitled to an adequate pension on retirement, provided either by the state or the relevant enterprise.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN WORKERS

The state shall aim to integrate all women workers as full and equal participants in the economy. Any form of discrimination against women workers in regard to job allocation, wages, working conditions, training, benefits, etc., shall be prohibited.

Positive steps shall be taken to help correct the discrimination suffered by women both in the work place and the home. Opportunities shall be created to enable women to acquire skills for employment outside the home.

It shall be the duty of the state, trade unions, workers' political parties and all other mass and social organisations to ensure effective women's participation at leadership, management and other levels and to take measures, including educational campaigns, to combat all forms of male chauvinism both in the home and outside.

We declare that the above immediate and long-term objectives are in the best interests of all the working people and of society as a whole. As individuals and as part of the organised working class, we pledge to struggle, side by side, for their full implementation.

FIGHT FOR A LIVING WAGE!



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The forces seeking change, away from apartheid, are growing continuously. These forces for change are made of classes and strata who differ not only on the tactics of the struggle but also on what should happen when racism is defeated. This does not mean that there is no room for inter-class action in areas where we share common ground, however temporary. Indeed, we must work actively to make more and more room for such action.

At the same time we must never forget that the class aspirations of the constituents of a front struggle do not just evaporate because of a shared platform. In collaboration with other social groups it is always imperative for the working class to keep its organisational, ideological and programmatic powder dry.

The longstanding debate on a Worker's Charter has been partly informed by these considerations. But, in its earliest phase, the whole issue was unfortunately confused by a tendency to counterpose the Worker's Charter with the Freedom Charter as mutually exclusive documents. In response to this tendency, radicals shied away from treating the Workers' Charter on its merits. The embrace of the Freedom Charter by the bulk of the Trade Union Movement and the MDM has cleared the air and we welcome COSATU's Third Congress initiative to spearhead a Worker's Charter campaign.

As a contribution to this campaign our Party has presented its own draft clearly as a basis for discussion. The starting point of our draft is the Freedom Charter which, quite correctly, was not designed to tie itself to the aspirations of a single class. Our draft attempts to deal with both the political and economic aspirations of the working class, concentrating on broad principles rather than spelling out the kind of detail which would be more appropriate in day-to-day trade union demands.

The preamble attempts to set out the working-class vision of the post-apartheid state and the drive towards a socialist society.

The draft implies that in the immediate aftermath of the victory there will exist a state and private sector with the possibility of some involvement by private foreign or domestic capital in some levels of the state sector; in other words, a mixed economy is implied in which market forces will play an important, although not exclusive role as economic determinants.

But, calling an economy 'mixed' tells us very little about its social content. In most of the capitalist world, including South Africa, there already exist 'mixed' economies. The use of the phrase does not in itself indicate the direction in which the societies are moving. The real question is whether the mixed economy is designed to serve and entrench capitalism, or whether it is designed to create the transition conditions in which society can move towards socialism. Our draft clearly points to the latter objective. **In other words, we envisage a mixed economy with a socialist orientation.**

The economic clauses clearly point in this direction. They provide for the taking over by the state of the commanding heights of the economy, not just in terms of the transfer of ownership but in terms of control, with workers participating both in the planning and running of such enterprises. **The aim is not mere nationalisation (which, as we know, can serve capitalism as well) but rather socialisation.** The draft also points to some of the negative experiences of socialist construction and, more particularly, rejects over-centralisation and commandism in the running of the economy.

The participation by private capital in the state sector, where judged necessary, is limited by provisions which are designed to prevent private capital domination. Such capital should not have

ORGANISE THE WORKERS!

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a controlling share or the power to divert the enterprises from serving the interests of the workers and the community as a whole. The draft also insists on state intervention at the level of the operation of market forces to meet the people's basic needs. It also emphasises the fundamental objectives of the post-apartheid state to take immediate measures to redistribute wealth and to correct race imbalances at all levels of the economy.

At the political level our Draft Charter sets out the general perspectives that workers should be guided in the post-apartheid period by the need to create economic and social conditions which make possible a steady advance towards socialism. This objective can only be underwritten by a well-organised politically-conscious working class; a task which cannot be postponed until after victory.

The clauses dealing with workers' conditions generally speak for themselves. But it is necessary to say a few words on the section headed 'The Right To Organisation and Struggle'. We draw special attention to the paragraph which reads: **'Trade Unions and their federations shall be completely independent and answerable only to the decisions of their members or affiliates democratically arrived at. No political party, state organ or enterprise, whether public, private or mixed shall directly or indirectly interfere with such independence'**.

History has shown that the transformation of the trade union movement into 'yes persons' of the state and ruling party in parts of the socialist world undermined socialist democracy and diluted the whole process of socialisation. It led, among other things, to alienation and to very little participation by the workers in economic planning and implementation.

The right to engage in collective bargaining and to use the strike weapon is entrenched, as well

as a real say by the trade union movement on all labour legislation. These rights must be safeguarded not only in private and mixed enterprises but also in the whole state sector in the period of the mixed economy and the transformed socialist economy.

Another clause worth emphasising is the right to media access. Democracy can have little meaning without steps to do away with the existing media monopoly by big business and the state and without ensuring that workers and their organisations have effective access to all sections of the media. In conclusion it should be emphasised that the Draft Charter attempts to avoid the kind of ringing formulations which have the effect of raising unreal expectations. In this connection we emphasise the following:

- a) Although we aim to abolish private capital we recognise the reality that it has an objective role to play in creating conditions for an advance to socialism.
- b) We are aware of the arbitrary character of market forces but recognise the reality that we will have to live with them for a while subject to the need to bridle them in crucial social areas.
- c) The right to full employment is a priority objective. But its fulfilment must be seen as a process requiring interim provisions for social support for the unemployed and their families.
- d) The full emancipation of women workers and their equal integration into the socio-economic framework is also seen as a process. It will require affirmative action. The draft emphasises that the state, trade unions, workers' political parties and all other mass and social organisations have a duty to ensure effective women's participation at leadership, management and other levels.

Measures are also called for, including educational campaigns, to combat all forms of male chauvinism in the home and outside.

SOCIALISM IS LIBERATION!

LETTER TO THE EDITOR:

SAVE THE PATRIOTS!



Comrades, Combatants, Compatriots. The struggle lies ahead. Every one of you freedom loving people of South Africa do something for our comrades who are presently on death row facing the gallows or waiting to be executed. The Save the Patriots campaign has been launched. We must do something to popularise it. It lies on our shoulders and commitments that we must do something about it. We have comrades and freedom fighters currently on death row in the crumbling, confused Malan regime. It is our task together with International Solidarity, to force the South African regime to be a signatory to the GENEVA CONVENTION of which the ANC is signatory. Let us **stop** the blood-thirsty racist Boer regime. Those Comrades on death row must be given POW status, especially the kidnapped cadres, and the comrades must be reprieved.

Expose all the ill-treatment of the regime.

If we cannot live as free men, we rather choose to die as free men.

FREEDOM OR DEATH, VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Krugersdorp Militant

CRUDE DISTORTIONS OF SOVIET POLICY

**Statement by the Praesidium of the
Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee**

The Soviet Republic views with a deep concern the campaign recently mounted in the Western, especially British, mass media directed at discrediting the traditional support of the Soviet Union for the liberation movement in South Africa. In the process of this campaign use is made of crude distortions of statements by Soviet scientists and public figures. The interpretation of facts and events is given in such a manner as to fit them into a (previously) formulated scheme of an alleged withdrawal of Soviet support for the liberation struggle.

What are the aims of the organisers of the campaign?

- Firstly, it is to drive a wedge through the traditionally friendly relations between the USSR and the ANC, which were reconfirmed during the recent visit to the USSR by the ANC President Oliver Tambo.
- Secondly, to demoralise the democratic forces in South Africa which invariably regard the USSR as a reliable supporter of their freedom struggle.

- Thirdly, to justify the continued co-operation of Britain and other Western countries with the Pretoria regime in their opposition to comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee resolutely reiterates its unfailing solidarity with the South African Liberation Movement led by the ANC, and its recognition of the Liberation Movement's right to choose the necessary means, including the armed struggle, to attain the eradication of apartheid.

Stressing our special commitment to traditional ties with the African National Congress, we once again confirm our readiness to develop relations with all forces in South Africa which are against the shameful apartheid regime. It is from this position that one should regard the recent visit to the USSR of the UDF leaders. It is from this position that one should regard the forthcoming visit to the USSR of the delegation of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

We are convinced that the ANC and the growing alliance of the democratic forces inside the country can achieve the elimination of apartheid and the implementation of the ideals of freedom and democracy formulated in the historic Freedom Charter — the ideals of a united, democratic non-racial South Africa.

END APARTHEID EXECUTIONS!

NEW SERIES:

THE ART OF INSURRECTION



1. PREPARING

Whatever scenario we paint of the possible outcome to our struggle, our present priorities remain unaltered. We must prepare for the seizure of power. A negotiated settlement favourable to the masses, for example, can only take place when the enemy is forced to concede that the organised forces of revolution have decisively seized the initiative.

Our programme sees no conflict between the insurrectionary perspective and the possibility of a negotiated transfer of power. The exact form of the ultimate breakthrough should not be confused with the strategy needed to help create conditions for the winning of power.

'The path to power', as our Party Programme states, 'lies with our masses'. The purposeful organisation and leadership of the masses is the primary task of the liberation vanguard and the goal of this mission is the seizure of power through insurrection.

An insurrection is a mass revolutionary upsurge of the people in conditions which hold out the possibility of a seizure of power. It takes place within the context of both internal and international political and economic dynamics. An insurrection is an act of force usually involving mass upsurge and varying degrees of organised armed activities. History has thrown up a number of categories which illustrate the varied mix between armed struggle and mass insurrection.

In a classical situation an insurrection involves the physical capture of the country's key administrative and economic infrastructures and the neutralisation of the combat capabilities of the enemy's armed forces. If successful it culminates in the seizure of political power.

To be successful insurrection must, in the first place, rely not on conspiracy nor its vanguard, but on the advanced masses, the political army of the revolution which, armed and unarmed, is ready for decisive struggle. Unlike a coup, it cannot be blue-printed. Insurrection is not simply a military plan of conquest. As such, in our conditions, it would be doomed to failure. The key to success lies in the integration of our numerically weak combat forces with the advanced

masses.

Secondly, seizure of power is dependent on leadership which is responsible for preparing and organising all revolutionary forces as well as planning and directing the insurrection. Without underground leadership organs at local, regional and national levels that are in command of all revolutionary forces, insurrection is a pipedream. The building of these structures is the single most urgent task facing us today.

Of course insurrection involves conspiracy: the details of the actual timing and preparations for insurrection must at all times be closely-guarded secrets. However, the principles and tactics involved must be clearly understood and studied by all revolutionaries and popularised amongst the masses. For unless the masses are actively conscious of the ways and means for seizing power, they will not be prepared for decisive struggle.

Insurrection is an art. This much-quoted phrase is often misunderstood. What Engels meant was not that insurrection relies on inspiration and intuition, but quite the opposite. It is subject to certain rules. It requires careful preparation and planning.

What are the conditions necessary for a successful insurrection? What are the forces required and how should they be organised and led? When is the right time to focus all efforts of organisation and agitation on the plan for insurrection? What are the essential elements in such a plan? What is the role of the revolutionary army, the various combat forces of the revolution, in the planning and conduct of insurrection? How are the enemy's forces likely to respond both before and during an insurrection? What are the rules governing the actual conduct of insurrection?

These are questions that all of us as revolutionaries need to address, and which we will tackle in this series of articles. There is no blueprint for insurrection. We need to combine the lessons of history with a keen understanding of our own objective and subjective conditions. Now is the time to plan our own path to power!

ORGANISE TO SEIZE POWER!



HOW TO MASTER SECRET WORK

18. DEAD LETTER BOX

Comrade A's underground unit has been mastering forms of Non-Personal Communication to make their work secret and efficient. Comrade A feels they now have sufficient experience to use the DLB, sometimes called 'dead drop', to pass literature, reports and funds between one another.

The DLB

It is a hiding place such as a hollow in a tree or the place under the floorboards. It is used like a 'post box' to pass material between two people.

To give a definition: **A DLB is a natural or man-made hiding place for the storage and transfer of material.**

It can be a large space for hiding weapons or small for messages. It can be located inside buildings or out of doors; in town or countryside. It can be in natural spaces such as the tree or floorboards, or manufactured by the operative, such as a hollowed out fence pole or a hole in the ground. It is always camouflaged.

Selecting the DLB

It is very important to carefully select the place where the DLB is to be located. Follow the rules:

- **It must be easy to describe and find.** Avoid complicated or confusing descriptions which make it difficult for your partner to find it.

- **It must be safe and secure.** It must be well concealed from casual onlookers. Beware of places where children play, gardeners work or tramps hang out. It must not be near enemy bases or places where guards are on duty. It must not be overlooked by buildings and windows.

- **It must allow for safe deposit and removal of material.** The operatives must feel secure about their actions in depositing and removing material. They must be able to check whether they are being watched. The place must be in keeping with their public image and legend.

- **It must allow for weather conditions and time of day.** DLBs can be exposed or damaged by rain or flooding. Some locations may be

suspicious to approach by day and dangerous by night.

Preparation

This involves constructing and camouflaging the DLB; making a diagram; working out a signal system and security arrangements. If you are burying the material put it in a tin, bottle or weather-proof container.

- Once you have selected the place for your DLB you will have to prepare it. This will usually take place under cover of night whether you are digging a hole or hollowing out a cavity in a tree and camouflaging it.

- You will have to make an accurate description, preferably including a simple diagram.

- You will have to work out a signal system for yourself and partner indicating deposit and removal of material.

- Finally, work out a check route to and from the DLB and a legend for being there.

Example of DLB

Comrade A has spotted a loose brick in a wall. The wall is located along a little used path and shielded by trees. At night he hollows out a space behind the brick, large enough to take a small package. The loose brick is the tenth along the wall, second row down. The brick fits securely into the wall but can be quickly removed with the use of a nail. The operation takes ten seconds and the footsteps of any stranger approaching can be easily heard.

A's Description of the DLB

Reference No. DLB 3. 'Loose Brick in wall'

Location: Path leading from Fourth Street to Golf Course

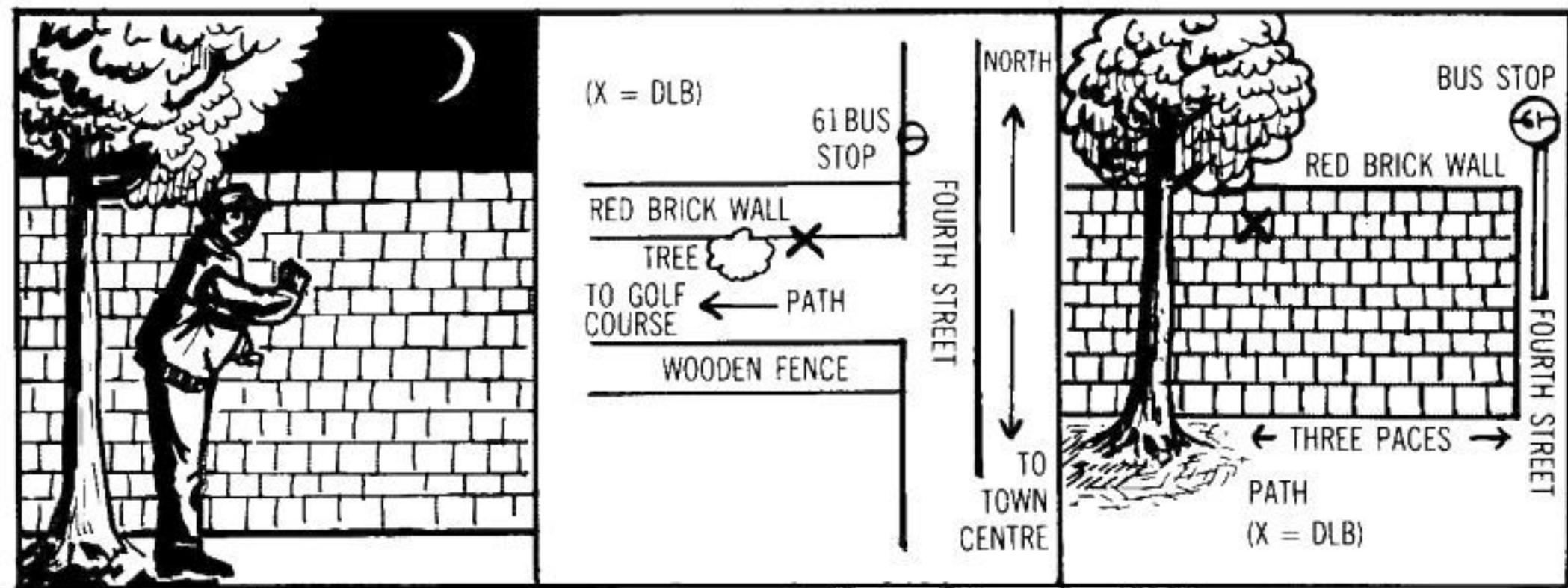
Direction: In Fourth Street, just past the 61 Bus Stop, is the path, with red brick wall on the right, wooden fence on the left. Three paces down the path, on the right, just before a tree, is the DLB, in the brick wall.

The DLB. It is a loose brick, with white paint smudge. As you walk down the path from Fourth Street, it is the tenth brick along the wall, second row from top. In the space between this brick and the ninth brick is a hole. Place a nail into this hole to help prise out the brick. The space behind the brick holds a package wrapped in plastic with dimensions 12 x 6 x 3 cm. After removing the package replace brick using blue

tack (or other sealing substance) to hold it in place.

Signals. 1. After A deposits material he ties a piece of red string to a fence signalling that the DLB is 'loaded'. 2. After B removes material from the DLB he draws a chalk mark signal on a pole.

Note: Signals must not be in the DLB's vicinity.



Carrying Out the Operation

The use of the DLB is an operation which must be carefully planned as follows:

- Comrade A:**
1. Prepares material (packaging and camouflaging)
 2. Checks route for surveillance
 3. Observes situation at DLB
 4. Places material (if no surveillance)
 5. Return route to check for surveillance
 6. Places signal indicating deposit
 7. Returns home

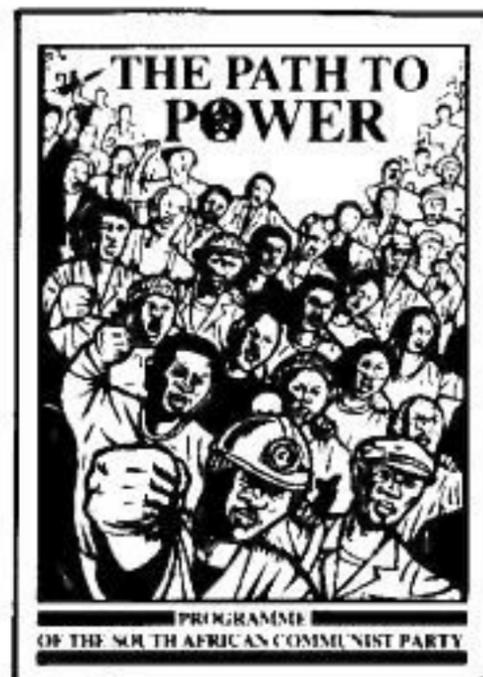
- Comrade B:**
1. Sees signal of deposit
 2. Checks route
 3. Observes situation at DLB
 4. Removes material (if no surveillance)
 5. Return route to check for surveillance
 6. Places signal of removal
 7. Returns home.

- Comrade A:**
1. Checks signal of removal
 2. Removes signals
 3. Reports success

Note: It is important that both A and B check that they are not being followed when they go to the DLB and after leaving it.

(Next issue: portable and mobile DLBs)

ISOLATE ENEMY AGENTS!



NEW SERIES:

Studying the Party Programme

1. STUDY SUGGESTIONS

As a guide to political study groups we will be covering the SACP programme, *The Path to Power*, chapter by chapter.

Different reading groups will have different needs. Some will want to spend several sessions on each chapter, reading background material and going into detail on particular points. Other groups will want to move more quickly. In some cases comrades will find it possible to read the chapter on their own before the group discussion. In this case it is useful to set guide questions for everyone to think about **before** the discussion.

In other cases it might be best to read the chapter aloud together. Don't forget many comrades have difficulty reading *English* on their own — not to mention the problem of finding a place to read with enough light and privacy. These notes can only be *general guides*. Each group will have to adapt them for their own purposes.

How to Study Political Theory

There are three basic points:

1. Always try to understand the main outline, the main steps in the argument. Maybe some of the words are too difficult to understand at first? Don't worry too much. Make a note of these difficult parts and come back to them later. As a guide, an outline of the main steps of the argument can be displayed in front of the group when you discuss.
2. The booklet you are studying is not a holy object that cannot be touched. Don't be shy to underline and number main points. You can put a ring around difficult words. Try to summarise difficult parts in your own words. The more you work the text, the more you will learn.
3. The purpose of revolutionary study is not to learn a whole lot of big words by heart. Revolutionary study must equip us to understand our world and to act. Test your understanding by connecting what you are studying to personal experience.

For instance, Chapter One speaks about **transnational corporations**. These are big capitalist companies with branches in many countries. Maybe someone in the group works for one? In our daily

lives we all know of some transnationals like Colgate-Palmolive, or Nestlé's, or Sony.

Chapter One also deals with the **debt burden** in developing countries. Maybe your local newspaper or the TV had some item on this in the past week? You should discuss how the Party programme's notes on such topics help you to understand better what you see around you every day.

Outline of Chapter One

Chapter One covers five main points:

1. The main historical tendency in the world today (page 4 — the first three paragraphs).
2. The nature of present-day capitalism (page 4 to the end of page 6), and the three main revolutionary contingents:
3. The world socialist system (page 7 to page 9).
4. The national liberation movement and the anti-imperialist struggles of the developing countries (page 9 to page 10).
5. The working class movement in the advanced capitalist countries (page 10 to page 11).

Guide Questions

At the end of the session on this chapter, all comrades in the group should be able to answer the following questions:

- What are the main features of present-day capitalism?
- In what ways does the world socialist system contribute to the world revolutionary process?
- How do we explain contradictory tendencies within the working class movement in the major imperialist countries?
- What world problems threaten all humanity? How can our own struggle contribute to the international solution of these problems?

Useful Additional Reading:

Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*. This is the first ever Communist programme. It contains the basic outlook of communism. Parts I, II and IV should especially be studied. Part III deals with early European socialism and is more of historical interest.

V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. This is the classic analysis of our present epoch. This work can be difficult for beginners.

7. OUR NEW WEAPON

The Party Programme occupies a central place in the life of any Party. The adoption of a new Programme — *'The Path to Power'* — by the historic Seventh Congress of our Party, makes an examination of this question particularly topical.

The Party Programme provides a **scientific analysis** of national oppression (apartheid) and class exploitation (capitalism) in South Africa. Placing this analysis in the context of the historical development of colonialism and capitalism in our country it situates our struggle within the framework of the struggle for democracy and socialism on the African continent and the whole world over.

This analysis is not a ready made formula. It arises firstly from the application of Marxist tools of analysis to the concrete reality of our situation. It is drawn, secondly, from the great well of collective knowledge accumulated over decades of struggle by our Party and its allies. It stems finally from intensive pre-congress discussion and debate in the underground structures of the Party in and outside the country.

Thus, for example, the characterisation by our Party of our situation as 'Colonialism of a Special Type' is as unique as the conditions in which we struggle for democracy and socialism.

In order to smash apartheid and build democracy and socialism the working class and its allies must **understand** their enemy and its state apparatus, the class character and nature of exploitation in our society and the global context which shapes our struggle. In this sense the Programme serves and must daily be used as an **educator** of our oppressed people.

The Party Programme defines the **'fundamental principles of strategy within a certain period of historical development'**. In other words it establishes the goals of struggle, broadly outlines and puts before the people the demands and tasks of the present stage of struggle. It defines the motive forces and characterises the stages of struggle in the fight for socialism. It defines the role of the Party and examines forms of struggle and their relationship to one another. It is a **summary** of the aims and tasks of the Party and examines the ways in which these must be



achieved.

It **does not** examine the finer details of tactics — the nitty-gritty of day to day struggle. These can only be determined by concrete conditions of a given time and place.

Thus in this sense too the Programme is an **educator**. But it serves also as a **guide to action**, a beacon in the struggle. The Programme is the foundation of the Party's educational work, it must guide our organisational and agitational work and keep us focused on our goals and objectives. As Lenin said 'each paragraph of the programme must be a summary of hundreds of thousands of speeches and articles of the agitators that every working man and woman must know, assimilate and understand.' Much like a geographical map, the Programme helps us to steer a general course and line of march — but it cannot identify each stone we will meet on the rocky road of struggle.

It follows then that all Party members and units — all those who wish to see socialism in our country — have a duty to understand and **popularise** the Programme wherever and whenever they can. Using the Programme as a weapon of struggle, (in its entirety or using extracts, ideas and slogans from it), we must **educate and organise** the oppressed and toiling people of our land.

We must creatively and tirelessly **translate** the principles, demands and tasks outlined in the programme into concrete actions. We must, as Lenin urged, **boldly put before the people our vision of a direct route to decisive victory**. Thus armed our people will come forward 'as creators of a new social order' to bury apartheid and exploitation in the dungheap of history.

EDUCATE, MOBILISE AND ORGANISE!

NOTES FROM THE UNDERGROUND



7. UNCOVERING ENEMY AGENTS

Our underground Party network spends much time helping with MDM issues. There is one area where, more and more, our assistance is needed. How many readers recognise the following story?

Comrades in an MDM structure have someone they are sure is an agent. Suppose these suspicions are correct. But the comrades don't know how to proceed. The matter is discussed loosely, the story spreads. But still the suspect lingers on in MDM structures.

Soon enough he gets to hear the stories about himself. Being a clever agent, he then gathers to his side members who have personal grudges against the leadership. He wins over new members who are flattered a more experienced 'comrade' shares information with them.

The agent starts to spread a counter story. He says the suspicions were started by people in the organisation who are 'sectarian'. Who don't want their 'undemocratic style' challenged. Eventually the organisation is divided.

Even if the enemy has failed to introduce a totally unsuspected agent, they have succeeded in paralysing the organisation. The situation has become so messy it is now virtually impossible to get to the bottom of it all.

But if basic steps are followed, none of this needs to happen. In our region we are helping MDM organisations set up small, three-person security and discipline committees. These committees can be entirely under underground discipline. Or they can be confidential structures answerable to the leadership of the relevant MDM organisation. It depends on the circumstances. Only the most trusted and mature comrades must be pulled into such a committee.

Such a committee can be used to check on individuals where the need arises. There are basic things to check:

- personal history — childhood, schooling, relatives, friends. What to look for is any possible connections with the police. Or any gaps, any unexplained and sudden changes.
- money — does the person have more money than can be explained by their job or family situation?
- absences — are there regular or unexplained absences from work? from home? These

could be times when the person is being instructed by the police. Sometimes false 'detentions' are used for the same purpose.

- behaviour in the MDM organisation — is the person sectarian, or provocative (always suggesting ultra-revolutionary action)? Does the person get involved in loose sexual behaviour, or drinking sessions with key individuals in the organisation?

Such investigations must be conducted quietly. With well-disguised questions to friends and former school-mates plenty of information can be gathered. Under no circumstances must the person under investigation become suspicious.

These investigations should not drag out too long. Sometimes the person is clearly innocent. Sometimes there is hard evidence of direct work for the enemy. But often things are uncertain. How then do we proceed?

Extreme measures are not always necessary or appropriate. An MDM structure will seldom have the resources to complete a full secret investigation, or withstand an intense enemy counter-attack. But other effective measures can be taken to neutralise an infiltrator.

Already in our region we have had success with these measures. After a careful investigation by a security committee, other members of the MDM leadership are informed of the result. If needed, a surprise session with the individual is set up with five or six MDM leadership people. He or she is then confronted with a mass of information, with contradictions and unexplained facts.

It is surprising how often this kind of confrontation has led to a confession. In other cases questions remain unclear and unanswered. In the first case the individual must be expelled. In the second case he or she must be suspended from the organisation. The general membership and the MDM as a whole must be informed with the general reasons given. At all times these cases must be handled efficiently, confidently and with minimum disruption.

UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY ECONOMICS

13. WHAT DO BANKS DO?



Everyone knows that a bank is a useful place to keep their money. Apart from anything else it is safer than keeping cash under the mattress — at least it usually is. But banks also do two other things for their customers and these give them an important role in capitalism.

One service banks provide is to transfer money and change money. If you keep your money in a bank account the bank will transfer money when you want to pay a bill. That is what happens when you write a cheque, for example. Also the bank will change your rand into foreign currency if you wish (and if the law permits it).

This is a main part of the banks' work, for there are millions of transfers and exchanges every day (for example, as firms issue salary cheques and as people pay electricity bills). The banks make a large profit by charging for these services.

The banks' other type of service is to lend money. If you or a firm want a loan the bank may give you credit which you have to repay in a few months or two or three years. If it is the special, flexible type of loan called an overdraft you have to repay it whenever the bank decides to ask for it, but they may renew it for a long period.

Whatever type of loan you have, you have to pay the bank interest on it. In other words, in total, you owe the bank more than you borrowed. But if you have a bank account, the bank may pay you interest on the money you keep in it. The interest the bank pays for the money in people's accounts is lower than the interest the bank charges on loans. So the banks make large profits from the difference between their interest payments and receipts.

Banks are in business to make profits for themselves but in the process they have had a strong influence on the growth and operation of the whole capitalist economy.

They helped trade develop. From capitalism's earliest days in Europe bank loans have financed merchants' trade and enabled the vast expansion of trade which is characteristic of capitalism. As banking grew, its ability to transfer money and carry out foreign exchange meant that firms' products could be sold to customers over a vast

area, and that reinforced the expansion of trade.

They have also enabled firms to raise the finance to pay for new factories, farms, mines and machinery. The money customers keep in bank accounts adds up to a huge pool of funds which banks have to lend to others to obtain interest. In that way they enable the funds owned by savers to be used for productive investment by borrowers.

But, of course, banks are also responsible for many of capitalism's worst faults. Much of their profit comes from financing purely speculative activity — gambling on the stock exchange, buying and selling land and existing buildings to profit from rising prices, and many other get rich quick schemes. The profits on these are more attractive to them than financing poor people's housing or health services.

The most harmful of the banks' recent activities has been the debt crisis which they have imposed on poor countries. Between 1973 and 1981 international banks loaned billions of American dollars to countries in Asia and Latin America (with small amounts going to Africa). The loans were fixed between their ruling classes and the bankers. The interest rates the countries paid to the banks seemed low at the time, but they have steadily risen to unbearable levels since.

The debtor government cannot pay the interest or repay the loans. The banks' response is to force them to push down the living standards of their masses even further below the poverty line. It is an attempt to squeeze from the poorest the resources to pay the interest and capital on the debts incurred by their rulers. But it is a problem which also weakens the banks and Western leaders are nervous about that. Some people think it and other problems may cause a collapse of banks and a crisis for capitalism as a whole.

Under socialism banks also have a role in transferring funds and making loans, but they do it as part of a national plan which ensures that the activities financed by the banks strengthen the economy for the benefit of the people.

It is crystal clear to all that the results of the elections will not be found in the ballot boxes but in the actions of the voteless millions who voted with their feet, with defiance and resistance in the factories, in the community, in the schools and universities and in the churches.

Those who have assembled in Cape Town to pass laws cannot, by any civilised standard, be regarded as constituting a parliament. The appointed government has no legitimacy and no mandate to rule. It is no accident that the regime celebrated its return to power by mowing down scores of peaceful black protesters in a hail of bullets.

We say to our working class, to all the oppressed and to all genuine democrats that the future continues to be in our hands. We must know our strength and use it with more and more vigour. Without us the whole economy grinds to a halt. Without our participation the whole state apparatus can hardly function. Without our consent to be governed the whole country becomes ungovernable.

The **Spring Offensive** must be pursued and must reach new heights in the seasons which follow until we have won our freedom. If we realise our strength and our power and use them to the full we can surely see to it that this election is the last of its kind.

To those among the white community who have seen the writing on the wall and who voted against a future of camouflaged apartheid, we say that you will not find the answer within the narrow confines of white politics.

There is no middle road between racism and majority rule in one democratic, united South Africa. And only when this is achieved will there be peace in our country which, in the words of the Freedom Charter, belongs to all who live in it, black and white.

To our friends outside and to the whole international community we say that you should judge De Klerk and his group by their deeds and not by the sweet talk designed for international consumption. Events have shown over and over again that the only hope for a real solution lies in the direction of increased internal and external pressures.

The new white president has over and over again declared that the reform programme which he is trying to sell will never lead to majority rule in our country. This is the true purpose and meaning of his five-year plan which is designed to find another way to maintain white domination and privilege. And the terror which he unleashed against peaceful demonstrators is an indication of the mechanisms he intends to use to impose his type of 'reform'.

Despite the bows which De Klerk has made in the direction of negotiations, there can be little doubt that if he ever comes to a genuine negotiating table it would be the result of struggle and pressure and not of dialogue or well-meaning diplomacy alone.

The period ahead must be seen as a period of struggle and sacrifice.

Let us raise our own *intifada* to new heights.

Let us say with one voice that we will spare nothing in our quest for a united, democratic, non-racial South Africa based on one person one vote.

Let us see to it that September 6th will go down in history as the last election of its kind.

Through our defiance and the historic stayaway we have baptised De Klerk in fire. The task ahead is clear — to keep the racists under relentless pressure.



WHICH WAY FRELIMO?

and has the support of the community will now be able to join.

Frelimo now calls itself a 'vanguard party of the whole people', rather than a 'Marxist-Leninist vanguard party'. The view is that Frelimo should now act as the vanguard of an alliance of all patriotic class forces. Frelimo explains such shifts as necessary adjustments to new realities. Destabilisation has, indeed, severely limited Mozambique's space for manoeuvre, increasing its vulnerability to pressure from Western donors and creditors.

Frelimo also, undoubtedly, made errors in the methods used to lead Mozambique to socialism. For instance, the party underestimated the contribution which individual peasant households and even small capital would have to make in a transitional period. It adopted too sectarian an attitude towards religious people. But the changes endorsed at the 5th congress must also be seen against the background of other developments within Mozambique.

Mozambique is two and a half years into an IMF-backed 'Economic Rehabilitation Programme' (known by its Portuguese initials as PRE). 'Adjustments' made under the PRE have included major currency devaluation and price increases, the removal of subsidies, and a move to 'privatisation'.

The period since the introduction of the PRE has seen some economic growth. But its impact has been extremely uneven. **Lower paid urban workers have borne the brunt of the austerity measures.**

Private capital has benefited from the opening up of numerous additional opportunities for profits supported by abundant foreign aid.

A stratum of 'PRE-men' has emerged with growing influence in society. The changes in the rules of party membership endorsed by the 5th congress not only allow 'property owners' to become members. They also permit existing party members to become property owners and employers of wage labour.

Some of these class developments were reflected in the sessions of the congress itself. 'We don't feel the collective is ours,' said one collective farmer, 'decisions are taken elsewhere, we sign the cheques but that's the end.' A Maputo worker delegate complained: 'Workers are not sufficiently part of factory control — management ignores the workers.'

To what extent will emerging bourgeois class forces be able to exploit openings created by Frelimo's understandable attempt to broaden its base? This remains to be seen. The 5th congress did approve a number of special measures to promote employment and protect the living standards of the poorest strata of society. The new party programme also proclaimed Frelimo's continued commitment to socialism.

The capacity of the party to achieve these goals, and of the working people to defend the gains of the revolution in the face of a rapidly accelerating process of class formation, seems likely to be tested in struggle in the months ahead.

Frelimo's 5th Congress (July 24-30) was attended by 721 delegates, including 130 workers and 275 peasants. The congress was dominated by two issues — the search for a peace settlement in Mozambique, and the question of broadening Frelimo's ranks.

The report of the outgoing central committee estimated that 700 000 people have died as a direct result of bandit assaults. 2.4 million more have been displaced from their homes, while 5.5 million Mozambicans depend on food aid for survival. It is no wonder that much of congress was dominated by the theme of peace.

President Chissano was given a firm mandate to continue exploring the prospects of a negotiated end to the war. Frelimo is prepared to be generous in re-integrating former bandits as individuals. **But congress came out strongly against any form of 'power sharing' or coalition government with MNR.**

The other major theme at congress was that Frelimo needed to broaden its ranks, to return to its original role as a front. Rules restricting entry into the party of religious believers and 'property owners' were modified. Any citizen who accepts the party's programme

A LUTA CONTINUA!