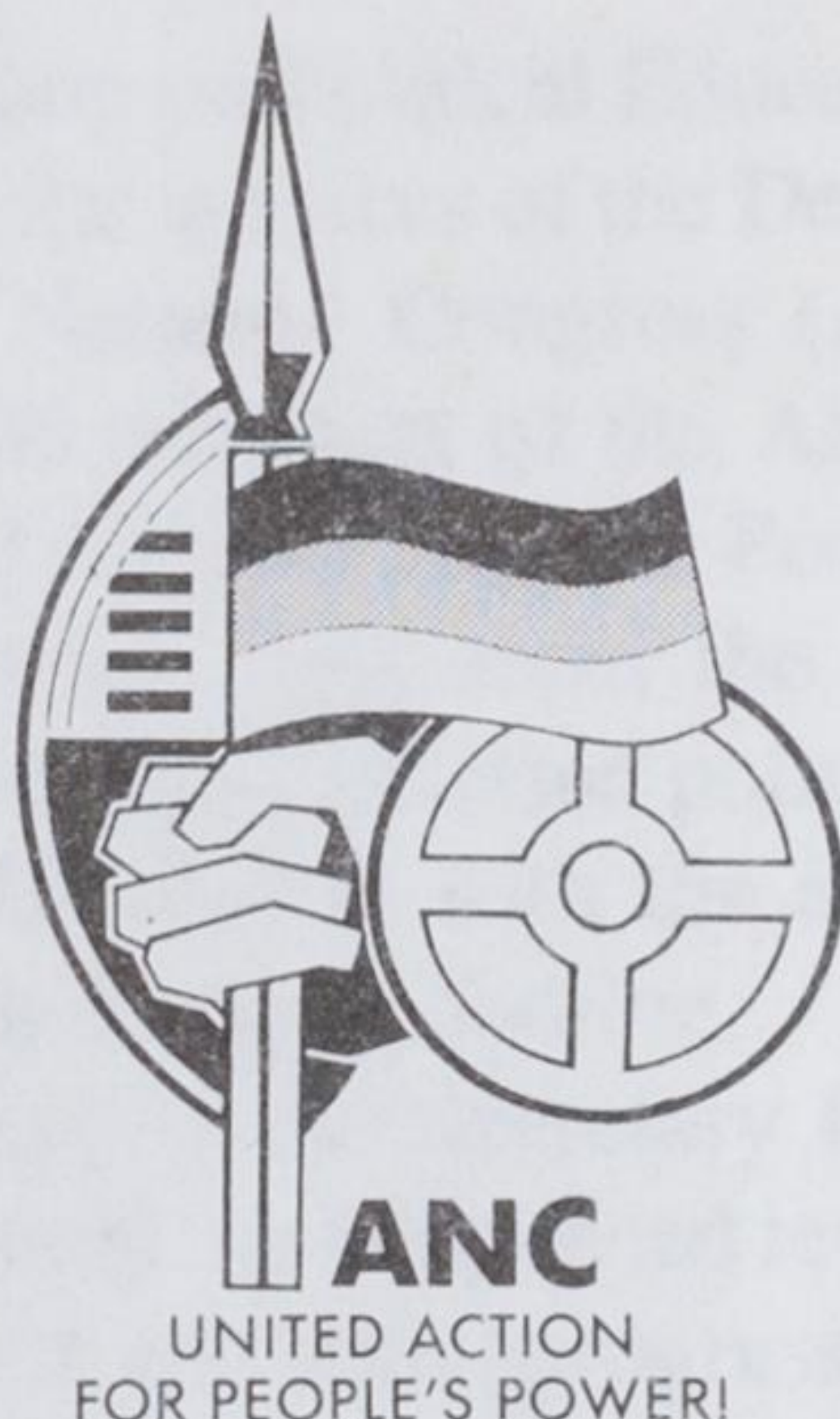


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REPORT OF THE NATIONAL WORKSHOP ON POLITICAL EDUCATION

Introduction

1. The First National Workshop on Political Education was held from the 23rd to 26th February 1988 in Lusaka, Zambia, at the Department of Political Education, Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (ANC). Participating in the workshop were representatives of the ANC, the Government, and its allies, representatives of the various political parties, trade unions, and the people's army. Undoubtedly we have made a significant contribution to the political education work in the country.



REPORT OF THE NATIONAL POLITICAL EDUCATION WORKSHOP

Lusaka, Zambia
23-26 February 1988

Papers and Proposals

1. Discussions were held on the following issues, which were, in the main, structured by the opening address and the papers presented by participants:

- Challenges of Political Education — code and code's policy
- Political Education and Culture
- The Working Class and Nation-building
- The Struggle of White Political Cohesion
- Politics and the Armed Struggle
- Political Education and Science
- Three (1) papers on Politics and the various aspects of Africa's development
- The Role of the Media in Political Education
- International Relations and Political Education
- Three (3) Papers on Religion and Politics
- Political Education of Women

15/6/88.

* Copies of papers which were presented at the Workshop will be available separately.

НАЦИОНАЛИЗМ

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL WORKSHOP ON POLITICAL EDUCATION

Introduction

1. The first National Workshop on Political Education was held from the 23rd to 26th February 1988 under the auspices of the Department of Political Education (DPE) of the African National Congress (ANC). Participating in the workshop were more than 70 members of the ANC and its allies, representing various departments and sections, and the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). The workshop was held under the theme *People's Power and Political Education*. It analysed and assessed political educational work in the entire National Liberation Movement with the aim of setting this aspect of our work on a systematic operational footing.

2. The workshop was opened by the Secretary General of the ANC, Comrade Alfred Nzo. He emphasised the heightened level of confrontation between the forces of democracy, peace and social progress, on the one hand, and those of reaction on the other. In relation to our struggle in Southern Africa and the world at large, this confrontation takes various forms including, in particular, the use of brute force as the main instrument of state repression on the one hand, and consistent popular resistance on the other. In this milieu, the Secretary General emphasised that the importance of and demands for political education have multiplied many times over.

3. It is in this spirit that participants deliberated on various items on the agenda covering theoretical, organisational and other practical issues pertaining to political education.

Papers* and Proposals

1. Discussions centred around the following issues, which were, in the main, stimulated by the opening address and the papers presented by participants:

- Challenges of Political Education — cadre and cadre policy
- Political Education and Culture
- The Working Class and Nation-building
- The Erosion of White Political Cohesion
- Politics and the Armed Struggle
- Political Education and Scientists
- Three (3) papers on Politics and the various aspects of People's Education.
- The Role of the Media in Political Education
- International Relations and Political Education
- Three (3) Papers on Religion and Politics
- Political Education of Women

* Copies of papers which were presented at the Workshop will be available on request.

- Political Education and Youth in the Struggle for National Liberation (two presentations)
- Health and Politics
- Reform Strategies of the Pretoria Regime
- The Agrarian Question

2. The participants examined the state of political life and education within the movement against the backdrop of the decisions of the 1985 National Consultative Conference of the ANC. They also reviewed the current as well as the strategic demands of the struggle. In this regard note was made of the weaknesses and their ripple effects on virtually all aspects of work. These drawbacks are results of various objective conditions and subjective factors. These are in the main sluggishness in the implementation of decisions collectively arrived at and the lack of accountability and planning.
3. Participants agreed that the correction of these flaws in respect of political education, in particular, demands the attention of all contingents of the liberation movement. To enable the DPE to carry out the tasks assigned to it, the pooling and co-ordination of efforts by all departments and sections of the ANC and its allies is necessary. This should be coupled with a conscious effort to create a healthy morale and psychological environment in all regions and localities. The process of imparting political education assumes various forms, such as propaganda, academic education and culture. This clearly requires co-ordination among the concerned departments.
4. The discussions were infused with a sense of urgency regarding the situation within the country and the tasks facing the vanguard movement on all fronts: mass mobilisation and organisation, underground organisation and the armed struggle. Political education has a pivotal role to play in all these spheres and at all levels — preparation of cadres for various tasks, developing and upgrading activists in the mass democratic movement (MDM) and the guidance of mass action towards the seizure of power and the construction of a new society. All sectors of the South African society need adequate attention to enable us to strengthen our forces while at the same time weakening those of the enemy. This extends to the field of international relations affecting the situation in our country and the region.
5. The papers presented and the ensuing discussions went a long way towards clarifying burning theoretical questions, as well as underlining the need for systematic research and discussion. In this process we will ensure a smooth circulation of information and opinions within the democratic movement as a whole. The general trend of the discussions showed that the challenges we face are primarily a result of the intensified struggle and the consequent demands on the liberation alliance.

Issues and Recommendations

- 1.1 The challenges of political education, cadre and cadre policy: This paper was based largely on the decisions of the National Consultative Conference of June 1985.
 - 1.1(a) The DPE must ensure that all cadres of the movement understand and are able to impart the policies, strategy and tactics of the movement. This includes the proper training of organisers, instructors, commissars and so on.
 - 1.1(b) The Political Education curriculum must include Social Psychology, which will enable cadres to improve their performance within the movement and other collectives.
 - 1.1(c) There should be a uniform curriculum adapted to the levels, tasks, regions, institutions and social forces being addressed in the preparation of cadres. Due attention should be given to the current developments within the country and in Southern Africa.
- 1.2 Political Education within the country should address the various layers and sectors of the MDM and all social groups. Under the current state of severe repression, particular stress should be laid on educating the MDM and the people in the skills of legal and semi-legal methods of work.
- 1.3 The development of cadres must be seen as a continuous process in political education. Cadres should be upgraded in accordance with their level of understanding and experience. Where necessary the courses should take cognisance of the areas of deployment and age. Seminars and workshops should be utilised for the purpose.
- 1.4 DPE must regularly prepare and disseminate briefings on the internal and international developments as part of its political education programme.
- 1.5 In view of the increased outflow of South African students to imperialist countries, sponsored by businessmen and governments, the DPE, in conjunction with other related departments, should work out programmes to win these students into the democratic fold, denying the forces of reaction any recruiting ground.
- 1.6 The DPE should be so structured as to enable it to carry out the tasks set out above and the decisions of the National Consultative Conference (NCC) to conduct political education within the movement and among the masses of our people.
 - 1.6(a) The DPE collective at HQ should be structured in such a way that the major tasks of training, internal work, education within the army, acquisition and usage of literature and audio-visual aids, and general administration and co-ordination are undertaken with the specialisation they require.
 - 1.6(b) DPE must evolve structures of permanent liaison with departments and

sections dealing with aspects of political education, e.g. Department of Information and Publicity (DIP), Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), Department of Education (DOE), the Political Committee (PC) and the army Commissariat.

- 1.6(c) DPE should urgently see to the selection and proper functioning of political education officers within the Regional Political Committees (RPCs) or equivalent structures in the various regions.
- 1.6(d) DPE should closely liaise with corresponding structures in SACTU.
- 1.7 Recognising that various programmes and projects are being undertaken by all manner of interests on the future of South Africa, DPE must pay attention to education on the perspectives of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). Pursuant hereof:
 - 1.7(a) Briefings should be made available to the membership on projects such as Post-Apartheid South Africa (PASA), and others.
 - 1.7(b) Such projects should be undertaken in such a manner that they do not employ our energies at the expense of the objective of the seizure of power.
- 1.8 DPE should, in conjunction with the Department of Manpower Development (DMD), monitor cadres in the course of their political education and recommend them for deployment in accordance with their abilities and inclinations.

Political Education and the Agrarian Question

- 2.1 DPE must strive to educate the membership of the Movement and people in general on the situation in the rural areas and the bantustans. This should include such questions as land ownership, conditions of life of the rural people and the historical evolution of these conditions.
- 2.2 Political education in the rural areas should be tailored to accord with local peculiarities, such as:
 - 2.2(a) the level of literacy and the local languages
 - 2.2(b) the traditions and customs and the advantages or otherwise of making use of these in the transmission of political education.
 - 2.2(c) the study of the social composition of the rural communities and the transmission of political education accordingly.
- 2.3 Strategies for political education in these areas should encompass mechanisms of educating and upgrading the membership of the various democratic and anti-apartheid organisations. The local forms of struggle such as dissensions within the bantustans should be constantly monitored. In this context organisations in the rural areas such as the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA) assume particular relevance to DPE.
- 2.4 In their political moulding migrant workers should be equipped to participate in both rural and urban struggles and the mobilisation of the

rural communities.

- 2.5 The DPE, in concert with other related departments, should undertake research geared towards delineating the strategic perspectives of the NDR in respect of the land question.

3. Political Education and Culture

- 3.1 The DPE should play an important role in shaping the content of cultural work as well as employing culture effectively as a medium of imparting political ideas. To facilitate this objective mechanisms of close co-ordination should be established between the DPE and the DAC.
- 3.2 The DPE must pay attention to the language question — both as an aspect of the resolution of the national question and as a medium for conveying political ideas. Ethnic, language and cultural equality should be emphasised.
- 3.3. Special attention should be paid to the role of culture and cultural awareness inculcated in our people, including those in our institutions of learning such as crèches, SOMAFSCO and the army (MK).
- 3.4 The DPE and the DAC should address themselves to the literature of our people and seek to develop such skills among our youth and people in general. Attention should also be paid to sport.
- 3.5 The DPE and other sectors of the Movement should study the resolutions of the Culture in an Alternative South Africa (CASA) gathering in Amsterdam in 1987 with the view to extracting aspects thereof for implementation in our work.

4. The Working Class and Nation-building

- 4.1 The DPE should pay adequate attention to the theory of the *national question*. In this regard reference should be made to the theoretical precepts and practical experiences of other countries, particularly those on the African continent. The special peculiarities of our own country should not, however, be relegated to the background. A proper combination in this regard will go a long way in further enriching our approach to this complex question. A correct emphasis on the common national attributes of our people and the elements of the working class culture would greatly enrich our approach.
- 4.2 Through political lessons and other activities the DPE should aim to foster revolutionary nationalism and patriotism among cadres of the Movement and the MDM as well as our entire people.
- 4.3 In the choice of candidates for training, deployment, participation in seminars, etc., the DPE should consciously seek to foster national consciousness and the deepening of their insight into the content of the NDR.

- 4.4 The DPE and other sectors of the Movement should encourage and contribute to discussions on the national question in journals published within the country, without necessarily using the ANC stamp in the process.
- 4.5 In paying tribute to respected and outstanding cultural figures and in observing historical events we should consciously contribute towards the process of nation-building.
- 4.6 Ethnic divisions within the white community should be constantly reviewed and our work within this community planned accordingly.

5. The Erosion of White Political Cohesion

- 5.1. The DPE should ensure that research of this nature continues. This will greatly contribute in tuning our work to the various sectors within this community.
- 5.2 The DPE and the DIP should conduct research and education within the white community aimed at eroding the cohesion of the apartheid state machinery. We should accelerate the resistance to the military domination of the state machinery and the repression of opposition to the regime.

6. Political Education and Scientists

- 6.1 DPE should prepare political educational material for scientists, taking into account their socio-psychological state and attitudes. Such material should be well researched and must, of necessity, have the approval of the Movement.
- 6.2 DPE must ensure that scientists are grounded in the politics of the Movement.
- 6.3 The political moulding of our scientists/intellectuals should be seen as a process. It commences from the time of joining the Movement through to the years of study, the transit areas, secondment, etc., till ultimate deployment.
- 6.4 The Movement should ensure that all levels of cadres and the leadership are equipped with the skills of scientific leadership.
- 6.5 The Movement should encourage cadres and students to accept scholarships in the socialist countries. For its part, the DPE should ensure a high level of political consciousness among our students, wherever they may be.
- 6.6 Participants reiterated the need for the Movement to establish its own political/liberation school where we can prepare our own social scientists and encourage them to opt for deployment within the Movement.

7. Politics and the Armed Struggle

- 7.1 DPE has a central role to play in the political education of cadres

in the camps and other training establishments, the various transit areas and within the country. This highlights the need for close co-ordination between DPE and the Political Commissariat of MK.

- 7.2 The DPE should approach the National Executive Committee (NEC) on the urgent need for the Strategy and Tactics approved at the Second NCC. With these in hand systematised conduct of political education will be greatly facilitated.
- 7.3 The DPE, Military Headquarters (MHQ), the Political Committee (PC) of the Politico-Military Council (PMC) and other structures should ensure the co-ordination of strategies for underground organisation and at all levels of the People's Army.
- 7.4 Participants emphasised that the various areas through which cadres have to pass on their way home influence their morale and morality. It also affects their commitment to the struggle. The enhancing of a healthy environment should be a constant preoccupation of the entire liberation movement. In this connection the DPE should co-ordinate with the PMC and other related organs of the Movement.
- 7.5 The DPE should inculcate the spirit and practice of democracy and accountability within structures and among cadres. Reference should be made to the experiences of other revolutionary movements.
- 7.6 DPE should teach the importance of comradely relations among members of the Movement in order to do away with negative attitudes between officers and the rank and file in MK, between cadres with military training and the 'civilians', between cadres assigned military tasks and 'demobilised soldiers' deployed in other tasks.
- 7.7 There should be a smooth flow of information from the forward areas, internal structures and Headquarters (HQ) to the camps and training establishments. Cadres with combat experience as well as commanders should visit the camps to impart their experience. This is of great educational and agitational value.
- 7.8 DPE, in conjunction with MHQ, should encourage and stimulate discussions on our Strategy and Tactics, the conduct of war, etc., among the membership in regions, branches, units, departments etc.

8. Political Education and People's Education

- 8.1 DPE must work closely with the Department of Education (DOE) to ensure the correct political content in general education at all levels.
- 8.2 DOE and DPE have a decisive role to play in guiding the content of people's education within the country. The Movement should constantly give direction on the tactics to be employed in the struggle for people's education.
- 8.3 On the issue of students from South Africa going on scholarships abroad it is recommended that:

- 8.3(a) the whole phenomenon be thoroughly studied — the courses administered, the bursars, underhand tactics aimed at our struggle and people, etc. — and, where necessary, exposed.
- 8.3(b) the Movement should intervene in these countries and ensure that these students remain within the fold of the democratic movement.
- 8.3(c) political education be intensified within the country so that the students themselves are well-grounded politically before going abroad. This applies equally to trade unionists.
- 8.4 On the part of the Movement, the selection of cadres for study in the imperialist countries should be rigorous — the political commitment should be a major consideration.
- 8.5 Adult literacy programmes should have a clear political content:
 - 8.5(a) We should draw on the experience of other countries.
 - 8.5(b) The experiences in adult literacy amassed in Mazimbu should be extended to other regions and areas of the Movement.
 - 8.5(c) Special attention should be paid to women who are not only the worst victims of illiteracy but also have to contend with inhibitions inherent in the apartheid system as well as other systems that relegate the woman to the status of a nonentity.

9. The Role of the Media in Political Education

- 9.1 DPE structures must be established within the country as well as in the forward areas. This will ensure efficient mobilisation, agitation and the conduct of political education.
- 9.2 The quality of our propaganda must be high and offensive in nature, whilst making itself accessible to all sectors of the people.
- 9.3 Joint seminars and workshops should be organised among SACTU, DIP and DPE in order to co-ordinate strategy on internal propaganda and political education.
- 9.4 The NCC decisions on the production of a theoretical journal should be re-examined.
- 9.5 Material for seminars and workshops should be used in the political education effort within the country.
- 9.6 DPE and DIP should establish mechanisms of joint liaison on areas of common concern.

10. Political Education and the Trade Union Movement

- 10.1 A specialist cadre should be developed in the Movement, who is equipped in the politics of the Movement as well as in trade unionism.
- 10.2 DPE should look into the feasibility of elaborating joint programmes of political education with SACTU and the SA Communist Party.

11. International Relations and Political Education

- 11.1 DPE should include a course on international relations in its syllabus.
- 11.2 DPE should inculcate a spirit of respect and understanding between our people and structures and the peoples of the countries where we are based, particularly in the countries of Southern Africa. We should encourage our people to learn the local languages and — particularly in the case of official representatives — the official language wherever possible.
- 11.3 DPE should assist the Department of International Affairs in preparing briefings on the situation within the country for the membership and delegations.
- 11.4 DPE and DIP should intensify political work aimed at increasing the knowledge of our cadres about the sensitivity and vulnerability of the countries in the Southern African region.
- 11.5 The security organs of the Movement should be attached to our missions in order to assist in security-related work.

12. The Role of Religion in Political Education

- 12.1 DPE, in conjunction with the Religious Affairs Department (DRA), should study the various religious trends, especially liberation or contextual theology, in order to facilitate an informed intervention by the Movement into the dynamics of this front of struggle.
- 12.2 DPE should assist in the political upgrading of DRA, including making an input in its organ.
- 12.3 Research should be conducted into the activities of reactionary religious groups in Southern Africa, especially those originating in the United States, and expose their nefarious intent.
- 12.4 Our educational efforts on this front should be targeted at both the following and the leadership of the religious communities.
- 12.5 In its work on this front DPE should make effective use of documents emanating from this front, both nationally and internationally, e.g. the Kairos Document, the resolutions of the Lusaka World Council of Churches (WCC) of 1987.
- 12.6 Political education within the religious communities should be tailored in accordance with their social composition.
- 12.7 Our work within the religious communities should seek to unite their efforts in the struggle for liberation. In this way we will greatly be contributing towards the unity of all anti-apartheid forces.

13. Political Education and Women

- 13.1 Political education on the women's question should be conducted among both men and women. Special attention should be focused on cultural practices ingrained over many years.

- 13.2 Women should be educated to engage in all forms of struggle and at all levels. Through political education and the actual struggle we should do away with the multiple oppression of the woman.
- 13.3 Political education should address itself to the family unit as well as to institutions such as SOMAFCO where we are moulding rudiments of a future South Africa.
- 13.4 DPE should evolve courses which will pay special attention to various sectors and groups of women: urban, rural, literate, illiterate, workers, etc. Practical experiences elsewhere in the world coupled with tours to countries abroad could enhance the effectiveness of such courses.
- 13.5 The Women's Section should organise a workshop on the issue of political education among women.
- 13.6 The Women's Section and the Movement as a whole should set this section on a proper footing and ensure that resolutions and decisions taken at previous meetings and conferences are implemented.

14. Political Education and the Youth

- 14.1 DPE should pay the utmost attention to the youth both in the ranks of the Movement and the MDM. It has proved to be a dynamic and resourceful force in the solution of many ideological and political organisational questions within the country.
- 14.2 DPE should address the question of discipline among cadres in this section and infuse into it a correct political and social outlook.
- 14.3 DPE should play an important role in the clarification of positions of the Movement on such issues as negotiations, factionalism, operation within the state of emergency, etc.
- 14.4 DPE should hold consultations with youth structures within the country with a view to systematising political work.
- 14.5 Special attention should be paid to raising the consciousness and affording due recognition to the work of young women in all forms of struggle.
- 14.6 Issues such as the tactics of the united front, the relationship between national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution should be addressed in political programmes directed at the youth.
- 14.7 DPE should tailor its political education programmes in such a manner that the youth as a whole is addressed: workers, the unemployed, students and pupils, etc.

15. Health Workers and Political Education

- 15.1 The educational programmes for health workers should take account of the need of this sector to be made even more to see itself as part and parcel of the forces of liberation. Special political education programmes should be devised for this sector. This will greatly contribute

- towards eliminating elitist inclinations among sections of this group.
- 15.2 Health workers should be encouraged to actively engage themselves in evolving an alternative health service for a democratic South Africa.

16. Reform Strategies of the Pretoria Regime

- 16.1 Research should be constantly undertaken into the intricacies of the regime's National Security Management System and the membership and the MDM be kept abreast about these schemes and their essence. Counters to these schemes should be evolved by the Movement.
- 16.2 The application of the schemes in the regional context should be exposed and fought against. Our struggle will benefit by these exposures being made available to the states in the region.
- 16.3 Special workshops and seminars should be organised to study Pretoria's schemes to counter our revolutionary drive against the apartheid system.

Conclusion

Discussions at the workshop were frank and contributions well thought out, a pointer to the seriousness with which participants had prepared themselves to help set this important department of the Movement on a sound footing.

Implementation of the recommendations from the workshop will go a long way in alleviating and even eliminating some of the subjective shortcomings that had tended to serve as a drag on our pace to our cherished objective — the seizure of power.

A great success that the workshop was, it merely represented, in the words of the Treasurer General of the ANC, Comrade TT Nkobi, who officially closed it, an adjournment for the real work of implementation to begin.

Addendum from the Report of the Commission on Cadre Policy, Political & Ideological Work at the NCC, 1985

On Education and Training

'Education and training can be divided into the following: political and ideological, military, moral, academic and cultural education.

Political and ideological education and training should include patriotism and boundless hatred for the enemy. A good cadre has sterling revolutionary attributes, loyalty, discipline, dedication, devotion and determination. Cadres should be staunch in their belief in our ideological line, namely revolutionary nationalism and committed anti-imperialism. Above all, the main direction should be the training of cadres to exercise political leadership and be organisers. They should be well versed with the political and ideological forces inside the country. They should be able to transmit independently ANC policy to all sections of the people at home and internationally. The Movement should

set up its own political school’.

Ideological and Political Work

‘Politics is the life of any revolutionary movement. There can be no revolutionary party without revolutionary theory, which is the core of the discipline and cohesion of the Movement. Intensified ideological work is necessary to overcome the enemy’s ideological offensive against the national democratic revolution.

In order to achieve the victory of the national democratic revolution, the ANC should conduct systematic and consistent political and ideological work among the masses of the people. The people should have a thorough understanding of the revolutionary perspective of the Movement as well as its programme, the Freedom Charter’.

Enemy’s Ideological Counter-Offensive

‘The main task of our enemy is to annihilate the ANC. The ideology of apartheid is bankrupt and in deep crisis. Even the enemy no longer seeks to publicly defend its own ideology. The advances scored by our Movement in the ideological, political and military fields have compelled the racist regime to modify, adapt and modernise its rhetoric and postures’.

Political Education

‘Political education is the life-blood of any revolutionary movement. We should have a political education programme aimed at constantly improving the political consciousness, knowledge and skills of our cadres. This could be a differentiated programme depending on the political understanding and maturity of the comrades concerned. Every member should undergo a course of basic political training.

A serious deficiency in our educational programme is that there is no authority responsible for political education. We should set up a Department of Political Education whose functions should include;

- a) Appointment and monitoring in every region of a political officer.
- b) The drafting and implementation of a syllabus of political education and ensuring fulfilment.
- c) The preparation of such material as may be found useful for conducting political classes.

The syllabus of political education should include:

- The history of our country, with focus on the struggle of our people against the colonisers. The Wars of Resistance must form the basis for this.
- The history of the liberation struggle and the policy development of our Movement, e.g. how the different constitutions of the ANC have developed, the Freedom Charter, the question of seizure of power, methods of armed struggle, the dismantling of the racist state and the leading role of the work-

ing class.

- The relationship between the ANC, SACP etc.
- The current resistance movement — youth, students, workers, women.
- The history of the trade union movement in South Africa, its importance and role.
- Liberation policies and programmes (Sactu, SACP, etc).
- Theory of revolution. This is to be taught in such a way that comrades do not only regurgitate the theory, but apply it to the concrete South African situation and to the specific tasks assigned to them.
- The South African state and its political economy.
- The ideological and theoretical understanding of the relationship between the concept of national liberation, class struggle and the emancipation of women.
- Experience of other revolutions.

To ensure the successful fulfilment of the programme on political education, the commission recommends that:

- Cadres liable for selection as political instructors should be committed to a minimum of two years.
- Every region must have a circulating library which must contain relevant literature and works that would supplement the political education cadres receive. Steps should be taken to develop the reading of progressive literature. This can only be achieved through the creation of reading groups.
- A comprehensive list of reading material must accompany the political programme. Special attention must be paid to material from inside the country and to the experience of other revolutionary struggles.
- Teaching aids such as films, videos, tape recorders and projectors must be procured for such study groups.
- The use of documentary films, especially from socialist countries, must be encouraged.
- Films produced at home must also be used as part of our education programme, and not only viewed as entertainment films.'

Recommendations for Political and Ideological Work in the Army

'1. Ideological work constitutes an essential factor in creating the nucleus of a people's army which will be ready and prepared at all times and under all circumstances to fight for and defend the gains of our revolution. In the words of our President, OR Tambo:

In building up our political army we aim therefore not only at the overthrow of the fascist regime, we aim at building up a politically conscious and revolutionary army, conscious of its popular origin, unwavering in its democratic functions and guided by our revolutionary organisation.

We recommend that the Movement implement in full the principle of political

guidance and leadership over the army to ensure strict control and accountability through the relevant structures of our army.

2. The Commissariat, in conjunction with the Department of Political Education, must ensure through its organs continuous, uninterrupted political work within the ranks of the army. It must embark on a comprehensive programme of training and education of political activists in our army. *vis.*, commissars, instructors, propagandists, etc. Emphasis in this should be put on producing field workers at grassroot level. In this regard short term political courses should be introduced, based on our own experience as an army and as a Movement. Opportunities offered by the fraternal countries abroad should be fully utilised in this regard.

- Veterans and stalwarts of our Movement should be fully utilised for the purposes of conducting short courses, lectures, seminars, etc for selected groups and the membership of our army in general.
- To ensure that our political programmes meet the demand of producing the required cadre, the problems of political literature and training facilities must be solved decisively. In this regard a proper mechanism should be worked out to supply the army with the required literature, particularly from the home front.
- There is a need to establish an effective and dynamic link between the rear and the front.
- We must pay particular attention to the all-round improvement of the material, cultural and spiritual well-being of the soldiers, especially in the camps. We should solve the problem of how to combine the improvement of the material, cultural and spiritual life of a soldier with the strengthening of his or her political convictions.'

ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

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