

Regional Mini-Conference Report - Lusaka (ROPC)

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1. STRENGTHENING OUR UNDERGROUND MACHINERY.

Discussions under this sub-heading as reflected in the various branch recommendations, centered mainly on the following three categories:

- a) Strengthening Internal Leadership.
- b) Reinforcing Cadre Policy, and Discipline in underground work.
- c) Strengthening the Ideological Outlook of the Movement.

Under these three categories the ff. recommendations were forthcoming.

a) STRENGTHENING INTERNAL (UNDERGROUND) LEADERSHIP

- Establishment of an internal leadership/command structure that will guarantee the creation of a dynamic and coherent contact between the masses of our people and the leadership outside the country.
- Vesting the internal leadership/commanding structures with more power to exercise authority and improve their sense of initiative in decision making. This to help carrying out operations at convenient times and places.
- Maintaining proper coordination and correlation between armed operations of our underground units and the intensity of our people's resistance.
- Our leadership need to take keen interest and involvement in the work of the D.I.P., such as writing for publicity.
- Establishment of the D.I.P. machinery internally, which with the cooperation of the external D.I.P., will guarantee our own independent source of gathering information that could be timely processed and circulated inside, and also made available externally through various media e.g. leaflets, press, newsbriefings etc. Relevant logistics material could be made available in various languages of our people inside the country. Propaganda material be organised and made available inside the country.

b) REINFORCING CADRE POLICY AND DISCIPLINE IN UNDERGROUND WORK.

- Need for regular and consistent political education to enhance the political consciousness of our underground cadres, as well as improve their skills in the creation of political structures among the people.
- Reinforcement of the code of discipline at all levels of our underground units.

- Enforce sense of readiness to take instructions from and be responsible to their immediate superiors or commanders underground.
- Enforce sense of belonging and being part of the people, through daily behaviour and attitudes. Thus need to be conversant in the language and customs commonly used by the people in the locality/region of operation.
- Need for thorough training and briefing in underground work conditions in order to broaden the chances of surviving among the people. Relevant films of underground work in the struggles of other countries recommended in such a training programme.

c) IDEOLOGICAL STRENGTHENING OF OUR MOVEMENT

- Need for a clear definition of the relationships between the national and class components of our struggle for all our people to understand. This to help fight anti-communism, tribalism, extreme nationalism, ultra-leftism and racism.
- Need to review the nature and role of the congress alliance in the perspective of the current level of our struggle.
- Need for education on nature and politics of a progressive united front.
- Need for a comprehensive document outlining the political and ideological outlook of the movement.
- Need to fight the imperialist manoeuvres promoting the PAC, ultra-left and the so-called "Third Force" elements like the BMC and Inkatha.
- Need for the movement to establish its own political school, along the lines of the Party School in the Socialist Countries. Use can be made of those who qualified in Party School education abroad, to serve as instructors in ANC Political School.

2. ARMED STRUGGLE AND PEOPLE'S WAR

- Need to elevate our armed struggle into the level of a people's war.
- Need to clearly define the role of MK in the people's war.
- Recommend military training for all ANC membership including leadership, and national service kind of preparation for students. (Where and how this should be done conference to decide.) This is to help create consciousness

- among all members including students, to be ready to fight in an eventful call-up.
- Need for the development of a more effective and sophisticated intelligence net-work.
 - Need for military science education for our people inside the country, including ordinary practical ways of armed resistance, e.g. assassinations, petrol bombs, etc.
 - Need to expand armed struggle into the enemy settlements.
 - Need for planning and proper organisation of armed operations to minimise casualties on our part.
 - Need for increasing and expanding military operations.
 - Need to intensify political work amongst the whites.
 - Need to constantly assess the current level of our armed struggle and how it can be improved.
 - Need for organising MK units into young and old cadres, for purposes of sharing combat experience and other warfare skills.
 - Need for our armed struggle to be more geared to the urgent need of liberating our people and not to be determined and finally dictated upon by events in the frontline states.
 - Need for a clear understanding of the concept of a people's war. Are we engaged in a people's war or fighting on behalf of the people?

3. RECRUITMENT

- Observing that the current membership of MK was composed of young people from townships and, recently left school, recommend need to step up recruitment of workers, both urban and rural into MK.
- Need for special efforts to be made to penetrate the Bantustans and the white farms.
- Need to solicit the assistance of the Party and Sactu in recruiting from politically advanced sectors of the working class, trade unionists and the w/c activists.
- Need to step up recruitment drive from among the Coloured, Indian and White sections of our population.
- Workers recruited into our ranks, especially MK, to be given access to education/literacy upgrading whenever need arises. This to also include a literacy development programme for the membership in general, where such need is evident.

- Priority for recruitment to be made for MK and be done from all sections of our population, including workers urban and rural.

4. OPEN MEMBERSHIP

Reservations expressed over the confusion brought by the use of such terminology as "Open Membership" instead of intergration. Here, recommendations varied to reflect arguments - a) Against b) For with reservations c) For without any reservations.

a) Argument Against (Minority View)

- Related the solution of the question to that of the national question, and that for the time being, the issue was too sensitive and prolonged discussions over it, at this stage of our struggle, may cause divisions among our people.
- Whites were still observed as part of the oppressive racist state machinery.
- Whites in ANC do not represent any constituency.
- The turn out of other groups in MK seem to be insignificant.
- Other organisations inside the country have not accepted other racial groups into their NEC's.
- Expressed the validity of the national content of our revolution as reflected in our Strategy and Tactics document of 1969.
- Masses in bantustans not politically mobilised to comprehend the need for integration.

b) Argument for with Reservations (Minority View)

- Whilst in principle supporting the intergration of all national groups within the ANC at grass root level, the following qualifications were expressed.
- That the three top positions be reserved for Africans.
- That rural people were not yet politically conscicus to accept other groups into the ANC leadership.
- That not all blacks by virtue of nationality grouping and colour, automatically support our struggle for liberation.

c) Arguments for without Reservations (Majority View)

- Supports the participation of all the citizens of our country in the work of the ANC at all levels, as individual members on the basis of merit.
- Need for consciously cultivating the concept of intergration of all racial groups into the ANC and this to be carried out from grass-root level.

- Acknowledges the fact that all groups have participated in our common struggle and still continue to do so, as evidenced in the treason and Rivonia trials.
- Reactionaries and traitors exist in all groups.
- Recognition of all our leaders by the people at home.
- ANC is committed to building a non-racial democratic South Africa.
- Narrow nationalism of PAC and BCM type remains invalid to this day, and cannot be used to justify exclusion of other racial groups from participating as equals with their compatriots at all levels of the ANC.

5. CONSTITUTION

- Need to reconsider constitutional guidelines to reflect the present reality and state of our organisation. The last adopted constitution of 1958 cannot be applied to the special conditions of underground work and illegality under which our struggle is being waged. The ff. recommendations were made.
- Need for reviewal of age limit of membership application to be in keeping with the tender age at which the youth today inside the country get exposed to and involved in political struggle.
- Need to reconsider the uniqueness of the conditions of illegality and exile which differ drastically from conditions of legality under which the 1958 constitution was adopted.
- Need for clarification on the status of the 1958 constitution, especially the suspended provisions of the constitution.
- Need for an interim-document that will lay down guidelines on structure of the movement in conditions of illegality and underground. Such a document should be drawn up taking as much from the 1958 constitution as possible, for example, the duties and rights of members, the need for regional and internal leadership, the need for procedures which any structure or constitutional guideline could be changed. Such guidelines should make any structural change be subject to the fullest consultation with all members.
- Need for constitutional guidelines to outline the process of leadership accountability as well as the leadership code of conduct.
- Need for constitutional guidelines to stipulate concretely the procedures under which the movement is to function.
- Need for such guidelines to be subjected to the main content of our revolution.

- Democratic centralism should become the standing principle of any constitutional guideline.

6. STRATEGY AND TACTICS

- Need for a serious programme of action as well as up-dating of our strategy and tactics document to be compatible with the current situation inside the country and the sub-region, as well as with the related international situation.
- Need for a consistent programme of political theory.
- Need to ease heavy reliance on outside trained MK cadres, but to try and train people inside the country.
- Need to establish contact with the organisations inside, with the objective of giving them direction and strengthening them.
- Need to address ourselves to the question of how to exploit the crisis and contradictions within the enemy ranks.

a) What tactics is the enemy using and how far has it succeeded?

- Constitutional Reforms, Community Councils.
- Militarisation and increased oppression and violence.
- Consolidation of the bantustan policy and the new dispensation for urban Africans.
- Creation of a black middle class.

b) What effects have these and many other enemy tactics on the development of our struggle.

c) How Far Have we succeeded in Making the Enemy Created Institutions and Bodies unworkable and ungovernable and How do we Intend to Destroy Them?

So far:-

- UDF and Anti-Election Campaigns
- School, Rent and Bus Boycotts
- Stay-aways and massive general and workers strikes
- Infiltration of enemy Institutions

d) What Tactics is the Enemy Using to Destroy the ANC (Nkomati)

- Infiltration and Ideological Onslaught
- International Isolation of the ANC from the rest of the democratic movement at home and abroad

- Attempts to antagonise us with the Frontline States, the World Democratic Movement and in particular, seeking to draw us away from our allies in the Socialist Community.

e) Urgent need for Strengthening unity of all patriotic forces

- Unity between the oppressed themselves and the democratic sectors of the white population.
- Unity between all revolutionary social classes and groups.
- Unity between our movement and all democratic forces in the world, including the Socialist countries.

OBSERVATION

Our Strategy and Tactics falls short of giving a clear definition of the question of 'Who constitute the ruling class in apartheid S.A.'. It only deals with it on the basis of the all embracing title 'The White Group'.

- Suggests that conference takes note of this definition.

7. BANTUSTANS

In view of the apparent low intensity of our activities in the bantustans and among the farm workers, inspite of the fact that these institutions constitutes the cornerstone of the apartheid policy, recommend that special attention be given to the mass mobilisation of our people in these areas which could be done, inter-alia, in the ff ways:

- Reviewal of our policy on bantustans
- Creation of a special machinery within the PMC or PHQ to deal with the bantustans specifically. Such a machinery could draw from the individual and collective experience of members and chiefs when discussing particular areas in which they are knowledgeable.
- Creation of a revolutionary strategy and tactics as well as a programme of action which could include removal of bantustan puppets and creation of people's management in their place.
- Creation of community projects in these areas through which mobilisation can be conducted.
- Propaganda material in rural areas should be simple and in the language of the people in the areas.
- Need to exploit the existence of opposition parties in the structures.

8. CONTRADICTIONS IN THE LIBERATION CAMP.

- Need to deepen these contradictions by intensifying our political and

military offensive against the regime.

- The ruling class is united against the oppressed but, does not operate as a homogenous body.
- There is competition among the big monopolies, between local and foreign capital.
- Identifiable differences in the nationality, religion and the methods and policies of maintaining the ruling class in power.
- Need to study areas of conflict in order to aggravate them.
- These contradictions still remain secondary to the irreconcilable contradiction between the oppressor and the oppressed.
- Need for proper understanding of who really constitutes the ruling class. Only 18% of the whites own means of production.
- Need for liberation movement to strengthen existing organisations like NUSA, ECC, DPSC, etc. with the aim of establishing popularity within some sections of white community, and work out correct strategies of influencing more of those who can be won over to the side of the oppressed and democratic forces.
- Democratic forces among the whites should be encouraged, even assisted to form an anti-apartheid organisation inside the country.

9. YOUTH SECTION

- Recommend that our underground units help to further the aims of the youth section, instead of extending this section into the country, in view of exposure possibilities and other security risks this would entail.
- Need for improvement in the input of the youth section in the mobilisation of youth internally.

10. WOMEN SECTION

- Recommend that our underground units help to further the aims of the Women's Section, rather than extending this section into the country.
- Strengthen women's participation inside the country with particular attention to domestic workers.
- Develop a policy for the full intergration of women on the basis of merit and revolutionary commitment into all structures of the movement and all activities of the struggle.
- Need to abolish male chauvinism and other backward traditional attitudes towards women.
- Fight against sexual exploitation and abuse of female comrades by male comrades as well as elimination of the practice of polygamy.

- Need for a clear ideological and theoretical understanding of the relationship between the concept of national liberation, class struggle and the liberation of women.
- Conference to pay attention to the question of the liberation of women in the context of the struggle for national and social emancipation.

11. EXTERNAL MISSION OF THE MOVEMENT

- Need for the establishment of adequate coordination with the internal leadership.
- Need to acquaint our people inside the country with our external work.
- Need for regular consultation between leadership and membership in exile by way of constant briefings on current developments in organised regional members meetings, including briefings to our students abroad.
- Comment our movement for successes scored in the international mobilisation with particular reference to popularising of our struggle, soliciting aid to further the aims of our struggle and campaigning for international isolation of the Pretoria racist regime.

12. CONFERENCE

MK representation at the forthcoming N. Consultative Conference emphasised.

- Need to shorten period between conferences.
- Express hope that elections will be held at forthcoming NCC.
- Security risks involved in organising delegates from home for the conference.
- Provincialism as criterion of representation of home delegates not welcome.

13. INFILTRATION

- Need to infiltrate the SADF, Bantustan armies and SAP as well as exploiting the forced military conscriptions.
- It would be difficult to defeat the enemy without destabilising his ranks, and without access to his plans and actions.
- Enemy infiltration of our ranks could be countered by encouraging self-criticism of ourselves, organs and the functioning of our organisation.
- As a policy, infiltrate all enemy-created institutions.
- Need for the organisation to exploit every live issue arising inside, e.g. mass removals into bantustans could be used to cover infiltration into these areas by our cadres.

14. NEGOTIATIONS/DIALOGUE

- On speculation about the intended talks by the Pretoria regime with ANC, conference needs to clarify the policy of the ANC vis-a-vis negotiations/dialogue with the enemy.
- No meaningful dialogue/negotiations could be achieved under the present circumstances.
- Only unbearable political and military pressure on the enemy through heightened struggle can enable the ANC to negotiate from a position of strength.
- Possibilities of external pressure on the ANC to negotiate from a position of weakness cannot be ruled out.
- Conditions recently put forward by the enemy to negotiate with movement are unacceptable.

15. THE MOVEMENT STRUCTURES

- The new structures have not overcome the problems faced by the movement. The structures are too cumbersome. None participation of the membership and lack of consultation with the membership is undemocratic and, thus does not oblige membership to ensure that these structures work effectively.
- The aim of any structure in our movement should be the formation of a "Cabinet" in a future SA.
- Need for more rationalisation and decentralisation. For example:
 - a) The Treasury should be a department concerned with finance and budgetting as well as allocation of resources.
 - b) Projects for fund-raising should come under a department of economics and planning.
 - c) Transport and logistics should be a separate department.
 - d) Fund-raising internationally should be the task of the international affairs, working in close collaboration with the treasury.
 - e) Departments with similar functions should be merged into one, for example, Dept. of Manpower and Development, Education and Culture should be merged.
 - f) A document of structures should be made available for acquaintance of membership.
 - g) Each department should be headed by an NEC member.
 - h) An organising secretary who is a member of the NEC should be in charge of the RPC in our region.
 - i) The Working Committee should not be more than 9 and not less than 7.

- j) All depts. should be based at HQ and each dept. should have a deputy.
- k) Forward areas should have a control committee/commission.
- l) Every organ should be connected to the NEC.

Lack of coordination and clear definition of structures make proper functioning of some bodies difficult and almost impossible, e.g. the RPC in our region.

Criterion for appointments of persons to responsibilities in the movement needs to be reviewed in order to take into account the training and suitability of the individual to avoid misallocation.

- The size of the NEC should be established by the conference and any subsequent changes in the size should have the mandate of a conference.
- Need for proper diagnosing of problems before resorting to changing of structures in the ultimate.
- In the military camps, recommend the establishment of adequate structures of communication between the rank and file and the leadership.

Thus recruitment from camps for underground work inside the country should have authorisation of the commanding structures from - the section commander, commissar to the camp commander/commissar. This to assist screening of cadres before recruitment for underground work at home.

16. ACCOUNTABILITY : Control of Resources and Discipline

- Need for effective structures and mechanisms of accountability, control and discipline, for the ff. reasons:-
 - a) To evaluate and review structures.
 - b) For discipline, and control of structures and membership.
 - c) To look into financial resources, movement's property, projects and their uses.

All people holding responsibilities in the organisation must in the ultimate be accountable to the general membership. Accountability should be the cornerstone of our administration and political structures.

- Need for constitutional guidelines to outline the process of leadership accountability as well as the code of conduct.

17. PROJECTS.

- Focus on projects should not take priority or overshadow the prosecution of the struggle at home.
- Building of serious projects in exile to be reconsidered so as to avoid the attitude of permanent settlement in exile, as well as complacency. The situation inside the country continues to demand our presence.