

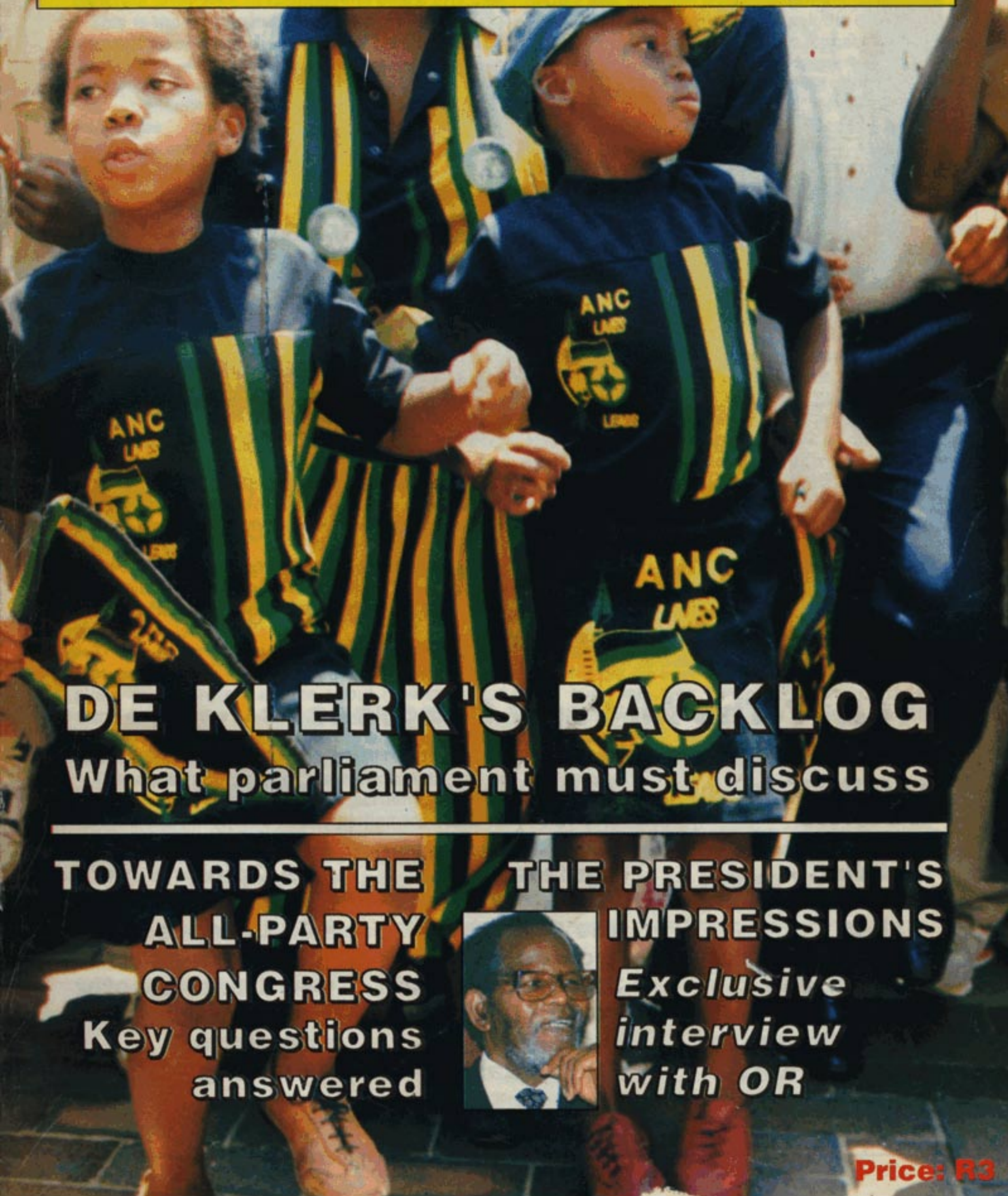


Mayibuyeye

February 1991

0 5 -07- 1991

Journal of the African National Congress



DE KLERK'S BACKLOG

What parliament must discuss

**TOWARDS THE
ALL-PARTY
CONGRESS**

Key questions
answered



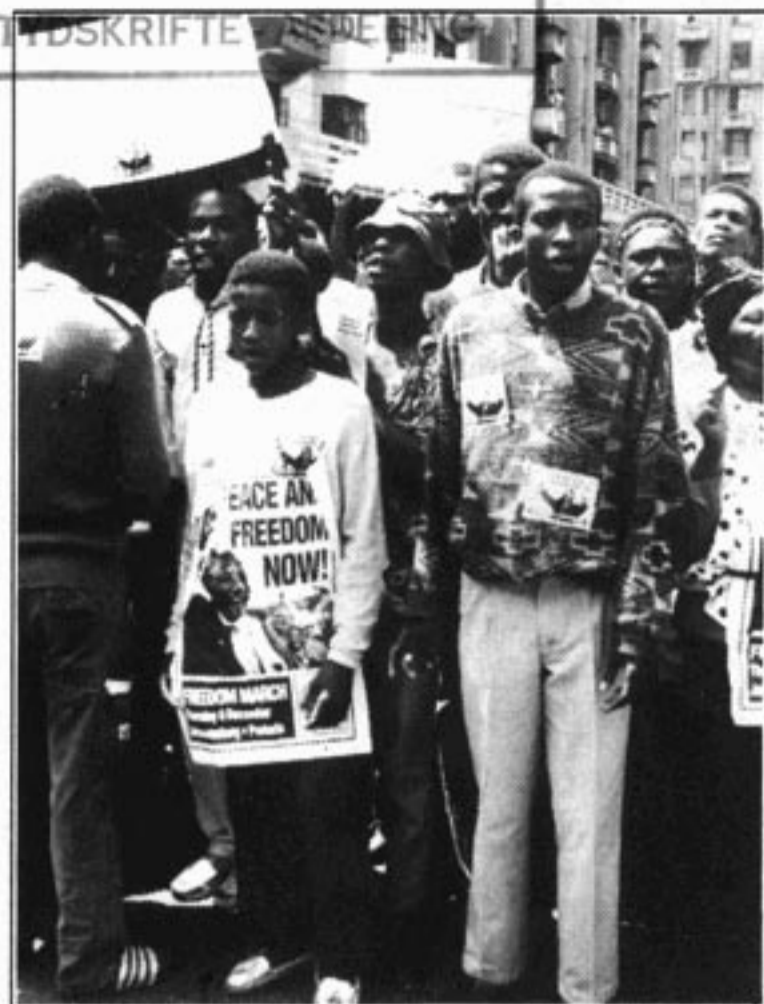
**THE PRESIDENT'S
IMPRESSIONS**

*Exclusive
interview
with OR*

Price: R3

Contents

3 FEB 1992



• **4-6**
Options facing the apartheid parliament
What the people's parliament demands

• **10&11**
The president's impressions
Exclusive interview with Tambo



National Conference

• **7-9**
Action for power
• **22-26**
Decisions documented

• 16&17 The All-Party Congress

ALSO INSIDE:

- 2 Letters
- 12 Branch building
- 18 Prisoners and exiles
- 19 Wearing many caps in the alliance
- 20 Challenge for farm workers

- 26 Delegates' views on the national conference
- 30 Autonomy for the youth and women
- 32 Students and teachers plan for learning
- 36 The sanctions

- strategy
- 37 Nationalisation under scrutiny
- 39 Opinions on the Broad Front
- 42 Lessons from Grenada
- 43 The character of our struggle
- 44 Jazzart dancing

The NEC January 8 Statement has set the agenda for 1991. It puts forward a Programme of Action for the whole nation, irrespective of the particular station occupied by individuals, parties and movements. The gist of the statement is about mass action and concrete proposals to facilitate the peace process.

This is the basic challenge which faces the government as well as the tri-cameral parliament as it goes into session this month.

If parliament addresses the basic demands of the people, there will definitely be progress in the process of peaceful transition. However, if it chooses to bury its head in the sand, then the process will be further complicated. It could

even abort. There are not many choices. The decisions cannot be postponed.

Does this therefore place the main focus of South African politics on the tri-cameral parliament? Definitely not. But as the saying goes, it takes two to tango.

Parliament must take heed of debates and resolutions in the streets, townships and villages. For this is where the real South African, the people's parliament, is based.

There is a backlog of unfulfilled promises that parliament must discuss and take definite decisions on. There are issues about movement forward, such as the All-Party Congress, Interim Government and Constituent Assembly, which must be addressed.

The whole approach of the Nationalist Party to negotiations must come under scrutiny. When all is said and done, the racist parliament must re-

solve to close an infamous chapter in the history of South Africa. It must dissolve.

In the final analysis, this is a challenge to the ANC and the mass of our people. For, it is only when the apartheid administrators and the tri-cameral parliamentarians feel the power of the people that they will take the right decisions.

It is appropriate therefore to ask the question, after the 'good' resolutions at the Consultative Conference and the proposals contained in the January 8 Statement, how far has the movement gone in the process of implementation?

The formation of a National Campaigns Committee, the marches on February 1 and other actions form part of this process. So do the decisions to convene

Headquarters meetings to review our own approach to negotiations and implement relevant resolutions of the National Consultative Conference.

But forming structures and undertaking a few actions is not enough. The strategic question is how does the ANC ensure that its presence is felt everywhere! This requires, in addition to mass action, an ANC that is bold and initiating at all levels. This is crucial in ensuring that the movement determines both the strategic and tactical agenda.

The idea of an All-Party Congress constitutes one such initiative, in line with the OAU Harare Declaration. But, like all new ideas, it can illuminate as well as confuse. Clear formulations and proper explanations are as important as they are obligatory.

In this issue of MAYIBUYE, we address some of these questions. ♦

**Need
for bold
initiative
all round**

SUBSCRIBE TO MAYIBUYE

To subscribe to Mayibuye for 11 editions, copy this subscription form, fill it in and send it, along with R33, to:

Mayibuye
PO Box 61884
Marshalltown
2307

Name.....
Address.....
.....
.....
.....
Postal code.....

Discipline and militancy

Dear Comrades

As a member of the ANC, it is a privilege for me to contribute to building the people's organisation.

However, I'm deeply worried about the rank and file, especially the young lions. Some of them are giving us a bad name. To them the struggle is just toyi-toying and chanting. When serious issues are discussed, they cause disorder. All our leaders, from Cde OR Tambo to Cde Peter Mokaba have called for discipline and restraint, but to some it's all falling on deaf ears.

Now they are giving the PNYC (Provisional National Youth Committee) a mammoth task, that of concentrating on discipline instead of addressing serious issues.

I appeal to all the members of the ANC to be disciplined and lift the spear!

Long live the people's alliance!

M.M., Soweto

Ed: We agree that we can only achieve victory through disciplined action. At the same time, discipline must not mean the stifling of people's militancy and creativity. We must constantly strive to find the right balance. It is only through organisation that we can achieve this balance.

Stop the violence

Dear Comrades

I am a young comrade for Umkhonto we Sizwe but I am living in a place where Inkatha has dominated the youth.

What I want to know is how long we must wait before our leaders come and collect us, especially at Kwasokhulu. Many comrades were killed during the March 21 Sharpsville Memorial march. We are suffering comrades, and we are still going to suffer if our leaders delay to open a branch at Empangeni.

The Inkatha youth are fully armed and we have got no means of defending ourselves. We do not want revenge but a peaceful solution to this problem. We want to know the date when you can come or what we must do.

A luta Continua! Viva Non Racial South Africa!

V.M., Richard's Bay

Ed: Your letter has been referred to the Northern Natal Region of the ANC; for them to



Write to:
MAYIBUYE
Box 61884
MARSHALLTOWN 2107

make contact with you and attend to the problems raised.

Homeland leaders

Dear comrades

There are known foundations of apartheid and the homeland system is one of the apartheid pillars. It is thus confusing when one hears ANC leaders asking their supporters to support the Gqozos and Ramushwanas of the bantustans.

These individuals are still applying draconian Pretoria laws such as the notorious Internal Security Act, using force and threats against defenceless citizens and co-operating with the enemy defence force and intelligence organisations.

In Ciskei, for instance, Gqozo has recently threatened Contralesa with a banning order for criticising his so-called 'democratic' local authority. The chiefs were born before apartheid; they are part of this country and cannot be undermined by Gqozo who is guided by Rhodesian racists.

To accompany Mr and Mrs Mandela to Mdantsane rallies is a mere public relations exercise which is in fact unfair to the personalities involved and the organisation they represent.

ANC leaders must observe our situation in Ciskei and carefully reassess their strategies and tactics in the region. Gqozo has no democratic tradition as he is a product of the SADF and until the day of the coup (which he calls Liberation Day) was head of Military Intelligence in the Ciskeian Defence Force.

Yours in the struggle

A.N., Zwelitsha

Ed: The ANC's approach is to try and win over forces from every sector of our society. But as our Deputy-President warned in his speech to the National Consultative Conference: "We have at the same time made it clear that the ANC will not

serve as the umbrella to shelter discredited homeland administrations from the wrath of the people."

Also, in the January 8 Statement, the NEC called upon all homeland authorities "to desist from all hostile actions directed against the ANC and other democratic structures, as well as the people within the homelands."

"Rather, they should themselves normalise their relations with people within their areas, help create the situation where there is free and peaceful expression of political views and co-operate with the democratic movement as a whole in the effort to shape the future of our country."

"None of these homelands, and specifically those described as independent, should be holding political prisoners and detainees, banning meetings and governing by imposing states of emergency and in the context of anti-democratic security legislation."

About criticism

Dear comrades

I write this letter to make it clear that Dr Pallo Jordan's criticism of the SACP and Joe Slovo's paper is unfair. I'm not saying Dr Pallo Jordan is wrong, but it is wrong for him to be against communism and communists while this apartheid system exists.

By doing so, you are allowing apartheid forces like AWB etc to hate some of your colleagues like Joe Slovo and Chris Hani. The undisputed fact is that Dr Pallo Jordan is hated by these forces too.

Viva SACP-ANC Alliance! Viva Pallo Jordan's Criticism!

Yours in struggle

L.P.

Ed: You are raising an interesting issue and we would welcome more comments on this. However, you must remember what one member of the leadership of the SACP said in a contribution to the latest issue of Umsebenzi, an organ of the SACP: "It is refreshing to have intelligent, robust debate within the ranks of our national liberation movement."

It is our belief that the movement for liberation can best be served by such open debate. Our strength depends on honest criticism and self-criticism. ♦

No end yet to Gulf war

ACCORDING to the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO), Iraqi president Saddam Hussein is prepared to withdraw from Kuwait if Israel honours the United Nations resolution 191 of 1947, which calls for Palestinians to be given their own territory.

However the USA, which ANC leader Ahmed Kathrada says is motivated solely by "economic imperialism", shows no sign of trying to find a solution to the Gulf crisis other than by war.

This is despite the fact that the war is not going as well for the Allied forces as they had expected.

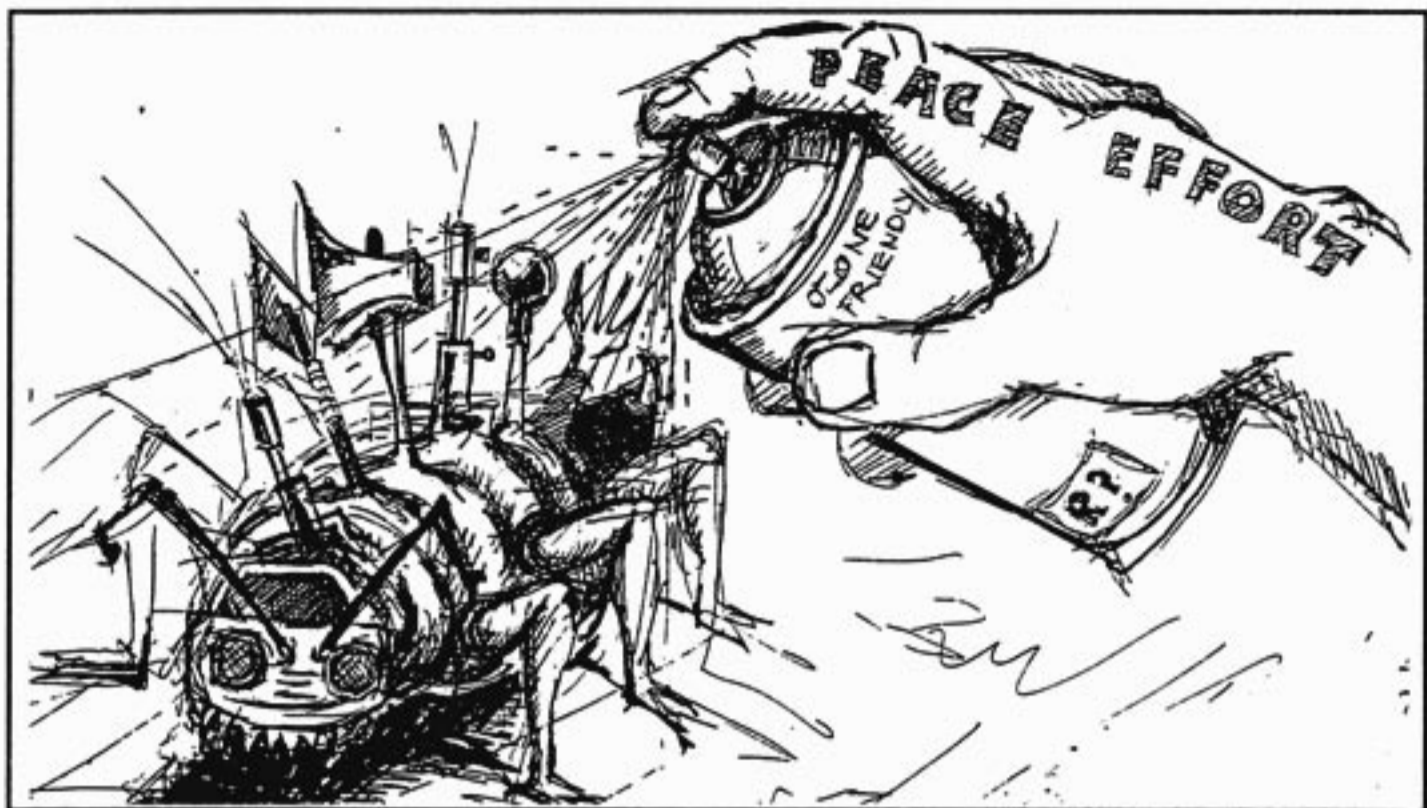
Initially the Allied forces claimed that they would defeat Iraq in 10 days to two weeks. However they are now warning that the war could take months before it ends.

After the first US strike into Iraq on January 17, the Allied forces claimed to have destroyed over 100 Iraqi bases. But following Iraq's counter attacks on Saudi Arabia and Israel, Britain admitted that Allied forces may have been firing at decoy bases.

The ANC has strongly criticised the US intervention in the Gulf and called for the resolution of the conflict by peaceful means, under the auspices of the United Nations.

Sebokeng massacre

MYSTERY still surrounds the cold-blooded massacre of 39 people at a Sebo-



END THE VIOLENCE: Ending the violence that has plagued the country is a burning issue on the agenda of the ANC and all peace-loving South Africans. High-powered delegations of the ANC and Inkatha are due to meet on January 29 in an attempt to put a speedy end to the carnage.

keng vigil for ANC activist Chris Nangalembe. Although the SAP claims to have arrested 12 people connected to the attack and recovered two of the AK-47s used to shoot the mourners, residents claim that some of those involved in the attack are still roaming freely in the township.

Meanwhile an ANC Youth League delegation which visited the scene of the mass murders dispelled SAP claims that gangsters had been responsible for the attack.

A two-hour power cut until 15 minutes before the attack allowed the attackers to get into position.

Neethling

THE government has failed to take any action against SAP forensic division head, Lieutenant General Lothar Neethling after a Rand Supreme court judge, Johan Kriegler, found that he had supplied police death squads with poison to

be used against anti-apartheid activists.

Ironically Neethling restarted the probe into death squads by claiming R1,5-million from "Vrye Weekblad" and "The Weekly Mail" for allegedly defaming him.

The ANC has expressed disquiet that Neethling and other members of the security forces implicated in the death squads are still in office.

ANC Youth League puts down roots

THE ANCYL is gathering strength in the Transvaal.

Branches have already been launched in the Northern, Eastern and Western Transvaal.

These include Seshego, Maja, Soetvelden, Sibasa and Tshidimbini in the Northern Transvaal; Matlapogale, Lekazi and Driefontein in the Eastern Transvaal and Ika-geng in the Western Transvaal.

Although the PWV region was set back by the recent violence, ANCYL officials report that interim structures have been set up in most areas previously organised by the SA Youth Congress.

All PWV branches are expected to have launched by the end of February.

New bail for Vula eight

The eight ANC cadres charged for their part in Operation Vula can report to police three times a week rather than every day. However, their application to change their addresses without official permission was denied.

The eight wanted to be able to move to different places as their addresses are well known and they fear assassination.

Their case was remanded to March 21 as the court is waiting to see whether FW de Klerk will indemnify the accused. ♦

The people's parliament of the streets has

Welcoming the people's president, Oliver Tambo, as he set foot in South Africa after 30 years in exile



Options for De Klerk's parliament

The festive season is over. The sweet and consoling messages that went with it - important as they were - have also come to pass. The year is moving on, and certain basic issues should be addressed if there has to be any movement forward in negotiations. **MAYIBUYE** looks at the options facing De Klerk and his parliament.

Virtually all South Africans are at one, at least in word, that 1991 should see speedy movement towards a democratic society. This depends on the implementation of agreements already reached, and movement

Meet people's demands or face forceful eviction

forward in real negotiations.

On February 1, two parliaments go into session. In the streets of major cities, the ANC is leading the people in marches to demand the implementation of measures that will bring about genuine negotiations. Behind the sombre concrete walls in Cape Town, the formal, unrepresentative tricameral parliament starts its business.

TWO OPTIONS

The tricameral parliament faces two alternatives.

It could prepare the ground for peaceful transition by sincerely addressing the demands of the people. This would make this its last sitting, and ensure that the government and the parliament bow out with a minimum of conflict.

On the other hand, it could dilly-dally and shilly-shally, trying to prolong its lifespan. This would not resolve the problems facing our country; and would only heighten the prospect of both government and parliament being forcefully evicted in the long run.

already convened...



These are the real options facing De Klerk as he opens his parliament.

Sweet words and games of upmanship will win him the accolade of those who are wilfully or otherwise easily impressed. It will also earn him the scathing criticism of the mass of the people, as well as those so insanely right that they believe he is left. This would certainly make him feel good: being at an imagined centre of the political spectrum. But it will only complicate South Africa's problems, especially his own — precisely because social conflict will continue and intensify.

On the other hand, he could set the tone for the tricameral parliament by addressing the

real issues. This will entail proposing legislation and practical measures aimed at facilitating the process of peaceful transition.

What is the regime's backlog?

FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The two Minutes of 1990 were about free political activity, without which negotiations can only be a swan-song. The need to allow detainees, prisoners and exiles to return unconditionally; remove security legislation; withdraw soldiers from the townships and villages and other demands, is not some theoretical, rigid condition of the ANC. It is a practical consideration for

genuine negotiations to take place.

Without free political activity at any level, the relation between people's organisations and the government can only remain one between a horse and a rider: with the horse having greater space within which to move, but still tethered.

The first challenge that the regime faces is to codify all, and not part, of the agreements reached with the ANC. The distortions that the regime has unilaterally introduced must be removed.

In gazettes released after the Pretoria meeting, the regime has omitted some of the agreements from the Groote Schuur encounter. It has built the infamous Internal Security Act into the Working Group's Report adopted by both parties. Detainees are not being released and indemnity to exiles is being made conditional on new external factors. (See Page 18).

REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

Secondly, De Klerk and his parliament must codify the agreement about repressive legislation. The Internal Security Act, Gathering and Demonstrations Act, Demonstrations in or near Court Buildings: Prohibitions Act and many more laws need to be got rid of.

But the formal repeal of these laws will not on its own bring about free political activity. Like with the removal of the State of Emergency, it is quite clear that repeal has to be backed by concrete measures and rules that allow freedom of assembly and association. In fact, all the people must be protected by a Bill of Rights which guarantees free political activity. (See box on Page 6)

In the third instance, De Klerk and his parliament should address in a sincere and constructive manner the problematic areas that have arisen.

VIOLENCE

Primary among these is the issue of violence wreaking havoc

within African communities. De Klerk knows too well who is responsible for this violence. He knows where the armaments being used come from. Instead of introducing measures aimed at weakening the ANC and its allies, parliament must get to the root of the problem.

The democratic movement has made concrete proposals on how this problem can partly be addressed. The CCB, Askaris and other death squads must be disbanded and their assets must be publicly disposed of. A code of conduct for the police should be drawn up with the participation of the people. Those who violate it must be dealt with.

An independent commission of inquiry should be set up to investigate and recommend appropriate measures against those responsible for the violence. These are some of the measures that parliament has to introduce.

Instead of trying to criminalise Umkhonto we Sizwe, a force which has committed itself to the peace process, parliament must help speed up agreement in the Working Group on armed struggle. To hope that the regime can elicit surrender on the part of the ANC is to bury one's head in the sand.

The reality is that, if these issues are not addressed, De Klerk and his parliament will be fooling themselves to talk about change. Commitment to a "new South Africa" – a phrase used and abused in large doses – must be measured by what is done today to bring it about.

FORWARD MOVEMENT

But parliament has more than just a backlog to deal with. For actual movement forward, it is necessary that issues related to the transformation of our society and mechanisms to achieve it must be put on the agenda.

It could well be that De Klerk will seek to hide behind the intended formal repeal of Group Areas, Separate Amenities and Land Acts as the major initiative of his government. But to do so, without addressing the ques-

What bill of rights in the transition?

To create the necessary conditions for peaceful political activity, it is necessary to guarantee all persons the following rights:

- Freedom of speech and expression including freedom of the press and other media
- Freedom of thought, conscience and belief
- The right to assemble peaceably and without arms
- The right to form and join associations or unions including political parties
- The right to move freely throughout South Africa, including the so-called homelands
- The right to leave and return to South Africa
- The right to participate in peaceful political activity.

It would also be necessary to repeal, in their entirety, the following laws:

- Internal Security Act No. 74 of 1982
- Intimidation Act No. 72 of 1982

- Gathering and Demonstrations Act No. 52 of 1982
- Demonstrations in or near Court Buildings: Prohibitions Act No. 71 of 1982
- Terrorism Act No. 83 of 1967
- Riotous Assemblies Act No. 17 of 1956
- Public Safety Act No. 3 of 1953 as amended
- Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act No. 26 of 1989
- Affected Organisations Act No. 31 of 1974
- Fundraising Act No. 107 of 1978.

This should also be accompanied by the repeal of all other laws, ordinances, by-laws and regulations to the extent to which they inhibit the free exercise of the rights outlined above.

Discriminatory laws such as Group Areas, Population Registration, Local Government and others do affect the exercise of rights to free political activity.

tions of unequal distribution of the land and its wealth, and the housing, education and health crises – to mention but a few – would be to scratch at the surface of the basic problem. Besides, what is needed, in the final analysis, is the complete overhaul of the apartheid status quo.

The basic principle that the regime claims allegiance to is that the future should be decided – as a right and not a privilege – by all the people of our country. Structures necessary for this need to be set up as soon as possible.

It is necessary to convene an All-Party Congress to negotiate the question of principles which will underpin the new constitution; and to agree on mechanisms to reach the final product.

The government and parliament have to accept the logical fact that, as apartheid institutions, they cannot supervise the transition to rid South Africa of apartheid. Neither can they ex-

pect that the people will accept a situation in which a constitution about their future is drawn up by a body that does not have the people's mandate. The demands for an Interim Government and a Constituent Assembly must feature prominently on the parliament's agenda.

CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH

It is only if and when De Klerk and his parliament address these issues constructively that we can say they are committed to genuine movement forward. Make-believe or reality is the stark choice that they have to make.

On the part of the oppressed and democratic forces, the people's parliament is continuing with its work. Ultimately, its laws and regulations – contained in the people's demands – will carry the day, whatever form of resolution history places before our people. ♦

Mass action for power

The ANC's National Consultative Conference decided to dedicate 1991 as the 'Year of Mass Action for the Transfer of Power to the People'.

This places greater responsibility on every ANC member and branch. As we gear ourselves for the June Conference we must ensure that the balance of forces has shifted irretrievably to the side of the people.

The Programme of Action which emerged from the conference paid special attention to the question of negotiations, the violence, the crisis in education, social insecurity, the gender question and building organisation. The might of our people must be mobilised to resolve these problems – essential for the advance to national democracy – which is our strategic objective.

NEGOTIATIONS

The programme drawn up around negotiations expresses the seriousness with which the ANC sees this process and its dismay with the government's delays.

The government must meet the following demands:

- the immediate release of political prisoners, including those on death row, and the unconditional return of exiles;
- the dismantling of bantustans;
- an end to violence against the people;
- the immediate repeal of all repressive legislation;
- the establishment of an Interim Government and Constituent Assembly.

The conference has decided to launch a mass campaign around

The ANC has declared 1991 the Year of Mass Action for the Transfer of Power to the People. The Programme of Action adopted at the National Consultative Conference will serve as the basis for campaigns undertaken. De Klerk and his parliament can only ignore the demands of the people at their own peril.

these demands. The campaign will culminate on 6 April, Solomon Mahlangu Day.

By April 30, all obstacles to peaceful negotiations, as identified in the Harare Declaration, must be removed. If the government does not meet this deadline then, it was resolved, "the ANC shall consider the suspension of the whole negotiation process".

The opening of parliament will be marked by marches and demonstrations to highlight our demands for an Interim Government, Constituent Assembly and the abolition of the tricameral and bantustan systems.

SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

This should not be a one-day event. For example, a door-to-door signature campaign on the demand for an Interim Government and Constituent Assembly can be embarked on. This campaign is going to be vital for developing people's understanding of the process of transition as well as ensuring participation in the process.

The discussions on violence centred around working out a strategy to bring about peace in our country. The strategy of the ANC

must combine mass action, defence, negotiations and systematic publicity.

Mass action around the violence is to be seen in the context of the campaign around free political activity and the demand for impartial and effective policing. The conference noted with grave concern the partiality in the administration of justice.

BRINGING PEACE

Parliament can contribute to bringing about peace by meeting these demands:

- independent monitoring of police in terms of acceptable international norms;
- an independent commission of enquiry into the conduct of the security forces;
- the arrest and prosecution of the warlords, community councillors and police and army personnel involved in the violence.

All structures of the ANC and the democratic movement broadly must continue campaigning around these demands.

Defence is to be coordinated at branch, regional and national levels, under the authority of the ANC's political structures. The NEC has been charged with

the task of establishing a National Defence Committee to speedily establish self-defence units.

It was recognised that MK cadres have a crucial role to play in training and leading the people in self-defence. Defence must include systematic information gathering. All ANC branches are charged with the task of winning over police and army personnel into the ranks of the democratic movement by, among other things, strengthening the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru). We must ensure that more and more of them support and actively participate in the process of peaceful transformation.

MAXIMUM UNITY

The conference endorsed the ANC's position of engaging in discussions with all parties involved in the violence, including Inkatha, at all levels. We must narrow the ground from which the enemy recruits vigilantes by ensuring maximum unity of the people.

The search for unity amongst the anti-apartheid forces continues to occupy the collective attention of the ANC. Peace and the transitional mechanisms to national democracy are the concrete planks upon which the widest range of forces can be united. On this basis it was resolved that the ANC shall jointly convene a conference on March 21 with the aim of establishing a Patriotic Front.

The Western Cape Region arrived with clear proposals on the campaign around the education crisis. There should be a focus on the re-orientation of the community and students towards a culture of learning.

A 'Mass education now' campaign was agreed upon. The ANC must address factors militating against effective learning.

The following were some of the suggestions made:

● Prepare for National Democracy – Learn Now: This campaign will emphasise the need for students to return to school. The state must provide the necessary

resources. Branches should set up Education Units to monitor safety at schools, fight against gangsterism, sexual and drug abuse.

● The establishment of adult schools: Task forces set up by branches and regions could identify and negotiate the use of premises – including those of unused white schools. Teachers,

students and professionals will play an important role in this campaign. Provincial authorities must be pressurised to subsidise such schools.

WOMEN'S STRUGGLE

Delegates pointed out that the ANC's policy on affirmative action for women had not been im-



The people's parliament

When the racist parliament opens on February 1, the ANC will be leading the masses in protest actions in all major cities of the country. The basic demands of this campaign are for free political activity, an Interim Government and a Constituent Assembly. This is the beginning of a programme of mass action in all parts of the country.

WESTERN CAPE

For the campaign beginning on February 1, Cape Town, the city where parliament opens and sits, will bear the brunt of the protest marches. Activity will be decentralised though, covering even the rural areas.

Building up to February 1, all 17 zones in the Western Cape region will hold public meetings where the report from the recently held national consultative conference will be heard. These meetings will also be addressed by members of the National Executive Committee of the ANC.

A co-ordinating committee, with four sub-committees has been established to spearhead the campaign. These are: fundraising, media, marshalls and contact.

The campaign is generating lots of interest in the Western Cape public.

In broad terms, the region readily admits its failure to engage the people in mass protest actions in the recent past and the question is being addressed

seriously. Intensive discussions are under way at four levels:

- a) Our formations, i.e. the ANC, the ANC Women's and Youth Leagues.
- b) The tripartite alliance
- c) All MDM formations, those that are and those that are not affiliated to the UDF.
- d) Broad Patriotic Front, i.e. WOSA, Unity Movement, religious groupings with their diverse ideologies.

EASTERN CAPE

Mass marches in Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Uitenhage, Cradock and Graff Reinette.

THE PWV

A mass stay-away is planned for February 1. On this day, branches are expected to conduct door-to-door work, and use every possible means to make the demand for an Interim Government and a Constituent Assembly alive among the people. Marches are also planned in the townships and suburbs.

WESTERN TRANSVAAL

A mass march is planned in Klerksdorp.

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

Marches in Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, Tzaneen, Groblersdal, Louis Trichardt and Phalaborwa. Consultations aimed at coordinating activity with the SACP, Cosatu, Contralesa, Naf-

coc and all anti-apartheid organisations are in full swing. A mass rally will be held on Sunday, February 3, in Thohoyandou.

High on the region's Programme of Action is the issue of harassment by soldiers and police. In co-ordination with NECC structures, the region has taken up the education crisis sparked by the Ntsanwisi administration's closure of students' hostels.

A series of meetings are to be held with bantustan administrations. Depending on the outcome of these meetings, a relevant Programme of Action will emerge.

On the issue of a Broad Patriotic Front, consultations are to be held with Cosatu, the SACP, other mass democratic organisations, Nafcoc, chiefs, and others. The process will be completed before the date set for the national broad patriotic front conference.

SOUTHERN NATAL

Marches are expected to take place in Durban, Pinetown, Port Shepstone, Harding and Stanger.

By the time *MAYIBUYE* went to press, other regions had not finalised their programmes. Broad consultations were still in progress.

However, what is abundantly clear, is that the organisation, countrywide, is gearing itself up for one of the biggest campaigns ever. ♦

plemented. The Women's League was charged with the task of spearheading the implementation of this policy. March 8 is set aside to focus on women's issues nationally. Particular emphasis will be around violence.

The Land Commission of the ANC was given the task of consulting widely on drawing up a Programme of Action to rally our

people for the return of the land to its rightful owners.

It was emphasised that regions must begin implementing the programme with urgency. Regions are setting up structures necessary for implementing the programme.

It has been emphasised by regional organisers that, whilst most of the campaigns have a

national character, regional and local specifics are being taken into account.

When the tri-cameral parliamentarians take their seats on February 1, the might of people's power must be felt everywhere. The people's parliament – mass action – will go into session more seriously and more systematically. ♦

The president's impressions

MAYIBUYE: What are your feelings being in South Africa after so many years?

OR TAMBO: As one would expect, I am very happy to be back in the land of my birth. However, my happiness will never be complete until all our people are free, all exiles have returned home and all political prisoners and detainees have been released.

MAYIBUYE: Would you say that the mission you were sent out by the ANC to fulfil has been accomplished?

OR: Not in the least; if anything, we must redouble our efforts to ensure that the international community supports our struggle until apartheid has been destroyed. This is not to deny the major victories that we have steadily scored over the years. The new challenge confronting us is a product of our own struggle.

Internally, it will be necessary to galvanise all South Africans for the difficult political battles ahead.

MAYIBUYE: How do you assess the current phase of "talks about talks"? Are you optimistic?

OR: The fact that there are talks between the ANC and the National Party, let alone agreements reached on a broad range of issues, is in itself enough reason to be hopeful. Never before in our recent history have people heading warring parties come together to find a common way out. This is happening for the first time in three decades.

Even as we are hopeful, we

ANC president Oliver Tambo left South Africa recently after his first visit to the country in 30 years. Before his departure, MAYIBUYE asked him about his assessment of current developments. In this exclusive interview, he also talks about his personal role in the struggle.

are aware of the many hurdles we still have to cross before apartheid is finally ended. The path ahead is still untrod and we will have to deploy all our strength to successfully traverse it.

MAYIBUYE: If there has to be any progress in negotiations, what are the major issues we expect from FW de Klerk's speech at the opening of the tri-cameral parliament, and from this sitting in general?

OR: We expect the government to remove all obstacles to negotiations now. Our people can no longer wait for freedom. In this regard, parliament is expected to repeal all laws impinging on free political activity, such as the infamous Internal Security Act. Other laws forming the cornerstone of apartheid such as the Land Act, the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act should be repealed. We hope these and other measures aimed at speeding up the process of democratisation of the country will constitute major elements of FW de Klerk's opening speech to

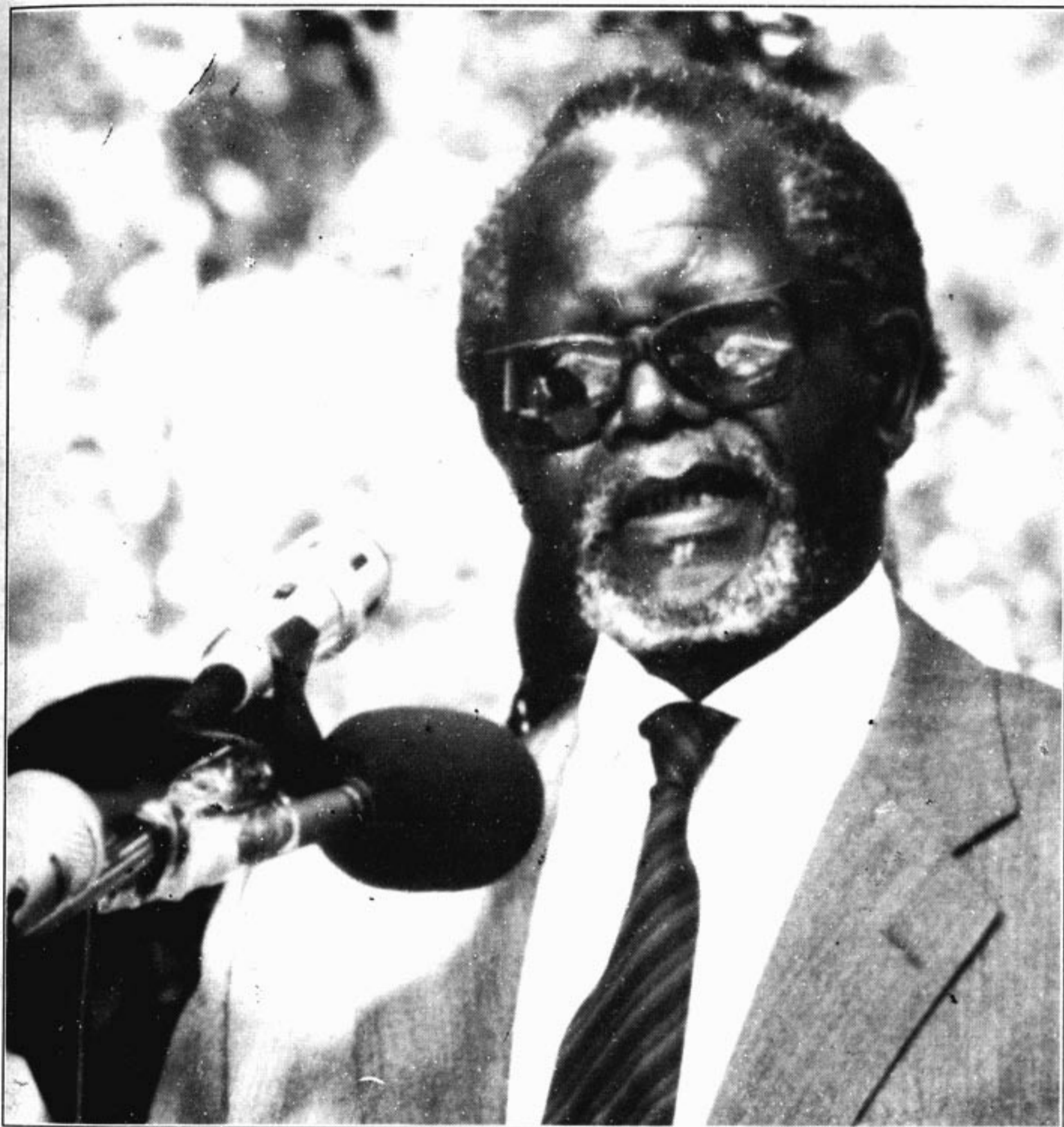
parliament.

MAYIBUYE: What are your impressions of the ANC Consultative Conference?

OR: The recent ANC National Consultative Conference has strengthened us to look to the future with confidence. Delegates went into business with the seriousness the occasion demanded. Like in other ANC conferences before, we did not spare ourselves criticism where this was necessary. However, the greatest achievement of this conference was its ability to reinforce our unity of purpose and direction.

MAYIBUYE: In this regard, what lessons should we draw from this in preparation for the National Conference in June?

OR: Our administration still leaves much to be desired. This is one area that I think needs a great deal of attention as we prepare for the National Conference in June 1991. Additionally, we need more days for the National Conference so that issues are exhaustively discussed before deci-



President Oliver Tambo addressing a rally in Natal

sions are taken.

MAYIBUYE: You have been in the struggle for many decades, and for most of these you have been at the helm of the ANC. What is your assessment of the movement at this historical juncture; is it capable of fulfilling its historical mission?

OR: I have no doubt whatsoever that, more than at any time be-

fore, the ANC is poised to fulfil its historical mission of liberating the overwhelming majority of our people. Our weaknesses may be many, particularly as we try to come to terms with this new situation, but our cohesion is stronger than ever.

MAYIBUYE: Everyone is agreed that you have made remarkable recovery from your illness. What plans do you have for the future -

both political and personal?

OR: It is true that I have improved considerably. As soon as my health permits me, I hope to return home permanently with the view of struggling forward alongside my people. In this regard, I am willing to serve our movement and people in any capacity they may so decide. However, what should be made clear is that the struggle is bigger than individuals who are, in the final analysis, dispensable. ♦

Branch building

We've passed almost a year as a legal organisation. There is none who will disagree that our level of organisation leaves much to be desired. In the previous issue of Mayibuye we identified the factors which have impeded the growth of our organisation.

Let us now concentrate on what we expect from our structures – in particular the branch. To begin let us explore what we understand by “organising the people”.

ORGANISING PEOPLE

Until the unbanning of the ANC organisers were involved in a variety of formations: the UDF or its affiliates – such as youth, women, student or professional groups; in street or village committees; in trade unions; the underground etc, etc.

From these experiences we have developed two perspectives on organising. The first one sees organising as the drawing together of leading cadres with the task of continuously mobilising the masses. Almost any political terrain defined by the regime was used to attack the regime – be it the tri-cameral elections, the Black Local Authorities, the bantustans.

Undoubtedly, this approach was laden with problems and set-backs. But it produced certain definite results – the most important of which was the entrenchment of the culture of mass struggle.

The other approach placed greater emphasis on building structures, on the training of membership, on the involvement of its members in all decisions.

ANC branches play a pivotal role in organising the masses for the transfer of power to the people. Their proper structuring and functioning is crucial for the organisation as a whole. MAYIBUYE looks at the role of branches.

It emphasised that decisions about mass actions should be arrived through the structures of the organisation – from the grassroots up.

This approach also had great merit because once a decision was taken to engage in a specific form of action, almost the entire membership could be relied upon to participate.

MASS INVOLVEMENT

From the beginning of the eighties we have seen the graph of mass involvement in campaigns rise from the hundreds to the hundreds of thousands. Both these approaches have been responsible for this success.

The ingredients of this success could possibly be summed up as follows:

- a commitment to the principle



that the people are the makers of history;

- mass mobilisation to demonstrate the views of the people and to back up demands made by the people;

- establishing structures which allow for the involvement of the maximum number of people in decision making.

PAST DECADE

The experiences of the past decade inform the content of our work as ANC members. The building of the ANC introduces a qualitatively new level of politics. It introduces a new element in organisational work: 'an ANC branch' as an element in the conducting of political work.

There are no set formulae as to how the branch could best operate. That is why we will need to continuously assess our experience on the ground and mould our approaches in response to the concrete conditions which we face.

The ANC is still in the phase



of waging the national democratic struggle. ANC President, OR Tambo, commenting on this year's January 8 Statement said: "What this statement is about is struggle."

In building the ANC our main concern is how to build the capacity of our people to struggle victoriously. We need an ANC which brings the maximum number of people into the process of change in our country; an ANC which aims at drawing in all sectors of the people of South Africa.

In working out the best approach to be used by branches we must bear in mind the two approaches which have evolved over the decade or so of mass struggle. We cannot afford to use either approach exclusively.

For example many branches have divided their membership into media committees, economic policy committees, fund-raising, land committees, constitutional affairs committees etc etc. The aim is to ensure that the membership is involved in the demo-

cratic process of working out the policies of the ANC, and takes part in the effort to reach out to as many people as possible.

This approach combines active internal democracy with the recognition of the fact that:

- branches, and therefore all members, must be involved in the process of mobilising the masses behind our demands; and
- the communities each branch represents are involved in the debates around ANC/national policy issues.

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

As a people's movement we do not want to reach the situation where discussions around policy become the prerogative of the branches in "more privileged areas". In these areas membership is generally drawn from the professionals and students.

On the other hand, the conduct of active struggle, becomes the concern of those communities under attack by the state

and its agencies and/or living in poverty-stricken areas.

To allow this situation to prevail would be to deepen the feeling of demobilisation which many organisers claim has resulted since the initiation of talks with the regime.

DESIRES AND HOPES

Our movement must reflect the desires, hopes and wishes of the people. It must direct the energies of the people in achieving their goals.

Our economic, legal, constitutional and other policies must emerge from the people. We can act as mere guides in arriving at these policies?

What are the main concrete problems faced by the branches in achieving this.

Organisers from the Northern Transvaal, for example, report that as the ANC grows, the original idea to combine a number of villages into one branch is increasingly being challenged. A "one-village, one-branch" ap-

proach is preferred. This brings up the important question of criteria to be used in demarcating areas. The following factors need to be taken into account:

- the geographical location, size of community and potential membership;
- the history and tradition of a community to act and struggle as a unit based on common problems arising from similar conditions;
- the need for united action with mass formations existing in that area;
- the differences existing between urban and rural areas on the one hand and urban townships and the suburbs on the other.

COMPONENTS

It is the aim of all ANC organisers to have an efficient, well-run and democratic branch. To achieve this we need to ensure that the following components are present in our branch:

- a local ANC leadership which is respected by the community. This is not usually easy. It is not assisted by the fact that many of our members are drawn from the youth. It is only in rare cases where we find the youth able to muster the respect of the entire community;
- a branch cadreship. This means that at the very branch level we must have members who understand the policies and strategies of the ANC at any given moment and who are able to lead and direct the work of the branch. Pure activism is no longer sufficient to earn the title of 'cadre of the ANC' - understanding and leadership is also required.
- a viable infra-structure. We must have an infrastructure consisting of sub-area structures and contacts which allows us to mobilise people as rapidly as possible and which also allows us to consult as widely as possible.

Thus, for example, we must have a situation where a leaflet can be distributed within 24 hours of it coming into the area. Or where, if the ANC decides to



take a major step in the negotiations, this step can be canvassed with the people as quickly as possible. This infrastructure must be suited to discussing policy matters and strategies over the longer-term as well.

In structuring a branch and setting out its tasks, a number of crucial factors should be taken into account.

FUNCTIONING OF A BRANCH

Firstly the branch must maintain contact with the masses. People must be able to identify and be positively disposed towards ANC personnel in the area. Every issue which affects the people must be known by the branch and the branch must be involved in addressing these problems with the relevant mass organisations.

Secondly, the branch must be able to win over wide sections to our policies and strategies. The unbanning of the ANC has thrown up many new, enthusiastic individuals. Our duty is to bring these individuals into the fold, and train them to become fully committed ANC cadres. We have to develop the ability to reach out to all levels of our communities and to win allies.

The branch should have a structure that allows it to fulfil these aims. Emphasis will differ

from area to area. But among the most vital functions are:

- propaganda and agitational work addressing the problems faced by different communities;
- organisational/recruitment: Task forces should be established responsible for specific targets - bearing in mind that recruitment is the task of every ANC member. Mechanisms for report-back and sharing of experiences must be created, ensuring that the entire membership is enriched.
- fund-raising projects: this will not be simply for material benefits, but more importantly build a sense of responsibility. A culture of self-reliance and funding our own struggles needs to take root among our people.
- political education - aimed at arming our membership with the knowledge required to carry out the task facing us.

MASS ORGANISATIONS

In the next issue of MAYIBUYE we will be looking at the question of ANC members' involvement in mass organisations. We believe that cadres must respect the independence of mass organisations whilst being active in them. The ANC also works with mass organisations as the ANC on certain issues. We have to ensure united action against apartheid. ♦

At the National Consultative Conference, special attention was paid to the issue of building organisation. The commission on organisation had extensive and, at times, heated discussions. Below is a report of the commission's deliberations. The following are our strategic priorities:

- build democratic regional bodies and branches which activate our membership and people into struggle to win people's power;
- develop a national programme of action which takes into account regional specifics;
- encourage mass participation in our campaigns;
- broaden consultation with other mass formations and concretise the Tripartite Alliance on the ground;
- develop a dynamic recruitment plan and locate that within various sectors;
- ensure that negotiations becomes an active terrain of struggle; carry out educational work around the slogans of Constituent Assembly and Interim Government.
- ensure democratic participation in all our structures. A strategy is required which addresses the disparity between the tremendous grassroots support we enjoy and the membership we have been able to sign up.

Conference on organisation

A number of objective and subjective factors impede recruitment and growth. The foremost is state strategy, which is multi-pronged and aimed at frustrating our recruitment drive. It includes using violence, which has engulfed our country, against the ANC, sowing division within our ranks and within the Alliance and winning over the "middle ground". Other factors include the shortage of material resources; lack of clarity about the nature and character of the revolutionary alliance; vagueness about the relationship between the Youth and Women's Leagues and the ANC; and between the ANC and civics.

The deficiency in systematic political education at both regional and branch levels; the clustering of the leadership and top cadres at the head office and poor administration in the regions have also contributed.

The yardstick for measuring the strength of our organisation is the strength of our branches, how actively the members participate, how the views of the branches influence the policy

and practise of our organisation.

We need to look at ways of broadening our base and consolidating unity amongst our people.

An ANC Programme of Action must ensure the participation of all the people. It must be flexible in relation to changing conditions and must aim at uniting people through mass action for the transfer of power; realising the Alliance on the ground; securing the growth and consolidation of the ANC. To make our organisation more effective we must:

- correct the problem areas identified so that Head Office is able to work more effectively and efficiently;
- issue guidelines on procedures for election to office;
- evolve organisational strategies for mobilising specific sectors of our society so that there can be full participation by all our people at the next conference;
- identify specific needs of organising in the rural areas;
- devise a strategy for organising the squatter camps and hostels. ♦

Countdown to National Conference

Among the major tasks faced by ANC branches and regions is that of preparing for the National Conference in June. MAYIBUYE approached the office of the National Preparatory Committee (NPC) about progress in the preparations.

At the office, MAYIBUYE found Tine Ra-debe, an administrative worker.

Though the NPC was not yet fully functional in mid-January, some work had already begun. The National Executive Committee has detailed senior members of the movement, including NEC members to work fulltime in the NPC. A circular has been sent by the NPC to all ANC departments asking them to prepare draft policy documents for the Conference by February 10. These will be submitted to the regions for discussions to begin.

To date the Economic Policy and the Legal and Constitutional Departments have already prepared draft policy documents. The Eco-

nomic Policy document was accompanied with guidelines on how to workshop discussions on economics. This has proven to be a fruitful approach.

The Conference will be on a much bigger scale than the recently held Consultative Conference. Policy positions on virtually all issues will be tabled for discussion and decision. Thorough preparation in the branches is vital.

To assist this process, MAYIBUYE will have a regular 'Countdown to June' column, providing readers with updates on Conference preparations. We have also begun a series of articles on the Strategy and Tactics document. This issue contains the first part on 'The Nature and Character of our Struggle'.

We invite ANC members and our readers in general to send in their comments on both the content and organisational aspect of the preparatory process. ♦

MAYIBUYE: Can you elaborate on the ANC's proposal for an All-Party Congress?

Walter Sisulu: The All-Party Congress has been proposed as a body to draw up the broad framework for a future democratic constitution for our country. As you are aware, the Harare Declaration states that these principles have to be agreed on after obstacles to negotiations have been removed.

We all have to agree on where we are going, in broad terms, because the aim of negotiations is not about whether to rid our country of apartheid or not. It is the question of how, and what comes in its place.

Further, the APC will have to address the question of mechanisms of transition. These relate in particular to the questions of impartial supervision and the body to draw up the constitution.

MAYIBUYE: What will be the constitution-making powers of the All-Party Congress?

WS: It will only be able to draw up the broad framework for the constitution. The constitution itself will be drawn up by a democratic body elected by the people. In the view of the ANC such a body must be a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of one-person one-vote on a common voters' roll.

That is why we say that this proposal is not inconsistent with the Harare Declaration.

MAYIBUYE: But the January 8 Statement says that the APC can, if given a popular mandate, proceed to operate as an Interim Government or Constituent Assembly or both.

WS: The statement must be read in its totality. Very firmly and very clearly in the statement we demand and call on our people to struggle for an Interim Government and Constituent Assembly. These demands remain. They should be advanced vigorously by the people in mass action.

Our basic approach is that the body to supervise the transition

Towards an All-Party Congress

In its January 8 statement, the ANC proposes the idea of an All-Party Congress. What will be the composition and tasks of this body? MAYIBUYE put this and other questions to Walter Sisulu, member of the ANC NEC and convenor of the Internal Leadership Committee.



must be an impartial institution with the necessary powers to do its job properly. And, nothing less than a body which carries the people's mandate can by any stretch of imagination be called upon to draw up a document that defines the people's future.

We are not moving away from these basic principles. And this is what should guide us in our work.

MAYIBUYE: Does this mean that when these bodies are set up, the government and parliament must dissolve?

WS: Yes. What we want to emphasise is that the Nationalist Party must not have sole control over the process.

MAYIBUYE: Will the All-Party Congress include all political parties in South Africa?

WS: It will include all parties with a proven constituency.

MAYIBUYE: What does this mean, concretely?

WS: We have not gone into the details of the methods to be used, but we will expect organisations which have proven themselves, through their history and support, to be involved in this initiative. The idea is to avoid having organisations which mushroom overnight – as was the case in the Namibian elections – claiming a place at the APC.

MAYIBUYE: Will the parties have equal representation in the All-Party Congress?

WS: This will have to be decided during discussions with the different parties.

MAYIBUYE: The Inkatha Freedom Party questions the idea of an APC as a product of 'the ANC/SACP alliance' whilst the CP has rejected it on the grounds that the body is aimed at negotiating away the 'white man's right to self-determination'. What is the ANC's view on this?

WS: That response is to be expected from the CP because of their fundamental opposition to peaceful fundamental change. Our duty is to persuade them as

much as possible by exchanging views.

Chief Buthelezi has not given his final word. There is good reason to believe that Inkatha will become part of the APC. It is the duty of an organiser to continue persuading people. We must not stop at a negative response.

MAYIBUYE: Will the APC go ahead if some major parties refuse to take part?

WS: Our approach is to persuade all the people of South Africa to unite behind democratic ideals. We will continue doing this. We have good reason to believe that the overwhelming majority of South Africans, and their organisations and parties, support this idea.

Besides, if there were any significant forces opposed to it, they have not advanced any more viable proposal. We are confident that the All-Party Congress will go ahead, with the participation of, at least, all the major parties.

MAYIBUYE: When will the Congress convene?

WS: We don't think it is appropriate to set a time-frame now. There is still much to be done.

MAYIBUYE: Would you see the APC being convened within the next 2 to 3 months?

WS: No. There are many issues that need clarification before the practical step can be taken. These would include agreement among the various parties about mechanisms of representation, the mandate of the APC, methods of work and other questions. Though some of the issues can be handled in detail after the All-Party Congress has been convened, there will have to be some general agreement on many issues. Consultations on all these should start as soon as possible. Besides, the ANC itself faces two issues at this stage.

The first is the convening of a unity group of the oppressed. As you are well aware the ANC has always been striving for the unity of the oppressed and other democratic forces. So towards and during the month of March

we will be concentrating on that.

The other issue is the ANC's National Conference which is to be held in June.

MAYIBUYE: According to the January 8 Statement the convening of the APC depends on whether obstacles to negotiations are cleared. How confident are you that these demands will be met by the time of the deadline set by the ANC?

WS: We are quite confident that the demands will be met by the regime. We are confident not because we believe that the other side will offer us anything on a silver platter.

It is through the action of the people and the international community that we will achieve our demands.

Mass action must continue, to demand the return of exiles and prisoners; the removal of repressive laws; an end to the violence and other important issues. The January 8 Statement and resolutions of the Consultative Conference – on which it is based – point the way in terms of a programme of mass action.

MAYIBUYE: Will there be a place for mass action during the time of the APC?

WS: Mass action is a democratic right which must be exercised at all times – even if there is an ANC government. People are entitled to challenge their leaders and even have them removed, if necessary; and they can achieve this through mass action.

MAYIBUYE: Is there any other comment you would like to make concerning the January 8 Statement?

WS: It must be remembered that the statement has been issued so that the matters raised are discussed thoroughly. Members may have differing ideas. These must be expressed.

I would like to call upon people to study the document thoroughly. It must be used as a guide in building the organization. Essentially I am an organiser and I want to see organisational benefits derived from this document. ♦

Despite the provisions of both the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, and subsequent agreements reached by joint ANC/government Working Groups regarding the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, the process is still frustrated by a number of bureaucratic hurdles imposed by the government.

Hostages in the government's hands

Under the Groote Schuur Minute, an ANC/government Working Group was established and its report was endorsed by both parties on August 6 1990. However, instead of proceeding to gazette the report as endorsed in the Pretoria Minute, the government has acted in bad faith and unilaterally introduced amendments.

The government has violated both the letter and the spirit of the Minute with the aim of reducing considerably the number of people qualifying for automatic release and indemnity. The government's gazette deliberately leaves out paragraph 1(b) of the Groote Schuur Minute, which provides for automatic indemnity for "any offences related merely to organisations which were previously prohibited."

IRRELEVANT ISSUES

Now the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the manner of granting indemnity have been linked to irrelevant issues such as the degree of violence the individual was involved in. This is unacceptable. There is no mention of this in either the report of the joint Working group or the Pretoria Minute.

Furthermore, the government has deliberately withheld indemnities for certain offences, thus leaving many cadres open to probable prosecution. A number of returning exiles have been subjected to different forms of

harassment, including detention.

The pardon and release of the comrades on death row is being complicated further. The government is introducing new and complex procedures outside the terms of the Working Group's report. For example, some death row prisoners are now requested to first have their death sentences commuted to life imprisonment before they can be considered for release.

In trials that have opened recently, for 'offences' committed long before the cut-off date, there is a concerted effort on the part of the government to depoliticise the charges. Members of Umkhonto we Sizwe found in possession of weapons are charged under the Arms and Ammunitions Act, thereby reducing the political 'offences' to ordinary crimes. In many instances they are mixed with common law prisoners and subjected to warder violence.

INTERNAL SECURITY ACT

Section 29 and 50 of the Internal Security Act remain in place. The government has not even begun addressing the issue of those detained under the notorious law. On the contrary, their number is growing as detention without trial continues unabatedly. Lawyers seeking to apply for indemnity for their clients are refused access.

The Pretoria Minute also committed the government to exact dates, September 1 and October

1 respectively, to begin implementing the process of releasing political prisoners and allowing exiles to return. The government has failed to comply with its part of the bargain. At the moment it is holding political prisoners and exiles hostage, a lever to push the ANC towards compromise.

There is also no agreement between the ANC and the government on how Section C of the Indemnity Form (See Mayibuye Vol. 1 No. 3 Dec. 1990 p.35) should be completed. However, no matter how the forms are completed, the fact that applications are filed with a government office and the government exercises discretion, still poses a major problem.

The issue of political prisoners and exiles is one of the major obstacles the government has to remove before negotiations can begin.

According to the Pretoria Minute the government stands committed to the removal of this obstacle by April 30 this year. Yet so little progress has been achieved. The government's record so far does not inspire hope and confidence.

CONCERTED STRUGGLE

Therefore, pressure must be applied to persuade it not to renege on any of the agreements reached. The ANC and all anti-apartheid forces must engage in concerted mass struggles, demanding the removal of obstacles to negotiations by the end of April. ♦

How many caps fit?

Should an activist occupy leadership positions in two or more organisations at the same time? This is the question behind what has come to be called the "many caps" debate. MAYIBUYE asked a member of the SACP Internal Leadership Group to give his views on this question



With last year's unbanning of the ANC and SACP, and the building of these organisations as legal mass structures on the ground, the old debate about wearing 'many caps' has surfaced once again.

And this is hardly surprising.

The building of the new legal ANC and SACP has seen COSATU and MDM leaders elected or appointed on to ANC and Party leadership structures at all levels. There is a genuine concern in many quarters that this might weaken or undermine the independence of the trade unions and other MDM sectoral organisations..

Can someone really find the time to play a leadership role in two or more organisations? What happens if Cosatu differs from the ANC or the Party on a policy issue? How does someone in the leadership of both organisations reconcile such a conflict of interests?

These are just some of the more burning questions asked by those who are opposed to individuals wearing many caps. They are serious questions, and should not be dismissed lightly.

At the same time, it is crucially important not to deal with these questions in the abstract. We need to relate them to concrete conditions in our country at present.

It is also important to dispose of one common confusion. 'Wearing too many caps' in the general sense, that is, trying to do too many things at once is not necessarily the same thing as being in the leadership of two or more organisations.

There are many examples of comrades inside one organisation, 'wearing too many caps', being overstretched by accumulating too many portfolios. This is certainly a bad thing. It undermines the organisation, and fails to develop other comrades.

In contrast, a comrade who is the general secretary of a Cosatu affiliate, and who, at the same time, attends an SACP national Interim Leadership Group meeting once every two months, bringing his or her experience and background knowledge to bear on strategic discussions, is not for that reason necessarily being overstretched.

In other words, while overstretching must at all times be

guarded against, this is not an argument in principle against occupying leadership positions in two or more organisations.

Let us relate the debate more concretely to the present situation. The ANC and SACP, respectively, are emerging from 30 and 40 years of illegality. In the past decade, tens of thousands of outstanding comrades have emerged as national, regional and local leaders through the trade unions and other mass democratic formations.

Some of these comrades also occupied leadership positions in the underground before the unbannings. In some notable cases, their ANC or SACP membership preceded their involvement in the MDM and Cosatu.

There is no way that we are going to build a strong ANC and a strong SACP without drawing on the leadership qualities and local, up-to-date knowledge of all these comrades.

It is notable that the question of 'many caps' seems to arise most sharply in relation to Cosatu leaders occupying leading positions in the ANC and/or SACP. Would placing an embargo on trade unionists serving in leadership positions of their political allies not undermine this principle?

The above arguments depend crucially, however, on a correct code of conduct being strictly observed by those in the leadership of two or more organisations. They need, above all, to be very clear under what mandate they are operating in any particular case.

They must never undermine the inner democratic processes of one organisation, by invoking a 'higher' authority from another organisation.

As our struggle develops and as conditions change, it might be that we shall have to revisit the 'many caps debate'. Changes in concrete conditions may well require that we revise the above perspectives. At present, our struggle would be greatly weakened if we forbade comrades from occupying leadership positions in more than one organisation. ♦

Challenge to enforce farm workers' rights

Their work feeds the nation and produces the raw materials for our clothing and many other manufactured products. Yet they enjoy none of the legal protection that other workers take for granted. Assaults, murders, unfair dismissals, starvation wages, unhealthy working conditions and evictions are widespread.

Farm workers have no means to challenge these practices, being excluded from the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, the Wage Act, the Labour Relations Act and the Unemployed Insurance Act. These Acts lay down minimum working conditions and minimum wages. They provide for protection against unfair dismissals and create mechanisms for collective bargaining and for temporary payment when workers are unemployed.

The findings of the NMC recommend that the Unemployment Insurance Act and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act should incorporate farm workers. While it does sometimes specify different conditions for farm workers – for instance, the maximum working hours for farm workers are 48 per week as opposed to 46 for other workers – most rights enjoyed by other workers are applicable, including payment for overtime, sick leave and annual leave.

MINIMUM CONDITIONS

According to Dawie Bosch, an independent lawyer who served on this commission, the decision that farm workers must enjoy certain basic minimum conditions of employment is a useful step. "But less enlightened farm-

Under pressure from workers, the government was forced to appoint a technical committee of the National Manpower Commission to investigate the inclusion of farm workers in labour legislation. The findings have now been published. What has changed?

ers would have to realise that protection by the Wage Act and LRA is overdue." He added that "these laws must be effectively enforced, otherwise the paper they are written on will be wasted."

The biggest advantage of cover for farm workers by the Basic Conditions of Employment Act is the prohibition of victimisation for trade union activities. Farmers have always vehemently resisted organisation by trade unions. And it may now become a criminal act to dismiss or alter the conditions of employment of a farm worker because of that workers involvement with a trade union.

According to Mona Pieterse, farm worker organiser of the Food & Allied Workers Union, the mere granting of rights will not change the situation on the farms. "Workers must organise



Farm workers at a tea plantation in Venda. "Workers must organise and fight the racism and oppression on the farms."

and fight the racism and oppression on the farms. It will be easier to organise when workers know that they cannot be dismissed for belonging to a trade union, but the real struggle on the farms is only starting", she said.

The NMC also proposed that the Basic Conditions of Employment Act be amended to allow workers to institute civil action to enforce the provisions of the Act.

CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS

The NMC states that the reason for this is that criminal prosecutions take a long time and are not always instituted.

Dudu Gantile, an advice office worker who has been working with farm workers in the Western Cape, says: "This provision is a big challenge for advice offic-

es. We cannot trust lawyers in the rural areas to fight the cases of farm workers. The responsibility now rests with advice offices in the small towns to make sure that workers know their rights and enforce them."

It remains a problem that not all labour laws apply to farm workers. COSATU has indicated that it wants the LRA and the Wage Act to apply as soon as possible, and the technical committee will now start its investigation into this issue. In December the NMC asked for submissions from anyone on how this matter should be handled.

FARMERS' RESISTANCE

According to Andrew Ball of the Farm Workers Research and Resource Project, it is imperative that both the Wage Act and the LRA include farm workers.

"In certain areas it will be very difficult to organise effectively and farmers will resist organisation. Here we need the Wage Act to lay down minimum wages and conditions. In other sectors where we can organise it will be easier to implement industrial councils in terms of the LRA. We should therefore have both Acts to be able to strategise our organisational campaign effectively."

While only the Basic Conditions of Employment Act and the Unemployment Insurance Act are expected to become law in 1991, it signals the start to the fulfilment of the demand of the Freedom Charter that farm workers shall have the same rights as others who work. This is a challenge to organised labour to carry out its task to organise one of the most exploited sections of workers. ♦

Declaration

1. The 1990 National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress has been convened on the soil of our country for the first time in thirty years. Our conference has brought together our freedom fighters and patriots from all over the world - from our camps, branches, from the underground, from overseas missions - to chart the course of our underground movement.

2. We, 1603 delegates [see box below], have been inspired to pursue our strategic objective of transfer of power to all South Africans and to the construction of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist, united South Africa as envisaged in the Freedom Charter.

3. We unanimously and unequivocally rededicate ourselves to the four pillars of our revolutionary strategy, believing that there have been no fundamental changes in the political situation which would require a departure from our strategy.

4. At the same time we are aware that we have, through the struggles of our people, succeeded in forcing the apartheid regime to accept that it can no longer rule in the old way. This has certainly introduced a new element to our strategic perspective.

5. While we remain committed to exploring every possibility for a peaceful transition to a democratic South Africa, the apartheid regime has in recent months demonstrated that it is not committed to our objective of a democratic South Africa. The regime has its own agenda, that of retaining white domination in

Conference documents

a new form. It is violating and distorting all its undertakings to the ANC and the people, as contained in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

6. Our patience with this regime is running out. We demand that the regime removes all obstacles in the way of genuine negotiations forthwith. We say to the international community and the regime that should real progress in this regard not be evident, we shall not hesitate to direct the NEC to suspend talks.

7. We take this opportunity to remember all our fallen heroes and heroines. We salute our cadres in the camps, those in exile, those in underground structures, in MK, those in hiding and those in apartheid prisons and on death row for their sacrifices and undiminished dedication. We call on the regime to stop hunting Ronnie Kasrils and other comrades in hiding. We commit ourselves to defending our comrades.

8. A special tribute is extended to our people in the rural areas, whose spirit of resistance in the most difficult conditions has inspired us over the years. We are painfully aware of our continued failure to give due attention and resources to the organising of our rural people and their struggles. This we will rectify.

9. Our courageous people in all parts of South Africa, men and women, have been the main architects for the crumbling of apartheid. As we stand on the threshold of the most challenging period of our struggle, we declare that 1991 will be a year of **MASS ACTION FOR THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE PEOPLE**. We believe that only our organised and militant people can write the final chapter of our struggle. We, dedicated cadres of the ANC, commit ourselves to tirelessly mobilising and organising our people for the prosecution of their historical task of finally bringing about a democratic, united, non-racial, non-sexist South Africa.

Programme of action

We, the African National Congress dedicate ourselves to making the year 1991 a year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people through the following programme of action.

We propose:

1. The launching of a campaign to culminate on Solomon Mahlangu Day (6 April) for the release of our prisoners, (including those on death row), the return of our exiles, the cessation of political trials and the detention of

Who was at the conference?

THERE were the very young and the very old, black, white, 'coloured' and Indian.

1589 delegates from 14 internal regions of the ANC, 31 external regions, the ANC Women's and Youth Leagues, Umkhonto we Sizwe and 22 ANC departmental representatives attended conference. There were also 58 observers from the SACP, UDF, Cosatu, Sansco and Nusas. Of the grand total of 1647, women constituted 15,52%.

Each branch sent two representatives and branches with membership exceeding 1000 were granted one more delegate. The PWV region, with 177 representatives, had the biggest delegation, followed by the Eastern Transvaal and the Western Cape with 171 and 164, respectively. The smallest delegation of 28 came from the Northern OFS, trailing behind the Western Transvaal and Northern Cape which, respectively, had 30 and 37 representatives. ♦

our people.

2. The launching of mass action around the opening of parliament to highlight our demands for an interim government and constituent assembly and to demand the abolition of the tricameral and bantustan systems. This to be followed by a mass door-to-door signature campaign to popularise and mobilise our people around the objectives of an interim government and constituent assembly.

3.1 The convening of workshops with our allies to develop a joint programme of action against violence in our country.

3.2 The NEC set up a National Defence Committee to take charge of the speedy implementation of self-defence units in our structures.

3.3 That our structures be encouraged to actively participate in the campaigns of our allies in our communities and in our factories. To this effect, we propose the setting up of local alliance structures.

4. The convening of a patriotic conference on Sharpeville Day, 21 March, to mobilise all anti-

apartheid forces against this regime.

5. That we consolidate our organisation by synchronising our mass recruitment campaigns with our campaigns of mass action, by improving the communication efficiency and effectivity of our structures, by deepening democratic practices and by correcting rural-urban imbalances.

6. That conference reaffirms its policy on affirmative action for women and directs all structures of the ANC to implement it, and calls on the Women's League to spearhead this process.

7. That the Land Commission of the ANC be given a specific mandate to consult widely on drawing up a programme of action to rally and mobilise our people for the return of the land to its rightful owners.

8. Conference resolves to embark on a campaign for the reorientation of the community and students towards a culture of learning, and therefore undertakes to campaign for a common education system for all, and a demand that the regime provides adequate resources for ed-



ucation.

All ANC branches and regions in liaison with other education structures establish task forces for the implementation of campaigns.

Resolution on negotiations and suspension of armed actions

Noting that:

1. Negotiations is only one form of struggle towards the transfer of power to the people for the creation of a non-racial, unitary and non-sexist South Africa.

2. Conference supports and endorses the negotiations strategy outlined in the Harare Declaration.

3. That the international community has committed itself to supporting the broad principles, procedures and processes laid down in the Harare Declaration, through the relevant resolutions of the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations.

Further noting that:

4. The regime has not yet removed obstacles contained in the Harare Declaration; namely

- unconditional release of all political prisoners
- unconditional return of exiles
- repeal of all security and repressive legislation
- termination of all political trials

5. Consequently the regime has failed and/or neglected to create a climate conducive to peaceful negotiation for a new constitution

6. The current endemic violence creates further obstacles to the creation of a climate conducive to peaceful negotiation

7. This violence is part of a deliberate attempt by the state and its allies to destabilise the ANC and to sow terror and chaos amongst our people; and believing that whilst the Harare Declaration remains our lodestar, it is not a dogma.

We therefore resolve:

1. To mandate the NEC to proceed with talks about talks and invest them with discretionary



A moving moment as Mandela and Tambo greet at the opening of the conference.

powers, within the stated policies of the organisation, and without any secrecy and confidentiality, in the execution of their tasks with a view to creating a climate conducive to peaceful negotiations.

Further resolve that:

2. In the execution of these tasks the NEC should regularly consult with ANC membership in all regions, on all major issues.

3. That appropriate mechanisms be set up for such consultations and communication with the membership, by the end of February 1991.

4. The NEC involves in the negotiations its revolutionary allies

5. That a comprehensive negotiating team composed of chief negotiators, working groups and researchers be created as a matter of extreme urgency and that such teams include a fair representation of women.

And further resolve that:

6. The NEC serve notice on the regime that, unless all the obstacles are removed on or before the 30th of April 1991, the ANC shall consider the suspension of the whole negotiation process.

Prior to this date, the ANC shall engage in a programme of mass action and all other actions, to achieve our objectives as quickly as possible.

In the light of the endemic violence and the slaughter of innocent people by the regime and its allies we:

1. Reaffirm our right and duty as a people to defend ourselves with any means at our disposal.

2. We hereby serve notice on the regime that unless it ends this carnage, the ANC will find it difficult, if not impossible, to adhere to the agreements entered into with the government, especially paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute pertaining to armed action and related activities.

Lastly conference resolves:

1. To mandate the NEC to take active steps to create people's defence units as a matter of extreme urgency for the defence of our people.

Resolution on violence

Noting that:

1. The current violence sweeping



Delegates voting on a resolution at the conference. NEC member Joe Slovo is in the chair, in front of the TV screens which helped delegates see what was going on.

our country is aimed at:

a. Undermining and destabilising the growth and consolidation of the ANC and all other democratic forces

b. Ensuring that the government dictates the pace of transition in terms of its own agenda

c. Creating a state of confusion and demoralisation in our own ranks and among our people in an attempt to alienate them from our movement

2. The violence is multifaceted and orchestrated through various agencies of the government viz. security forces, councillors, warlords, vigilantes, death squads, askaris and certain bantustan and white rightwing elements

3. This violence is part of a counter-revolutionary strategy to maintain white rule in new forms

And believing that:

1. The ending of the violence should be at the top of the agenda of the ANC and the entire democratic movement

2. There is no contradiction between the Pretoria Minute and

our right to self-defence

This Conference therefore resolves that:

1. Mass campaigns be embarked upon to pressurise the apartheid regime to bring an end to this carnage

2. Such mass action be waged within the context of our demands for:

a. the removal of all obstacles to negotiations as embodied in the Harare Declaration

b. the dismantling of the bantustans and all other apartheid structures

c. an Interim Government and a Constituent Assembly

3. The NEC, Regional Executive Committees, and branches to initiate, as a matter of urgency, the building of tight and disciplined defence committees and to ensure that the necessary resources are made available to these structures

4. MK must play a facilitative role in the defence of our people

5. Whilst in principle there is no opposition to talks with Inkatha and other surrogates of the regime, such talks must only take

place after full consultations with all the regions of the ANC, particularly those immediately affected by the violence

6. A consultative workshop be convened with our allies, the SACP and Cosatu, together with other democratic formations, as soon as possible, to set up a joint programme of action.

Resolution on Kaunda

Conference extends profound thanks to President Kaunda, the government and people of Zambia for the selfless solidarity and friendship they have extended over the years to Comrade President Oliver Tambo.

We thank them especially for all the assistance they extended to us to ensure the safe return of our president, after absence of more than 30 years, and his participation in our historic Consultative Conference.

On behalf of the majority of the people of our country, we extend warm greetings to President Kaunda, the government and the sister people of Zambia

and wish them success in all their endeavours.

Resolution on the underground and Umkhonto we Sizwe

We remain committed to the strengthening and growth of our people's army MK and the underground.

We therefore stand resolved:

- a. to continue with the process of recruitment and training our forces for the purpose of defending our people against enemy orchestrated violence and to prepare ourselves for a central role in a new army whose tasks will be to defend and uphold democratic values.
- b. that the NEC is directed to ensure that the welfare and future of MK cadres is carefully and fully discussed and catered for.
- c. to build the underground to guarantee that our movement does not suffer any serious setbacks.
- d. that it is a necessity for our movement to maintain and develop a network to carry out appropriate underground work.
- e. that the NEC must demand that the police must explain the disappearances and deaths of a number of our cadres throughout the country in particular the recent disappearances of Comrades Charles Ndaba and Mvuso Tshabalala and the cold-blooded murder of Comrades Welile Saalman and Vukile Gondiwe.

Document on sanctions

Cognisant of the necessity to counteract the growing perception that De Klerk and his government should be rewarded for recent reforms, aware that the basic institutions of apartheid are still firmly in place, that the South African government continues to use violence and police repression to suppress legitimate political and civic actions, alarmed over the orchestrated violence against defenceless citi-

zens, especially in African residential areas, in which elements of the South African security establishment are deeply implicated, noting that many of the obstacles to genuine negotiations such as the Internal Security Act and others, remain on the statute books and are still vigorously enforced.

We resolve that the existing package be maintained.

As such, the ANC appeals to the EC, US Congress, EFTA and all other international bodies to postpone any consideration of the issue of sanctions against apartheid South Africa until the ANC and all other democratic formations inside our country, including trade unions and religious bodies, initiate discussion with them on the issues.

Resolution on international isolation

We resolve that:

1. The existing sanctions campaign should be maintained.
2. That the academic and cultural boycott should be reviewed with the aim of ensuring that it becomes inclusive of the many more institutions that genuinely promote principles of non-racialism, democracy and unity.
3. In the sporting arena, all efforts be made to promote the positions of the democratic sports organisations in regard to the moratorium on international competition; and on sports development programmes.
4. The socio-economic problems facing Black people in housing, education and health be urgently addressed by the government. The provision of these services is the responsibility of the government.
5. The ANC's political task is to mobilise the public in mass campaigns to pressure the authorities to fulfil their tasks.
6. A viable non-governmental organisation should be created to generate necessary economic resources inside the country, including those from the public sector to create projects in housing, education and health.

7. With regard to investment, we should direct potential investors to such efforts as the "Viva Project" and which have the specific objectives of "black empowerment" and redistribution of wealth.

8. We should oppose the lifting of financial sanctions, especially by the IMF, on the grounds that the country is still governed by a white minority regime.

9. We should offer to discuss the issue of trade sanctions with all affected interest groups in the country, including the trade unions, business organisations and the government with a view to addressing apartheid practices within the export sector and tying the easing of trade sanctions to specific commitments to abandon such practices.

10. For the obvious reason that the country is still ruled by a white minority regime, the arms embargo should remain.

11. Equally, the oil embargo should remain. We could relate this to another matter which has now been raised publicly, namely the sale of existing oil reserves, and the use of the money generated to address the socio-economic needs of the majority, under the direction of a properly representative interim government structure. This structure would then have the possibility to negotiate an agreement with foreign suppliers for the replenishment of the stock in a post-apartheid South Africa.

12. Urgent consultations be held with MDM organisations on the question of sanctions.

13. The ANC urgently organise and call an international summit as a follow-up to the Arusha Sanctions Conference to devise and consult on new strategies on sanctions.

14. The Commission considers the formulation of a contingency position on sanctions as tantamount to anticipating defeat on the issue.

15. A campaign against recruitment of imported labour from Eastern European countries and Asia be immediately undertaken and be included in talks with the South African government. ♦



Delegates from some of the regional delegations at the conference, from above: Transkei, Northern OFS, Western Transvaal and Border.

Council of War

Impressions from an MK delegate

We expected more attention to be paid to the role of MK since MK has been singled out by the enemy as a stumbling block in the negotiations process. The suspension of armed actions caused a lot of controversy.

Hence it was imperative for the Preparatory Committee to have given all the regions adequate time to look at the question as well as other particular topics. Six months prior to conference no single document had been circulated. Some regions were fortunate for they had access to the NPC. The army regions and structures unfortunately suffered the most.

POWERFUL AND DYNAMIC

Despite the concerns and impressions expressed, our participation was powerful and dynamic. It became fashionable to be a member of MK. People's readiness to continue fighting made it a real "Council of War". This was due to their bold, open and frank participation.

Generally, all discussions in commissions and plenary were good, given the way the chairing was conducted. Great justice was done to all key topics, although, in some instances, topics overlapped.

The content of the discussions was sharp and enriching. Though experiences were vast and far apart the conference cemented them all.

As to participation by the leadership, their presence was felt in commissions, but at plenary it seemed as if the leadership wanted to get the mood of the delegates which would be

summed up by the Deputy-President at the end of the conference.

Perhaps it was a good method of ensuring greater participation by delegates and avoid domination from the top. But I still felt it was overdone. Most of the delegates did not gain from the contributions of the leadership in the plenary sessions.

Overall, the conference laid a foundation for rock unity within the movement. It was a refreshing experience in that it encompassed all regions of the country, soldiers and diplomats, all racial groups and people from rural areas.

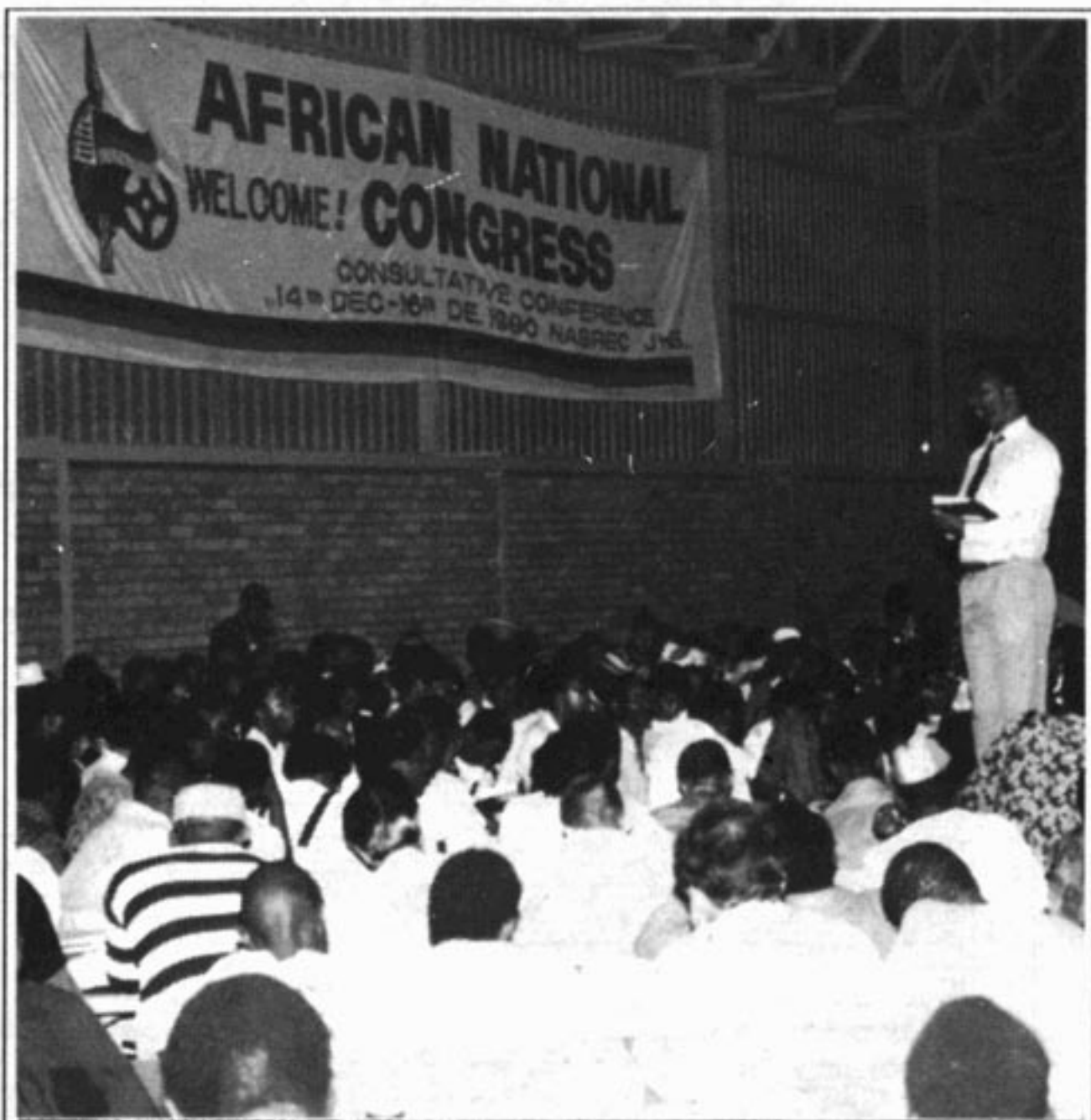
Yet only practice can prove the correctness of this judgement. We sometimes have a problem of sluggishness in implementing decisions. This time the challenges are more crucial. We must implement with deliberate speed. ♦

Good logistics with flashes of democracy Views from the Western Cape

The afternoon before the Conference, as the endless stream of vehicles were pouring out of the Johannesburg city centre, our three buses were battling to deliver their load of about 160 delegates after a tiring journey from Cape Town lasting exactly 22 hours.

The excitement in the buses was crackling clearly on the two-way radios linking the three buses. As the delegates reported at the hotel for registration, the tiredness could not dampen the beaming expectations so noticeable among the delegates.

The registration, surprisingly, was smooth and quick and in no



NEC member Thabo Mbeki gives an input at the start of the commission on negotiations and armed struggle

time everybody was spruced up and standing giggling in the foyer of the three-star hotel, waiting to go to bed so that the morning could come for the conference to start.

Early the next morning, as early as 5.45am everybody was woken up by telephone and informed that breakfast would be served from 6.30am and that the buses would be ready at 7.30am.

At 7.30am there was no sign of the buses and not at 8am or 8.30am. Panic had now completely taken over where the excitement had still been very visible a few minutes before. On our arrival at the conference venue after 9am, it was clear that the transport mishap had delayed delegates from all regions.

Entering the main hall after having to stand in one of the endless queues and going through a laborious security check, the kind hitherto associated only with the system, it was clear that a lot had gone into organising the conference.

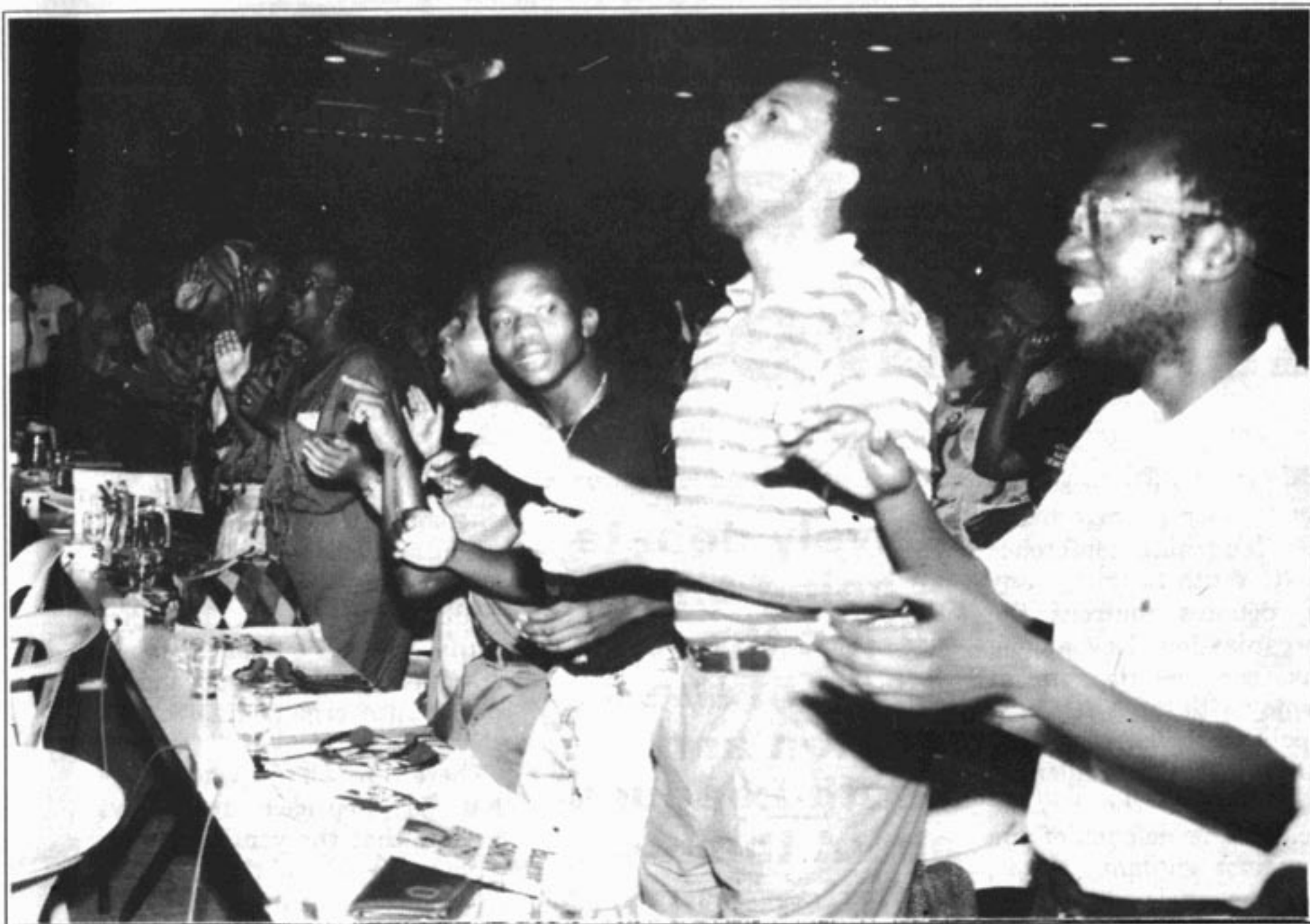
The closed circuit TV which

projected an enlarged image of the speaker, no matter from where s/he spoke onto a screen, was fascinating and helpful. The simultaneous translation system, though there were not enough earphones for about half the delegates, as well as the many floor microphones, facilitated matters.

If the logistical arrangements were superb, the political side of things was definitely lagging behind. The commissions were the place to get a feel for the real organisation. With lots of enthusiasm, the delegates reported here. Some came with mandates, some even neatly typed out.

The debates were serious and spontaneous. And, when the Transvaal afternoon thunderstorm broke on the iron-cast roof, eager speakers grabbed loudhailers to make their points.

Though many did not speak with any formal mandate, they expressed the views and sentiments of many of those from where they came.



Delegates singing songs of praise with the arrival of ANC president Oliver Tambo

If discussions (and sessions) were a bit more structured, the results could possibly have been greater. Some commissions had to be kicked-started, one for as long as ninety minutes. They also appeared to be disjointed.

In our haste to get home on the buses, there was unanimity amongst all our delegates that the ANC is a powerful, a determined and large organisation.

The flashes of democracy observed at conference can help prevent the development of the kind of distortions which occurred in the East. ♦

Test lies in decisions being put into practice

A Northern Transvaal delegate speaks

The National Consultative Conference was a wonderful experience for the organisation and the people of our region. For the first time most people from the Northern Transvaal had the opportunity to mingle with and hold formal and informal discussions with the national leadership of the organisation.

Bringing together people from all parts of the country, the conference also presented our delegates a chance to share experiences with other areas. We learnt that the problems we experience on the ground are not absolutely peculiar to our region.

The Northern Transvaal region is divided into six sub-regions and all were represented and participated fully in all the commissions. This is despite the

fact that the region had inadequate time for preparations.

Though violence in the region is not as rife as in the Reef, Vaal, Natal and other areas, we benefitted a lot from the discussions on the issue. The identification and analysis of the causes and the forces behind the violence gave us clear guidelines on how to combat it.

The resolutions that emerged from conference are a proper reflection of the delegates' viewpoints. Our region appreciates very much the commitment by the movement to pay greater attention to work in the rural areas. One of the most important decisions is the setting up of self-defence units to defend the people. Theoretically all the issues have been settled but practice remains to be seen. Our Region is translating the NCC programme into regional and local specifics. It is the implementation of these decisions which will crown the success of the Conference. ♦

Autonomous or auxiliary structure?



With slightly less than 3 months before the launching conference of the ANC Youth League, many gripping debates confront the youth organisation. Key among these is the relationship it should enjoy with the ANC.

At a political level, the youth are clear about the challenges confronting them. The key issues include the defence of the people against vigilante terror, the education crisis, crime and drug abuse amongst the young and the quest for a new, democratic and just order. These issues will continue to occupy our attention.

However, debate abounds at the organisational level. The Youth League offers a political home for all young South Africans over the age of 14 years. Some people refer to the League as an auxiliary body whilst the Youth League Provisional Constitution says that the League shall be organisationally autonomous.

The question is: what is meant by 'autonomy'?

BROAD POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

The provisional leadership of the Youth League is agreed that the League must be based on the broad political perspectives of the ANC.

Within this ambit, however, the League's programme and policy must be determined by its membership. It should operate

A lively debate is going on within the ranks of the Women and Youth Leagues about their relationship with the ANC 'mother body'. In this, the first of a two-part series, MAYIBUYE asked a leader of the Youth League to explain the nature of the debate.

on the basis of mandates and accountability to its membership. Policy is not to be merely handed down to the youth. Rather, they will take part in its formulation, and have the right to express their approval or disapproval, as the case may be.

Further, at an organisational

level, the League has to be autonomous. It has its own constitution, organisational and administrative structures, code of conduct and so on. In other words, it is not a department or a section, but an independent mass youth organisation of the ANC.

There are those who argue that this approach underplays the fact that the youth can best serve the ANC and the people as a whole by being under the wings of the mother body on any and everything.

COMBINING TWO APPROACHES

The Provisional National Youth Council feels that it needs to combine two approaches:

- reaching out to as many people as possible to recruit into its ranks; and
- serve as the recruiting base and school for future members of the ANC.

What must be borne in mind is the wariness of the youth of being 'controlled': going to the mother body for everything, from petty cash to details around programmes of action.

Should the youth be allowed to make their own mistakes within their own organisations, thus learning from them and strengthening themselves in the process of building the future? How is this to be balanced against the advantage of benefiting from the guidance offered by the elders? ♦



Steady but sure

A ccording to leaders of the League, the actual date for the launch will depend on progress made in the setting up of branches. The month of April is being considered as a possibility.

The following are some of the factors hindering the work of the League's Task Force:

- lack of full-time organisers, finances, and transport especially in regions with large rural populations;
- problems of lack of support from some ANC regional bodies. According to a member of the Task Force this shows the need for more political education about women's struggle;
- problems inherited from the era before the unbanning of the ANC;
- the notion that UDF-affiliated women structures could be automatically transformed into Women's Leagues bodies;

A consultative meeting of Task Force members and regional representatives was held in December.

The following areas were marked for particular attention:

The ANC Women's League was compelled last year to postpone the October target for the launching conference of the League. What led to this decision and what are their future plans?

- finding the correct balance between organisation and political content. It had been found that the latter had been suffering in the process of establishing structures;
- greater effort on the Women's Charter campaign;
- integration of stalwarts into the work of the Women's League;
- overcoming the glaring absence of women in the structures/working groups and pro-

cesses towards negotiations.

At the time of the Consultative meeting 422 branches had been launched. This compared well with the 98 branches which had been represented at the launching rally in August last year.

However, there are still large differences among regions. For example the Border region had 115 branches – more than a third of the total! This accounted for about 20 000 members, while the total regional figure was around 36 000. This is because the League in this region went on an aggressive recruitment campaign; and in some areas it initiated the formation of ANC branches.

The Task Force has called upon all branches and regional committees to increase their efforts in this direction.

Said one member of the Task Force: "It is a sad indictment on a movement committed to non-sexism that only 15% of the delegates to the ANC's National Consultative were women. Need we be reminded that 53% of the South African population are women!"



Open the doors

The disastrous matric results among African students once more bring into sharp focus the urgent need to end the system of apartheid education. This issue cannot await the introduction of a new constitution, but must be acted upon now.

It is to hide one's head in the sand to claim that these results are a consequence of school boycotts without addressing the question why the school boycotts occurred in the first instance.

Nobody should therefore run away from the reality that the problem lies with the perpetuation of the apartheid system of Bantu Education.

Nevertheless, once more we reiterate our call to the students to go back to school. We will contribute everything we can to ensure a return to normal learning

Extracts from the ANC's January 8 statement this year

and teaching. But this cannot be the end to the matter. Urgent measures are required to ensure that all our people are subject to the same system of education and that all schools are open to all, without discrimination on grounds of race or colour.

Accordingly, we must make the point here that the measures announced by the government to open the white schools need to be changed radically. It is quite

clear that these measures are designed to slow down or otherwise make very difficult the process of desegregating these schools. Such actions do not serve to inspire confidence in the commitment of the government to genuine change.

We pay tribute to the white parents who, in spite of the obstacles they face, have nevertheless acted to have the white schools opened to all the children of our country.

Proceeding from our commitment to the perspective that the doors of learning and culture should be open to all, we demand that these doors should be opened now so that the country as a whole begins seriously to tackle the urgent question of the development of our human resources for the building of a free, peaceful and prosperous society. ♦

Transforming teachers

MAYIBUYE asked the general secretary of the recently launched South African Democratic Teachers Union, Randall van den Heever, to explain the role of teachers under present conditions

This was the first time a truly non-racial and democratic teachers' organisation was formed, clearly committed to the struggle for a people's democracy in the country.

Education has long been one of the most racially-segregated arenas of public life in South Africa. It has always been very firmly divided into various compartments. And there were as many teachers' organisations as there were departments.

While one acknowledges that various teachers organisations had tried to remedy problems in their immediate school environment, it cannot be denied that separate teachers organisations soon became a blueprint of apartheid.

When teachers therefore decided in Harare in April 1988 to form a single, national union of teachers, it was a very significant political decision that was taken. Teachers decided that they themselves pave the way for a new education dispensation.

As much as teachers demand-

ed a democratic constitution with a single parliament, as they called for a single education system with a policy of non-racialism in schools, so they would have to be prepared to form a single non-racial teachers' organisation themselves.

Teachers would demonstrate by such an act that they were prepared to apply the demand for transformation to their own organisations and that they did not simply demand a non-racial society, a principle which they were not prepared to implement themselves.

It was this commitment to non-racialism and democracy which led to 19 organisations and affiliates signing an historic unity agreement on 30 September in which they committed themselves to the above-mentioned ideals.

The teacher formations involved were: Atasa, Utasa, Tasa, Neusa, Detu, CTPA, Wectu, PTU, Ectu, Edasa, Catu, Ofsata, Ofsta, Sonat, Elptu, PTL, TTA (Transkei), Boptu.

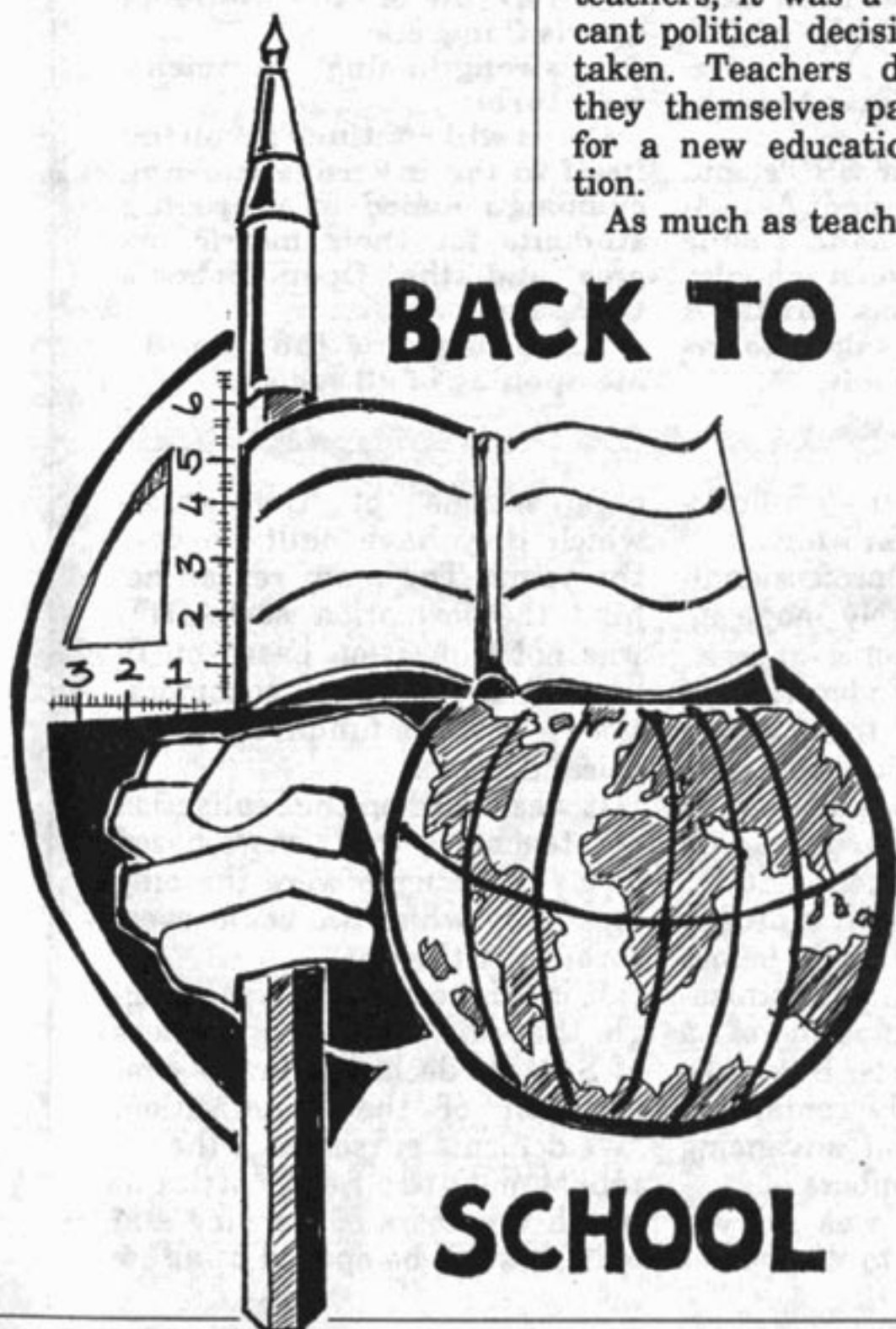
However, there were organisations such as the Transvaal Union of African Teachers Associations, the Natal Teachers Society and the Transkei Teachers Association, which pulled out of the unity initiative at the last moment. And there are some other organisations who had signed the unity agreement who are now raising doubts about their continued participation in SADTU.

Some of the arguments raised by these organisations are that SADTU is ANC-affiliated, that it has leanings towards trade unionism which are estranging professional organisations, and that the teachers from the newly emergent organisations were attempting a coup through SADTU on the established organisations and their considerable assets.

SADTU's responses to these allegations were as follows: Sadtu is an organisation of teachers.

BACK TO

SCHOOL



During the period of the State of Emergency high school students were left with no regional or national organisation. But gradually, local and regional structures came to be formed. However, their approaches were not uniform, making it difficult to respond to the education crisis.

Prior to its unbanning on February 2 1990, Cosas members were involving themselves in the education issues of the day.

The back-to-school campaign launched in 1989 was spearheaded by COSAS.

Since the unbanning, the National Interim Committee of COSAS has identified lack of leadership, resources, finance and person power as obstacles to its growth. In response, two leadership training workshops for six regions have been held.

The re-emergence of COSAS has been encouraging, with eleven regions being represented at its National Council in Transkei. This council contributed to revitalising the spirit of national cohesiveness.

This has enabled Cosas to work jointly with Nusas and Sansco in the national week of protest against apartheid violence and to contribute to the back-to-school and intensive learning campaigns of last year.

In December last year Cosas held its National Consultative meeting where a Programme of Action was drawn up. The Na-

Chief tasks for Cosas

MAYIBUYE spoke to a Cosas national leader about the challenges facing the students and their organisation in the new year.



Students during a march in Soweto last year

tional Congress is due to be held in February.

The following have been identified as the chief tasks of COSAS:

- the building of Cosas branches and locals;
- strengthening of SRC's and Parent-Teacher-Student Associations (PTSA's) so as to enable communities to govern schools;
- broadening Cosas ranks. A decision has been taken to organise in white schools;

- organising a national high schools sports formation which will fall under the National Sports Congress;

- strengthening women's structures;

Cosas will continue involving itself in the intensive learning campaign aimed at preparing students for their matric exams and the Open Schools Campaign.

Cosas demands the immediate opening of all schools. ♦

It is committed to fighting for fundamental change in education. The union, however, realises that education does not occur in a vacuum, and that consideration has to be given to the socio-political context in which education operates. SADTU members are therefore free to join whatever political organisations they feel committed to. This is the essence of democracy.

SADTU is further of the opinion that unionism and professionalism are not mutually exclusive concepts. A trade union is not necessarily opposed to professionalism.

The World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching

Profession (WCOTP) – an international organisation which is the epitome of the professionalism – is today largely made up of teacher trade unions.

The American Federation of Teachers (AFT), a trade union with a long tradition, is today involved in many professional projects like teacher upgrading and curriculum development.

SADTU is busy with a professional programme never before realised by any other organisation – the formulation of a teacher code of ethics. But SADTU remains equally committed to serve as a union advancing the rights of its members.

Finally, SADTU was not established in order to dispossess

organisations of the assets which they have built up over the years. The main reason behind the formation of SADTU was not a decision based on financial or material considerations – it was a fundamental political decision.

It was based on the realisation by teachers that mass-based forms of struggle were the only means by which we could overthrow apartheid.

It is this commitment to struggle that has led to the teachers of SADTU declaring in the constitution of the organisation: "We dedicate ourselves to the establishment of a South Africa in which the doors of learning and culture shall be opened to all". ♦

“We will be back”, said Steve Biko when black students walked out of the 1969 Congress of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas). That time has come, for black and white students to converge into a single anti-apartheid students' organisation.

At the end of 1987, both NEC's of the SA National Students' Congress (Sansco) and Nusas, believing that the conditions were ripe for organising white and black students under one banner, resolved to form a single organization. In 1989, the congresses of both organizations unanimously adopted the same resolution. The new organization will cater for students at the universities, teacher training colleges and the technikons.

However, the unbannings of February 2 created a new political climate in South Africa. The two organisations responded by applying themselves with a greater sense of immediacy to the question of a single student organisation.

POSITIVE FACTORS

The decade of the 1980's saw the consolidation of non-racialism and unity in action through common mass campaigns. Unity and non-racialism was built through the Anti-Republic campaigns of 1981, the UDF's Million Signature Campaign, the campaign against the occupation of Turfloop, and the mass defiance campaigns of 1989.

The changing character of the South African universities, English campuses in particular, impacted on student organizing. The inflow of black students in these universities increased.

An assessment of our approach and a change in the strategy of organising black and white students separately was required given developments in the broader struggle.

A constitutional commission has been set up to propose a constitution, logo, and the name for the new organisation. The final

One body for tertiary students

In July a huge, non-racial student organization will be launched bringing together thousands of students who had belonged to the black student body, Sansco, and Nusas, which caters for white students. The final seal on the process was put at the December congresses of both organisations.

decision will be taken at a national workshop in April 1991.

How political will this new organization become? "It will locate itself within the broad principles of the democratic movement," says Cde 'KK' Papiyane, education officer of Sansco.

INDEPENDENCE

It will however not sacrifice its independence as a student organization. The new organization will organize around broad political issues and specific concerns of students. It sees itself developing and nurturing a non-racial culture within the student community.

The fact that national oppression and racism are still in place, imposes on the student movement a responsibility to mobilise students not only around educational issues but also for the destruction of apartheid colonialism.

The new organization will be guided by the principles of non-racialism, democracy, non-sexism and working-class and African leadership.

It will have a unitary structure with branches on all campuses.

ANC YOUTH LEAGUE

Both Sansco and Nusas are part of the Provisional National Youth Committee of the ANC-YL. The new organization will continue to build and strengthen the ANC-YL, both as an organization and as individual students. It will take part in campaigns of the ANC-YL, such as the literacy campaign.

It will however remain independent. A principled alliance will be developed with the ANC YL, Cosas and the Young Christian Student (YCS).

UNITY IN STRUGGLE

Campaigns involving the mass of students will characterise the building of the new organization. A number of issues and campaigns have been identified for this year. These include the Education Charter Campaign aimed at the drawing up of a Charter for a democratic education system; the struggle against exclusion of black students from white campuses; intensive learning programmes for high school students; and transformation of the universities and other institutions of higher learning.

A major challenge facing the new student organization will be organising in the rural colleges and Afrikaans universities.

Addressing a joint workshop of Sansco and Nusas in April 1990, at Wits University, Terror Lekota said: "You will not do yourself any disservice by testing the water. And, in fact, as the youth of our country, you are specifically placed; it is indeed your task, because it is always said it is the youth who open new ground. You must show your preparedness to venture into the future. It is your time, it is your chance. You must take advantage of this." ♦

Strategies on sanctions

“I shall not argue that the economic ostracism of South Africa is desirable from every point of view. But I have little doubt that it represents our only chance of a relatively peaceful transition from the present unacceptable type of rule to a system of government which gives us all our rightful voice” – Albert Luthuli, 1963.

Various forms of Chief Luthuli's argument have been used over the years to motivate and justify the democratic movement's demand for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid state.

Today, however, due to internal and international struggles, the ANC and other organisations have been unbanned, some of the unjust apartheid laws have been repealed and the government is involved in pre-negotiation talks with the ANC.

Thus, one of the most pertinent questions raised at the recent National Consultative Conference was whether economic sanctions were still necessary and justifiable. After all, it can be said, we have now entered the period of transition that Chief Luthuli spoke about, and no-one wants to see serious long-term damage done to an economy that will soon have to be adapted to serve the needs and interests of all South Africans.

EXISTING SANCTIONS

After substantial discussion, Conference unanimously resolved to argue for the maintenance of the existing sanctions package.

Conference took note of the fact that while some reform has taken place, the basic institutions of apartheid are still entrenched. Also, the government has failed to adequately address many of the obstacles to genuine negotiation – for example, the return of all political prisoners and exiles and the repeal of no-

Given the changed and changing situation in South Africa, do we need to adopt new strategies on sanctions?

torious “security” legislation such as the Internal Security Act. Furthermore, the government continues to use violence and police repression to suppress legitimate political and civic actions. The situation on the ground today does not warrant the lifting of sanctions.

The general intention of economic sanctions remains much the same as it did in Albert Luthuli's time – and that is to make the cost of maintaining apartheid too much for the state to bear. Facing escalating costs and continued mass action, the government must have no option but to help facilitate peaceful transition towards a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

REALITIES

Yet, a number of realities must be taken into consideration. For example, existing trade sanctions are making little impact on the economy – South Africa continues to experience international trade surpluses reflecting that more is exported than imported. Trade with the Far East has been growing substantially every year. Also, last year a net inflow of capital was recorded which marks the end of the flight of capital which occurred after the Chase Manhattan Bank refused to roll over its loans in 1985.

In the light of these developments, where is the democratic movement to focus its campaign for the maintenance of economic

sanctions?

Apart from monitoring compliance with the oil and arms embargo, that the most efficient and practical means of bringing international pressure to bear on the South African economy today is to focus our campaign on the maintenance and tightening of financial sanctions on loans and credits, while not abandoning the other areas.

This would raise the costs for the government of delaying the negotiation process.

The political task of the ANC is therefore to mobilise support and pressure for the fulfilment of the pre-negotiation talks. We should launch discussions on the issue of economic sanctions with all affected interest groups in the country, including trade unions, business organisations and the government. These discussions should aim at addressing apartheid practices within the trade sector and should tie the easing of sanctions to specific practical commitments to abandon such practices.

Also, we should direct local investment towards efforts like the “Viva Project”, which are specifically aimed at ‘black empowerment’ and the redistribution of wealth.

At the same time pressure must be exerted on the government to address the socio-economic problems facing black people in housing, education, health and welfare.

Given the new internal and international situation, and resultant exaggerated perceptions about the nature of changes within South Africa, it is necessary for the ANC and other democratic formations to organise an international summit conference as a follow-up to the Arusha Sanctions Conference.

Such a forum would afford the democratic movement the opportunity to consult widely with the international anti-apartheid movement and work out new strategies for the isolation of apartheid South Africa. ♦

Debating nationalisation

In the last issue of *MAYIBUYE* we looked at the ideas contained in the ANC discussion document on economic policy. This time we focus on an issue which has been at the centre of the economic debate: nationalisation.

The discussion about nationalisation must be located within the ANC's commitment to a mixed economy. In such a system, there will be a role for the state, the private sector, co-operative and small family sectors.

The discussion also needs to take on board the current economic reality in South Africa, which is characterised by lack of economic growth, massive poverty and too few owning too much.

Finally, the discussion must recognise the current balance of forces and concrete experiences both nationally and internationally.

This contribution covers the following major points:

A. What is nationalisation?

B. Ways of nationalising a corporation.

C. What are the possible advantages of nationalisation?

D. What are the possible disadvantages of nationalisation?

A. What is nationalisation?

Nationalisation involves putting any section of the economy under the control and ownership of government. It does not necessarily involve putting every house and corner shop under the direct control of the government.

Nationalisation is not new to South Africa. Governments in the past, especially under the National Party, have nationalised a number of industries in the economy.

Today over 34% of the produc-

tive assets in the country are in the hands of the government. Armscor, Sasol, Escom, the Post Office, the transport and the aluminium industries are some of these areas.

This is used to benefit only the industrialists and whites, by providing them with jobs, a high income and services.

B. Nationalising a corporation

There are different methods that can be used when nationalising a section of the economy.

The first is by getting the government to invest in the setting up of a new industry or enterprise. This can be done, for example, through a government decision to spend part of the taxes

it collects in setting up a housing corporation that will build low-cost housing.

A second way is by introducing a law which puts a certain industry under the ownership of the government. This could involve compensation or confiscation. Confiscation means taking over a corporation without paying for it, while compensation involves paying an agreed amount to the previous owners.

A third way is by the government simply buying off a certain enterprise, at an agreed price, through a normal business transaction.

C. Possible advantages



1. If industries which provide a basic infrastructural service, such as electricity, are nationalised, then this can be used to ensure that all people have access to such services. This cannot be guaranteed if it is left in the hands of a private company.

2. It could mean that workers in a nationalised industry will have better working conditions and a greater sense of security about their employment when working for a democratic state.

They may be given a greater say in the running of the industry. They could act to ensure the government provides greater protection for workers' health, prevent racist or sexist labour practices, etc.

3. Nationalisation could be used to ensure that the profits from nationalised industries are invested in useful ways, either by social expenditure or investment in industries that are needed.

At the moment, large banks and insurance companies invest in profit-making ventures which do not necessarily benefit the people. This argument could be used to suggest a case for nationalising the banks.

4. Nationalisation could be used to democratise the economy. At the moment the economy is dominated by four large corporations: Anglo American, Rembrandt, Barlow Rand and Sanlam. These four control 81% of the shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. By nationalising parts of these conglomerates, we could reduce their control over the economy.

D. Possible disadvantages

1. If we are going to nationalise, we need to borrow the money to pay for the companies we buy. We will have to pay back this money with interest. This money will be spent without creating a new single job. If we are unable to pay back because the government does not make enough profit from that particular nationalised industry, we will be increasing our debt problems.

This happened in some countries where the government nationalised the mines, for example, and then ran into many difficulties.

2. Nationalisation could lead to skilled personnel leaving the country. In addition, we will have serious problems of finding the skilled people who are loyal to our democratic aims and who can run these nationalised industries.

3. Nationalisation is no longer favoured in the world today. This could lead to foreign investors feeling insecure about putting their money into South Africa. It could lead to serious problems of a fall in foreign investment. Foreign investment is needed in South Africa to make the economy grow. We saw the impact on the economy when financial sanctions were introduced in 1985.

4. Nationalisation could end up benefiting only a few: those who run the industry and are employed by it. The rest of the people would then benefit very little. This problem of a self-serving bureaucracy has been experienced in many countries. It has also led to inefficient management of enterprises and the economy as a whole.

E. The need to debate and discuss

It is clear from the advantages and disadvantages we have mentioned that nationalisation is not a simple clear-cut issue.

We need to examine each case very carefully.

For example, if we look at the issue of nationalising the gold mines, we will see that it is a complicated case. One could argue that nationalising the mines will mean that workers on the mines will get better wages and work under better conditions and that we could use the profits from mining to provide for the poor.

On the other hand, it could be argued that we cannot afford to spend the 70 billion rand it would cost to nationalise the

mines. Even if we borrowed this money it would put us into serious debt problems for many years to come.

Secondly, the nationalisation of the mines is not very productive because all that money will not create new jobs.

Thirdly, there is a strong possibility that skilled workers on the mines will leave (the majority of engineers in the mines are foreign) and the mining industry will collapse because we do not have the necessary skilled people who are loyal to our democratic aims. This will result in serious problems for the economy as a whole since mining is the main foreign exchange earner which allows us to import all the things we need.

Finally, there are other ways of achieving the goals that are the reasons for nationalisation. For example, we could maintain the high taxes on mining and ensure that the government gets a share of the profits. We could introduce new laws which will improve the safety and working conditions. We could take control of mineral rights and lease these out to the private sector. These alternative methods could allow us to meet some of the goals of nationalisation without all the possible dangers that nationalisation carries.

The question of nationalisation is not an easy one. It requires much more debate and discussion. We need to look carefully at the advantages and disadvantages of nationalisation, and must be able to have convincing proof that nationalising a particular section of the economy carries with it more benefits than costs.

We cannot have the view that nationalisation will give a new democratic government the means to provide us all with jobs, houses and education. We need to look more carefully at the economic reality and begin to find a more overall economic policy that will begin to solve our problems.

The debate on nationalisation and more generally on economic policy must continue. All of us must take part in drawing up economic policy. ♦

The front debate

The articles in this column aim at taking further the debate about united fronts, introduced in the last issue of MAYIBUYE. The views expressed here do not necessarily reflect the policy positions of the organisations to which the writers belong. The aim is to generate as much debate as possible. Further contributions are welcome.



A brief look at the history of the UDF will reveal that the Front was formed during a period of what the regime thought was the consolidation of apartheid policy.

Ten bantustans had been established, and four of these had accepted a status of 'independence'. When the regime pushed through the House of Assembly the Koornhof and Tri-cameral Parliament Bills, it was bringing the legal-constitutional separateness to the urban areas.

It is small wonder, therefore, that civic associations became the backbone of the UDF after it was formed. The Front was formed to confront the regime on two specific issues that sought to entrench white control on the one hand, and further isolate and exclude the African majority from all effective institutions of power on the other.

POLITICAL ORGANISATION

At the time of its formation, it had been expressed that the UDF was not a political organi-

The future of the UDF

by Gugile Nkwinti, Eastern Cape ANC and UDF regional secretary

sation that sought to replace the African National Congress. On the contrary, it had to work towards the unbanning of the ANC so that the latter could take its rightful place in engaging the regime in mechanisms aimed at transferring power to the majority.

But this immediately implied that the UDF was perceived as having a Congress or Charterist inclination. This narrowed the base of the Front.

Now the ANC has been unbanned; and the UDF has not been disbanded. Fears have been expressed, perhaps correctly, about the UDF being used by some activists as a base from which they could undermine the ANC. I will not pursue this point any further as I believe that my text as a whole will impact on it.

It is not, in my opinion, neces-

sary to emphasise the successes of the UDF in confronting the regime and rendering the townships ungovernable, in discussing the future of the UDF. One needs to look at the Front itself, and examine its strengths and weaknesses as a vehicle to a democratic society.

DYNAMISM AND VIBRANCY

It is true that, at some point in time, the Front lost dynamism and democratic vibrancy across its hierarchy. The question that has to be asked is: to what extent can this be attributed to subjective weaknesses within the leadership structures of the organisation itself or to the extremely difficult conditions within which the Front operated? Or both?

The previous MAYIBUYE article hits the nail on the head when it points out that we cannot sacrifice the collective gains of our struggle to partisan (or even sectarian) interests.

This requires us to execute several tasks – the most urgent being to build peace among our people and the capacity to defend that peace. Well-rooted political and community organisations must jointly provide a framework within which this can be achieved.

For clear, goal-directed action to happen there is also a need to thrash out a clear programme of action for the common front. In this way we are able to ensure that our common action and assault on apartheid brings us closer to the basic aims of the struggle.

COHESION AND UNITY

The cohesion and unity of anti-apartheid forces depends crucially on the liberation movement being able to pull together. It is on this score that we can hardly afford to let the masses be disillusioned by watching a quibbling contest/mud slinging between our leaders.

Furthermore, we are already involved in a process where the basis for negotiations is being laid. The task again falls on the liberation movement to ensure that the very foundations of this

The broad patriotic front

by Sam Mkhabela, political education officer of the ANC Witbank branch and UDF leader

process is mass participation on the question of transfer of power to the people.

It is for this reason that the Constituent Assembly and the Interim Government have been pin-pointed as the best instruments to ensure that negotiations take place on a basis that fundamentally addresses the interests of the masses.

The legitimacy of any step taken to resolve the question of apartheid colonialism depends on the process by which this is done.

There are two sides to this: how effectively we involve the masses and the credibility of the participants in this process.

The success with which we can carry out the attempt to build a genuinely patriotic front will greatly influence not only the prospects for the transition to democracy, but also the chances of a stable post-

liberation future.

Following on the discussion above, we may suggest that a possible programme of the patriotic front could include the following:

- The setting up of independent monitoring structures, and an impartial institution to deal with cases of political violence and intimidation against the people.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

- A campaign for the constituent assembly and interim government. Here the participants in the broad front would have to set up the appropriate campaign structures as well as identify specific ways in which pressure can be applied on the regime through national and sub-national mass action.

- Clear links have to be estab-

● from page 39

In discussions around the future of the Front, the idea of transforming its character has received dominance. The UDF, it is argued, is supposed to remove itself from the political centre-stage, for that belongs to the ANC. Some as-yet vague ideas have been thrown about, about such a front playing a coordinating role for civic, student and other non-party political organisations. This would definitely have to include the trade union movement.

The idea of a social movement

existing on levels of civil society immediately springs to mind. This is what should be emphasised when considering the future of the UDF. It need not bear the same name; nor should it suffer from the narrow political confines in which the UDF found itself hemmed.

During its existence, the UDF had brought into reality the notion of non-racialism within a hostile milieu of extreme state racism.

It built within the mass democratic movement a culture of democratic practice, characterised by demands for mandates

and accountability from those who hold elected positions in organisations.

The political situation has generated serious debates on questions of fundamental import. These include the possibilities of establishing democratic formations such as a broad patriotic front. These formations will be geared not only at transforming apartheid society. They will also have to act as checks and balances for the dynamism and vibrancy of democracy beyond the apartheid state.

This should be the direction into which the Front is trans-



Leaders from a range of anti-apartheid organisations which participated in the Conference for a Democratic Future a few years ago.

ed between the struggle and negotiations at a nation-level and the ongoing campaigns of the masses such as the re-occupation struggles led on the popular spirit of defiance.

The campaign for 'Peace and Freedom Now' needs to be taken further to encompass other political formations, to be a campaign on the broad front, as well as be linked to the demands for normalization of political life in South Africa.

A unifying declaration – setting out the perspective of unity in action and a code of conduct

that includes the discouraging of political opportunism, e.g. where groups participate in joint efforts only when it suits them and pulling out for sectarian reasons.

- A clear process of dislodging, rehabilitating and winning over those previously serving apartheid has to be directed by guidelines built into the programme of the broad front.

- Consideration needs to be given to forms of participation of the international community in the process of transition, including pressure to normalise the situation and curb anti-people

violence.

AVAILABLE FORCES

Attention needs to be given to ways of extending the broad front, not confining it to the founder-participants. At the same time, it is necessary to recognise that it is basically a front of struggle: to proceed with the forces available and include others as it goes on, and not be bogged down by 'endless' debate around 'fine-tuning' or self-conferred powers of veto by those standing outside the effort being made. ♦

ned. The existence of such a front through organs of civil society can only reinforce the task of national liberation that we urgently face together. This will be so only if the front sees its primary task as advancing the interests of the workers of society it represents, including, above all, the destruction of the system of apartheid.

BROAD PATRIOTIC FRONT

Recently, I cast a cursory look at an article by Patrick Cull in

the Eastern Province Herald (5/1/91), entitled: "SA alliances born of fear". He refers to the utterances of the Labour Party leadership which may imply possibilities of forging an alliance with the National Party.

It may well be that proposed alliances in one or more of the numerous camps, particularly those which form part of the status quo, are based on fear. In others, however, they are based on strategic and tactical necessity, principle and/or other imperatives.

It is basically around strategic and tactical considerations that

a patriotic front can be formed. The urgent and strategic challenge to destroy apartheid, and the possibility of achieving this by peaceful means, have created the basis for unity among a wide spectrum of forces. This has led to the realisation that it is necessary to rationalise resources – including human and material ones.

While differences among these forces will remain, for example, on details about the future constitution, their current and immediate objectives can bring them together – if only temporarily. ♦

On March 13 1979 the New Jewel Movement (NJM) overthrew the reactionary Gere regime in Grenada, a tiny island in the Carribean.

For the next four and a half years until the American invasion in October 1983, the Grenadian people set about reversing the effects of imperialist domination and establishing a democratic society.

The most successful experiment of the Grenadian Revolution was the establishment of an intensive adult education campaign through the Centres for Popular Education. In less than 18 months, 10 000 adults were taught to read and write and, within three years of the revolution, the government had embarked on a programme to give all adults a secondary education. Hand in hand with this went the political education of all the people of Grenada.

In this interview, Didicus Jules, former Deputy Secretary for Education in the Provisional Revolutionary Government discusses the Political Education Programme within the New Jewel Movement.

Mayibuye: What kinds of education took place inside political organisations and trade unions?

Didicus Jules: The most extensive political education was within the party itself and that took the form of study circles which focussed mainly on ideological concepts. There was also a worker education programme in all public work places. These were held one afternoon a week and everyone had to go through these programmes.

M: Do you think there is a contradiction between putting across organisational policy and encouraging critical thinking?

DJ: There is no contradiction. It is the right of the members to be informed of situations and decisions. But, what is important is that people must always have the opportunity to critically assimilate information whenever

The jewel of political education

MAYIBUYE spoke to Didicus Jules from Grenada's New Jewel Movement about the organisation's approach to political education

it is presented. So, if it is necessary to tell members about the constitution of the organisation and its programmes, that in my mind should be logically followed by a session which gets people to give critical feedback.

I think the important guideline is that, whenever there is criticism, it has to be framed in the context of alternatives. If I were to put that in the context of South Africa, I would think that a lot of the current debate about negotiations and the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle, all of those things which have been taken in the wisdom of the leadership of the ANC must necessarily be followed by some discussion amongst ANC members to interrogate the wisdom of that decision. If people profoundly disagree with any of these decisions, they must be in a position to present alternatives to the leadership.

To do this, people need to be presented with the necessary information. By that I mean people must put themselves in the shoes of the leadership. They must understand the constraints under which the leadership is working, the political pressures from the top, internationally, from the government, and from below.

By putting themselves in the shoes of the leadership, they can

really appreciate why certain compromises have to be made at this historical juncture. And, if they still disagree with those compromises, they should present realistic suggestions for the position they would like to see taken.

M: How can one use political education to create this dialogue that you speak of?

DJ: That is something that must be negotiated between the political educators and their leadership. There will be points when one has to agree to disagree.

But it is really important that structural ways be created by which political education becomes not just the transmission of a party line, but allows for dialogue between the party and the masses.

The role of political educators is to help that process. One suggestion is that the leadership be co-opted as often as their schedule allows to become part of the education programme. So that it is not just a question of the educator reporting the views of the masses to the leadership but of the leadership coming among the people to hear their views and to be part of the discussion. I think that, in this way, they will be more sensitive to what is coming back to them. ♦

What is the character of our struggle?

Do negotiations or the possibility of a negotiated settlement mean that the character of our struggle has changed? Is armed seizure of power essential to a national democratic struggle? Do negotiations aim at something "different", the transfer of power to the people?

In trying to answer these questions, we need to clarify various issues:

In the first place, the character of a struggle is determined by the nature of the social order that a movement contests.

SOCIAL ORDER

Secondly, having characterised the nature of the social order that one confronts, one can decide what the character of the struggle against it is.

If, for example, one is struggling to obtain rights to which a people is legally entitled, rights written in a constitution, as in the case of the United States, then one speaks of a civil rights struggle. In this situation, people do not seek to transform the entire social order. Their goal is to have their rights secured within that social order, to have themselves included within the constitutional dispensation, through the practical realisation of what is intended in the law.

If, on the other hand, a state has been founded and constituted on the basis of the exclusion and conquest of the majority of its inhabitants, we are dealing with a fundamentally different situation. In this latter one, the state is established and exists through aggression and denial of rights, as a principle, not a failure in practical implementation of constitutional rights.

To secure or obtain civil rights in this case means, first, that the social order as a whole must be fundamentally changed. Those without rights have to wrest control from those who

have arrogated to themselves rights over all. They then have to construct a fundamentally different constitutional and social order.

This characterisation is well summarised by ANC President O.R.Tambo:

"The South African constitution excludes the blacks. They are outside the constitution. There is nothing they can do about the decisions, the policies of the South African regime. They don't belong. They are fighting from outside this white state. This is not a civil rights struggle at all. If we were part of the constitution, if we were citizens like any other, then of course there would be rights to fight for, as there are rights to fight for in the United States. But in South Africa the position is different. Our struggle is basically, essentially, fundamentally, a national liberation struggle."

STRATEGY AND TACTICS

In the third place, the strategies and tactics that one pursues in order to secure such fundamental transformation, is an entirely different thing from what the character of that struggle is.

It is possible that some people will use armed activity to secure civil rights within a constitution. At the same time, a negotiated settlement can be quite compatible with pursuing a national democratic struggle.

What forms of struggle a people pursue are determined, in the main (but not exclusively), by concrete conditions, and in the first place what space has been allowed for various types of activities by the oppressor. If peaceful methods are excluded, whether in an internal civil rights or a national liberation struggle, then people are forced to take up arms. And that is a decision that people make in civil wars, where they are not fight-

ing a colonial oppressor. It is also a decision made in anti-colonial wars, including one against the special type of colonialism found in South Africa.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE

The character of the South African struggle is for the national liberation of the black people in general and the African majority in particular. The South African state was established through armed aggression and conquest. At Union the British imperialists handed power over, not to the people, but to whites, so that sovereignty and independence has never been enjoyed by the majority.

For the majority of South Africans, the departure of the British did not remove colonial rule. The whites have continued to pursue a colonial form of government, despite living on the same territory as the colonised.

To end colonial rule, whether in a conventional colony or in South Africa requires a national democratic revolution. It is national because it involves people from all over the country and from all social groups. Its national character finds ultimate expression in forging one nation on the basis of equality.

It is democratic because it entails transfer of power, and democratisation of political, social and economic relations throughout our society.

REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION

It is revolutionary because it entails a transformation that cannot occur within the existing constitutional and social system. That it is revolutionary, does not mean that it must necessarily be violent. It is a revolution because it requires fundamental change, unable to be achieved within the existing social order. ♦

Soe loep Jazzart

Dawn Langdown recounts the experiences of her uncle, the banjo-playing "voorlooper", in a Christmas Band in Namaqualand. The music of Abdullah Ebrahim features strongly in this one-woman show.

She keeps us spellbound – sometimes laughing loudly from the gut, sometimes weeping, sometimes silenced as we recognised those racist aspects of her childhood experience.

It was another coup for Jazzart – the first staging of a black one-woman show in Cape Town.

Jazzart has become synonymous with the struggle of cultural groups in the Western Cape. It all started way back in 1972 when Jazzart was established by Somya Mayo in studios just off Adderley Street. Then came Sue Parker, she of the boundless energy, who took over the studio in 1977 and formed the Jazzart Contemporary Dance Company a year later.

RHYTHM OF CHANGE

In 1982 Val Steyn took over Jazzart Studios and a new company was formed at the end of that year. 1986 saw the birth of Abamanyani, a group which consisted of Amawethu traditional dancers, musicians and some members of the company. Their programme, Rhythm of Change, looked with compassion at the crisis in the country during 1986.

They mesmerized audiences with a successful marriage of traditional and contemporary dance, original musical accompaniment (drums, guitars, percussion, marimbas, singers) and colourful costumes.

Review of "Soe Loep Ons", a one-woman performance featuring Dawn Langdown

It was fifty minutes of riveting dance, movement and theatre which unpatronizingly related to our traumatised society; yet one left with a feeling of hope.

Then came the crunch. Val Steyn left Jazzart and Alfred Hinkel took over in July 1986. December 1986 saw the banning of The Cape Town Festival: Towards a People's Culture, in which Jazzart (possibly on the basis of Abamanyani) had been asked to perform.

The banning of the festival resulted in several community-based gigs being held all over Cape Town. This, together with the renewed cultural upsurge taking place during late 1985/86, obviously affected those in Jazzart as well.

TEACHING METHODS

Jazzart teaching methods changed. Instead of trying to force everyone to look alike – thin and chocolate-box pretty, and wanting everyone to do the steps in exactly the same way, movements based on the way in which the body moved naturally were developed and improvisation played a much more important role. Dances were workshopped instead of directed.

During 1990 Jazzart Dance

Theatre Group joined forces with Wectu (Western Cape Teachers' Union) and held programmes at various local high schools. The dances were punctuated with poetry and prose and dealt with worker issues, women, traditional dance (including revolutionised Boere Volkdans!) and of course the stimulating and wonderful Bolero.

Imagine gumboots in Ravel's Bolero. ... Repetitive, classical rhythms through which the dancers weave, leap, roll, stomp with contemporary dance steps, with traditional dance steps, a bit of klaps and gumboot dancing, all happily fused together whilst each dancer consistently changed and interchanged the wearing of a single gumboot.

Euro-centric purists might have been horrified, but I found it spectacular.

For me the value of Jazzart Dance Theatre is epitomised in Dawn Langdown – that previously ordinary working woman from Namaqualand. Transformed through the support, encouragement, skills given and exchanged and, more importantly, the space and opportunity for creative growth provided by Jazzart, she is now administrator/dancer/actress/teacher AND choreographer! Soe loep ons, Dawn.

En soe loep Jazzart, with slow faltering steps, striving to build upon the discipline of traditional dance technique whilst infusing it with the flavour, energy and excitement of our own South African dances.

The result is sparkling, innovative choreography which will surely serve to lay the foundations of a dance form that reflects the richness of South African culture.

– MS

WHERE TO CONTACT THE ANC

NATIONAL OFFICE
MUNICH RE CENTRE
54 SAUER ST
JOHANNESBURG 2000
Phone: (011) 834-5301/8
833-7760/5
Fax: (011) 834-1019

PWV REGION
10TH FLOOR
ESSANBY HOUSE
175 JEPPE ST
JOHANNESBURG 2000
Phone: (011) 29-6066
Fax: (011) 29-3030

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL
OFFICE NO 1 & 2
1ST FLOOR
MIMOSA BUILDING
MARKET STREET
PIETERSBURG
Phone: (01521) 92-1241
92-2183
Fax: (01521) 91-4215/91-3121

EASTERN TRANSVAAL
37 PROMENADE
BUILDING
HENSHALL ST
NELSPRUIT 1200
Phone: (01311)-53051
Fax: (01311)-551172

WESTERN TRANSVAAL
99 CHURCH STREET
KLERKSDORP 2570
Phone: (018) 64-1080
Fax: (018) 2-8985

NORTHERN CAPE
MOBRO BUILDINGS
147 TRANSVAAL ROAD
KIMBERLEY 8301
Phone: (0531) 81-1727
81-2541
Fax: (0531) 81-2903
81-2583

WESTERN CAPE
NBS BUILDING
GEORGE ST
ATHLONE
Phone: (021) 697-1190/4
Fax: (021) 697-1570

EASTERN CAPE
3RD FLOOR STANDARD
HOUSE
344 MAIN ST
PORT ELIZABETH 6000
Phone: (041) 559618/21
Fax: (041) 559616

BORDER
1-3 NORTH ST
EAST LONDON
5201
Phone: (0431) 43-9734/5
Fax: (0431) 43-9736

TRANSKEI
28 YORK ROAD
UMTATA
5100
Phone: (0471) 31-0814/5
Fax: (0471) 2-5651

NORTHERN NATAL
NO 11 STEELWAY ST
EMPANGENI RAIL
Phone: (0351) 2-1673
Fax: (0351) 92-1054

SOUTHERN NATAL
130 FIELD ST
3RD FLOOR
DURBAN 4001
Phone: (031) 301-5551
Fax: (031) 301-9330

NATAL MIDLANDS
SUITE 5
DAVIS ALEXANDER HOUSE
145 CHURCH ST
PIETERMARITZBURG 3200
Phone: (0331) 94-6558/9
Fax: (0331) 42-3231

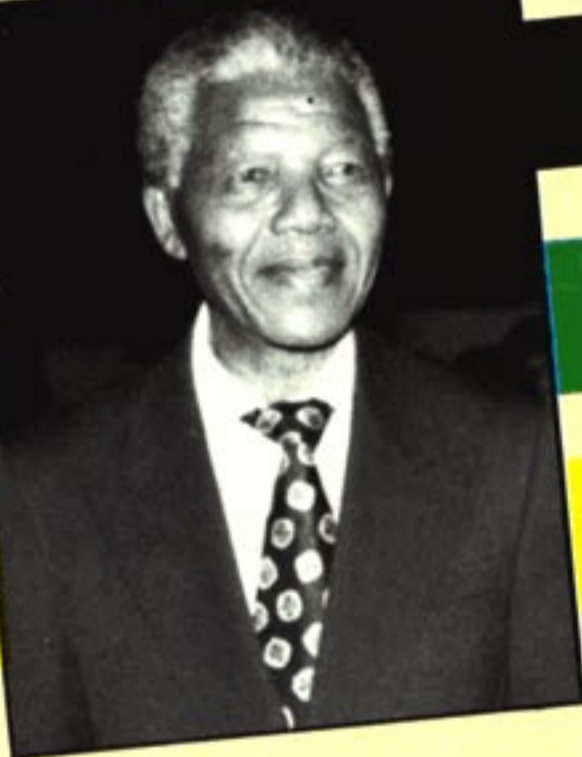
SOUTHERN OFS
TILE HOUSE BUILDING
22 FORT STREET
BLOEMFONTEIN 9301
Phone: (051) 48-2610
Fax: (051) 48-0108

NORTHERN OFS
2-17TH STRAAT
VOORSPOED EAST
WELKOM
Phone: (0171) 96-4874
Fax: (0171) 96-3129

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN

**Available from all
ANC offices**

**Year of mass
action for
the transfer
of power to
the people**



**Statement of the
National Executive Committee on the
occasion of the 79th anniversary of the
African National Congress
January 8, 1991**

Price: R1