

## **PERSPECTIVES ON THE PATRIOTIC CONFERENCE**

### **I. OUR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES:**

1. To unite the widest spectrum of South Africans against apartheid for a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.
2. To reach consensus on issues related to negotiations and the transition as well as broad principles to underpin the new democratic society.
3. To engage the broad anti-apartheid forces in a programme of action aimed at facilitating the process towards attaining the common strategic goal.

### **II. CHARACTER OF CONFERENCE:**

1. Conference should be a culmination of a process of consultation aimed at establishing consensus on issues to be tabled.
2. Over 50 organisations which agree on the broad issues identified above, and particularly the demand for a Constituent Assembly, will take part.
3. International participation: The encounter should be seen as a working conference with as little of pomp and ceremony as possible. In this regard, international representation should be limited to an executive of the OAU, and at most include UN Committee Against Apartheid, Non-Aligned Movement and Commonwealth of Nations.
4. Conference Agenda will be as follows:
  - 4.1. Opening of Conference by the 3 Presidents (also to deal with current political situation)
  - 4.2. International Guest (OAU Representative)
  - 4.3. Transfer of Political Power: Constituent Assembly and modalities towards it. On our part, this will include:

- All-Party Congress,
- Constitutional Principles
- Interim Government
- Constituent Assembly

#### 4.4. Violence

#### 4.5. Programme of Action (Internal and International Actions)

#### 4.6. Patriotic Front and relevant structures

#### 4.7. Declaration and Resolutions

**NB:** • Preparatory Committee will need to work out relevant time allocations and structure of conference to ensure proper discussion over the two-and-half days allocated.

• PAC and AZAPO propose that there should be a rally on the last day of Conference. This will depend primarily on the establishment of consensus in pre-Conference consultations. Preferably, the rally should be held at a later date after Conference.

### III. CURRENT POLITICAL CONJUNCTURE:

1. The four main areas around which the ANC seeks consensus are:

- Constitutional Principles,
- All-Party Congress,
- Interim Government, and
- Constituent Assembly.

2. There is general consensus on the issue of a Constituent Assembly, and there will not be much difficulty in achieving agreement on the Constitutional Principles. While PAC and AZAPO have agreed to some form of "interim authority", they do not accept the idea of an IG as we understand it. They seem to reject the issue of the APC out of hand.

3. It will therefore be necessary to undertake an intensive process of consultation to try and achieve consensus on all the main issues. Our approach naturally will be to win over the various organisations to our positions. But if our approach does not prevail, we should seek common positions which, however, do not compromise our policies. For instance,

the Conference could adopt a resolution on "impartial interim mechanisms" without having to be detailed about the name and the form. The process of thrashing out these issues should take place before Conference. This however does not mean that we do not propagate our positions at the Conference itself.

#### **IV. PREPARATORY PROCESS:**

##### **1. Establishing consensus:**

Intensive consultations will have to be undertaken both with the aim of consolidating our ranks and reaching consensus with other participants. The following groups of organisations should be met prior to Conference:

- Structures of the ANC and the Leagues
- Tripartite Alliance and MDM organisations
- PAC, AZAPO, WOSA, NACTU, NUM of SA
- Business eg., NAFCOC, CBM
- Religious organisations
- Homelands.

The Liaison Committee in co-ordination with SG's Office and Organising Department should take charge of this process. The cut-off date should be not later than 20 September, 1991. The date proposed for Conference (4-6 October) should be aimed for, but the conference should be postponed if the above-mentioned processes have not as yet been completed.

##### **2. Preparatory Structures:**

2.1. Liaison Committee of 4 each exists. Due to the workload on some of our delegates, we propose the following:

- Ishmail Ebrahim
- Josiah Jele
- Simon Makana
- Murphy Morobe
- Mac Maharaj

Of these, Ebrahim and Jele will be full-time.

2.2. Administrative structure to work on acquisition of venue, etc: 1 rep each from ANC, PAC and AZAPO. From the ANC we propose Josiah Jele.

### 3. Regional Preparations:

3.1. Regions should be encouraged to discuss and consolidate the ANC's approach. A circular outlining our approach to the Conference and the Front needs to be sent to the Regions to guide discussion.

3.2. Regions should be encouraged to consult and act together with their counter-parts among prospective participants. This should be seen as a process of consolidation pre- and postdating Conference.

3.3. The Region in which the Conference will be held will be given responsibilities in accordance with needs.

4. Conference Decisions: As areas of consensus emerge from the process of consultation, relevant resolutions and the Declaration should start to form. Liaison Committee and Organising Department should concretise drafts on this basis. The following main areas can be identified:

- \* Strategic perspective: principles to underpin future society
- \* Modalities towards Constituent Assembly
- \* Constituent Assembly
- \* Violence
- \* Internal Programme of Action
- \* International Programme of Action
- \* Structure of BPF
- \* General Declaration

## V. BROAD PATRIOTIC FRONT:

### 1. Structure:

1.1. The Front itself might not gel from Conference. This must be seen as a process, as the various organisations consolidate their relationships in actual struggle.

1.2 However, a structure needs to emerge from Conference to ensure co-ordination and joint actions:

\* Liaison Committee: Conference should set up a Liaison Committee much broader than the present one. Its composition should be finalised during pre-conference consultations and at Conference itself.

## 2. Principles governing the Front:

2.1. The Front shall act as a united force on all those issues on which there is agreement, as reflected in the Programme of Action and decisions of Conference.

2.2. Constituents of the Front shall retain their independence and sovereignty.

2.3. Constituents which agree on given issues which are not necessarily part of Front policy shall have the right to work together on those issues.

2.4. Constituents shall be entitled to co-operate with organisations which are outside the Front with the aim of advancing the process of transition.

2.5. Where appropriate, regular consultation will take place within the Front, even on those issues on which there might not be agreement.

**ADDENDUM:**

**PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANTS**

**POLITICAL:**

1. ANC
2. PAC
3. AZAPO
4. SACP
5. New Unity Movement
6. WOSA

**TRADE UNIONS:**

7. NACTU
8. COSATU
9. Independent Unions

**BUSINESS:**

10. FABCOS
11. NAFSOC
12. BMF

**TEACHERS:**

13. SADTU
14. NATUSA
15. TUATA
16. ATASA

**CHIEFS:**

17. CONTRALESA

**RELIGIOUS:**

18. SACC

19. Call of Islam

20. Qibla

21. Moslem Youth Movement

22. Islamic Judicial Council

23. ZCC (1)

24. ZCC (2)

25. SACBC

26. International Pentecostal Church Conference

27. Hindu body/-ies

**SPORTS:**

28. NPSL

29. SARU

30. Cricket body

31. BLA

32. NADEL

33. Lawyers for Human Rights

**WHITE AREAS:**

34. Black Sash

35. Five Freedoms Forum

**OTHER PROFESSIONAL:**

36. NAMDA

37. SAHWCO

38. UDUSA

**STUDENTS:**

39. ....

**HOMELANDS:**

40. Lebowa (UPF)

41. KaNgwane (INM)

42. KwaNdebele (IYS)

43. Qwaqwa (DP and any other)

44. Gazankulu (XXR?)

45. KwaZulu (IFP?)

46. Ciskei (?)

47. Bophuthatswana (BDP? and SF

48. Venda (?)