

MEETING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE DELEGATION AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

VENUE: LUSAKA ZAMBIA

DATE: MONDAY 26th-SATURDAY 30th OCTOBER 1987

SESSION 1

The meeting commenced at 9.55 hours with the chairperson welcoming the delegates from the University of the Western Cape (UWC). In his response the leader of the UWC delegation expressed his delegations pleasure in meeting the Lusaka based comrades and hoped that discussions would be fruitful. He also conveyed greetings from the people at home.

A brief self - introduction followed.

Message of Greetings

A message from the ANC Secretary for Education was read on his behalf by his deputy. In the message he welcomed the UWC delegation to Zambia. He stressed the significance of the meeting which he said would equip delegates with knowledge. It would act as a forum for an interchange of ideas for the way forward to democracy away from oppression.

He reminded the participants that the struggle against racist education had led to loss of thousands of lives. The problems of education in our country would be solved by liberation. Education for liberation was one of the demands of the struggle. Education and liberation are not mutually exclusive. The UWC has an important role to play in the same way as all teachers and academics are.

Teachers organisations should work hand in hand with students' and community organisations. Educationists should counter distortions, conduct educational research and defend the right to education for all.

On the language question the the secretary for education said the medium of educational language should be functional, cultural and emotive.

He referred to the academic and cultural boycott campaigns as a tactic and not a principle. It was important not to take contradictions among people as antagonistic.

In conclusion he emphasised the importance of unity in action by all anti-apartheid forces in the country, and pledged the ANC's commitment to the education of all our people.

Introduction of Agenda

Adjustments were made in view of the time available. Later the programme was extended since the UWC delegation could not travel to Tanzania (see Annexure 1. (a) and 1. (b)).

UWC and the Education Crisis in South Africa

a) Nature of the Crisis

The education struggle in South Africa should be located in the context of the national struggle for liberation.

The question of education is central to the struggle, and has moved to the forefront as we work towards education for empowerment i.e People's Education for People's Power!

The incompetence of the state in dealing with the crisis had in fact compounded the present crisis.

In taking stock of the education crisis we are convinced that new crises are emerging around gains of the struggle. The crisis has moved beyond victories scored. However we have made massive advances but these also present problems. Therefore we need to take stock of areas which present such problems.

b) Transformation of UWC

The presenter briefly traced developments at the UWC since 1982 when the university adopted a policy statement rejecting the political ideological base on which UWC was founded by the South African regime.

The policy document was rectified by both the University Senate and Council. UWC thus committed itself to a truly non-racial democratic society. There is need to critically assess and reflect on:-

- i) Students actions at the campus,
- ii) Staff participation and non-participation,
- iii) Challenge to change course content and strategies,

- iv) Creation of space that can be used for political action,
- v) Relationship between UWC and the community,

The speaker acknowledged that transformation at UWC was not complete. Progressives are not in control. There are challenges and tensions to be faced. He cited the open admission policy of the university which poses serious challenges for academic performance.

The crisis at UWC (internal struggles) makes long term planning impossible and retards implementation of People's Education. Relevant research towards a post apartheid South Africa is hampered by the teaching nature of the university.

The state, whose concern is not higher education tried to regain political control over the university's autonomy so as to reverse political gains. The state has in fact declared war on the university.

In conclusion he stressed that this was a challenge to UWC to take up the battle. This is possible through effective campaigning to advance the struggle at UWC and at national level because the actions of the regime force the people, including academic, to respond and to take a stand.

c) UWC's Contribution to the General Transformation Process in Society

Different constituencies at UWC were enumerated as staff, students, leadership, workers etc. The leadership tries to create a favourable climate for progressives. The former and present rectors have created space and a correct atmosphere for transformation. However progressives are still in the minority but have a heavy influence.

The student body has also created a platform to enhance the struggle. They are the main force for transformation.

Staff in the various fields do contribute to transformation of society and so does the faculty of Religions Studies.

SESSION 2

Topic 2

Colleges and Schools

In the last decade the education struggle has contributed to the national struggle, and has led to a focus on the nature of education we want. The call for People's Education has given an impetus to the education struggle.

A resolution of the NECC stressed the need for organisation of viable structures. Thus the return of students to school was a tactic to enhance the strengthening of students' organisations and coordination of activities, Students are involved in community issues and in the campaign for the Education Charter.

However there are constraints such as:-

- the attitude of parents and teachers against the use of the boycott weapon by students.
- use of undemocratic practices to solve problems
- this resulted in the collapse of students structures in 1985 for example
- lack of coordination e.g coloured students returned to school while Africans stayed away.
- the state tries to maintain control over the students activities using scholarships.
- vigilante groups pose a problem for smooth organisational work

Discussions

Questions for Clarification by ANC delegates

- Are there any structures at UWC involving academics that look into problems of People's Education and what is their programme and direction?
- To what extent does UWC coordinate and collaborate with other institutions and SRCs?
- How is transformation of UWC perceived?
- What is being done to transform attitudes of conservative parents to bridge the gap between them and students?
- How can other community organisations e.g Trade Unions contribute towards transformation of UWC?
- What forces have been mobilised to carry out the programme, of People's Education. We need to know what we want to achieve in schools, colleges and universities.

Clarification on what has been done (UWC)

- There has been participation by the people, schools and universities in debates, meetings, workshops, seminars and conferences. However there is need to define further the concept of People's Education.

- The Wits university, in liason with the NECC is looking at the policy development in this direction. The major problem is the absence of a clear cut political direction.
- There is a desire at UWC to implement People's Education. Efforts are made to fight for students representation in formal faculty structures and Senate.
- Recently UWC appointed an active comrade to study how the university can relate and be accountable to the mass democratic movement (MDM) and community at large.
- UWC is also considering research programmes to develop that of people's education.
- Attempts have been made by different organisations and faculties to give substance to the concept of people's education, by writing on specific topics, and 90% of the content has been written and developed by UWC. WECTU has produced two volumes on the History of Struggle.
- The progressive minority at UWC is providing learning needs for the people e.g a centre for adult and continuing education has been established by, them.

The centre is not subsidised by the government.

The meeting noted and appreciated efforts made by progressives at UWC to transform the institution. However this was a long term process.

UWC should filter out some of its ideas to other educational centres. It is possible to involve intellectuals in the struggle for liberation without necessarily turning them into activists. There is need to coordinate and collate information.

UWC should pay attention to operational research that could transform the militancy of the blacks in the Western Cape into organs of people's power. Academics must be encouraged to research for the purpose of advancing the struggle.

People's education was defined as organised, struggle around specific demands. It therefore means transformation of schools colleges and universities to act as bases of struggle.

The principles: Liberation before Education and Education for Liberation are interlinked. People's education should address the question of what type of an educated person we want to produce for a post apartheid South Africa.

Therefore there is need to democratize education, make the syllabi more relevant and link with the mass democratic actions. Educators have a specific role to play in the creation and development of a curriculum for People's Education i.e outside their school, college or university tasks.

This demands structural changes and creation of alliances between the MDM, teachers' and other people's organisations in order to transform the situation.

Thus organisations involved in the struggle must be strengthened and the leadership broadened. There is also need to elaborate on the programme of action.

SESSION :3

Democratic Organisations of Teachers and Students

Summary

There are 10 progressive teachers' organisations (annexure 11). A meeting held in Johannesburg recently, agreed on the need to form a National Progressive Teachers' Union around March 1988, with the following aims:-

To organise and politicise all teachers:-

- for a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic educational system.
- for non-racial sports activities in school
- for non-collaboration with these in the system
- for implementation of People's Education
- to fight for the rights of teachers
- to seek to examine, interpret and put into practice the concept of People's Education.

The NECC is the coordinating body for the meeting and plans for consultation with UDF and COSATU are underway. A long term plan is for the National Union of Teachers to affiliate to COSATU.

The problem is created by existence of parallel structures e.g ATASA of the Transvaal.

WECTU enjoys massive support in the Cape Town area. Membership of progressive teachers' organisations generally is small compared with that of organisations such as ATASA or CPTA which the delegation from UWC regarded as having reactionary views. They contended that involvement of CPTA in the Dakar meeting with the ANC was mainly to gain respectability. Their participation in such a meeting does not remove their reactionary views, they maintained.

<u>Membership:</u> Teaching Profession:-	90,000
ATASA:-	60,000
CPTA:-	22,000
WECTU:-	7,000

Present Students Organisations

These are SRCS, SAMSCO, NAMSCO and Religians Group. They all face a number of problems caused by the repressive nature of measures taken against students by the state.

Most of the leadership is in detention. In some areas branches have been lost but presently the students' movement operates within other structures e.g sports.

Activists are moving away from students' politics to community and trade union activities.

There is an urgent need to change tactics and strategies. Problems experienced in the Western Cape region include:-

- regionalism
- racial relations amongst students
- majority of activists are Africans
- working relations with the staff at UWC
- although students participate in some decision making processes at UWC, they are in the minority
- students generally find themselves having to respond to issues rather than implement their programme
- NUSAS faces similar problems as SANSCO
- there are also problems of the Jewish and Muslim students who are active in NUSAS

Gains

In the townships however successes have been made. There is coordinated consultation between students and parents.

The Period After Banning of COSAS

The following points were highlighted in the presentations:-

- Students staged protests after banning of COSAS
- Realisation by COSAS activists of existence of vacuum created by the ban and the need for coordinating activities.
- Formation of the Western Cape Students Action Committee (Wecsac) to bridge gap
- Mobilisation by Wecsac and other progressive students group finally resulting in launching of present day Wecsco in April 1987
- Wecsco is an affiliate of UDF and a member of the NECC

- Its membership covers about 70 schools. It has begun to organise rural schools and aims to establish national links
- It is involved in community activities and the Education Charter campaign

Problems

- detention of its activists inhibit action
- uneven development where some schools are without SRC's is detrimental to students' actions
- police brutality, reactionary principals, intimidation lead to disjouted students' action
- abuse of democratic principles by students' leadership leading to unaccountability
- indiscipline makes it diffuclt for progressive teachers' organisations to assist students
- lack of political and moral support from parents causes anger and frustration among students

Gains

New signs of unity in action: between Wesco and WECTU (students and Teachers) in joint discussions.

However more parent involvement is needed to bring about a more coherent programme of action.

Discussions

- The meeting observed that there were too many teachers' organisations. This creates different platfomrs and cannot serve the teachers interests
- It is imperative that teachers be mobilised into struggle around common problems they face as teachers. Such mobilisation can act as the basis for bringing teachers together into a powerful united front
- There is need to work within the alleged reactionary teachers' organisations particularly in view of their vast membership. It is possible to win some teachers into the camp of the progressives
- Avoiding a national union of teachers is to allow a reactionary leadership to lead large masses of teachers
- We need a teachers' organisation that plays an active role in and understands students' struggles too

- Teachers organisations can and should involve parents in school activities. Involvement of teachers and parents can lead to commitment to the struggle.
- It might be necessary for teachers' organisers to participate in seminars such as are organised by or offered to SACTU

Session 4

United Front Tactics

a) Within the Western Cape

Summary

Some teachers organisations such as WECTU, CTPA, NEUSA and ATASA had individually called on the ANC to intervene and assist teachers' organisations to cooperate with one another.

The UWC delegation however cautioned against forging of links with Teachers Organisations that might basically be reactionary. Some of these organisations had to prove themselves.

Discussions

- For the national liberation struggle to succeed it is imperative that the intelligentsia be involved since they have great influence over the community
- There is need for the teachers to have a political organisation of their own
- As a first step towards a teachers' united front, progressive teachers' organisations should be organised so as to form a core for the front
- Political unity for teachers is important as they are engaged in moulding people's outlook
- The ANC could first meet progressive teachers who regard themselves as part-of the MDM, Such meeting could decide on issues that would forster united action
- The teachers united front should be formed on the basis of an agreed programme of action. This should be done without the individual organisations dissolving
- It is important for teachers to have united action that can lead to the formation of a united front. Even constituences of what are seen as reactionary organisations should be mobilised

- The National Liberation Movement is interested in the mass membership and not just the leadership

b) Within the Democratic Movements

- The broad masses must be mobilised and organised for people's victory, hence the slogan "Forward to People's Power!"
- A united front strategy is to produce activists that are organised in bodies that remain autonomous. It brings together almost all class strata of society, develops and wins allies e.g. UDF, COSATU. cooperation
- The Western Cape is the only region in the country where Africans are in the minority. Here also the NLM has been opposed by various political tendencies. The majority of trade unions are in TUCSA and not in COSATU
- To bring these tendencies together, forces contending the position of the NLM have to be marginalised, and a common denominator identified, namely, apartheid domination
- It is possible to win the masses from reactionary leadership. More action and less theory always wins the majority
- How do we act under the present repression? The MDM must ensure entrenchment of various layers of leadership. Strategic and tactical alliances must be developed

Discussion

- The success of a front lies in its core. The present ideological climate prevailing in the Western Cape has been created by teachers who have allowed themselves to be used
- There is need for the teachers movement in the region to identify burning issues around which to draw in people
- Attention should be paid to political work and education. Progressive forces need to build an alliance in order to erode the other tendencies
- It is necessary to research on the strength of the movement as compared to the other organisations. Some unions are only strong quantitatively but not qualitatively. Some churches have made a valuable contribution but others are still weak
- Quality can be obtained by involving the masses in action through which they gain political education. United action must be based on issues agreed upon
- Revolutionaries are not found ready made but have to be produced

Session 5

Inter-ethnic attitudes and the Democratic Movement in the Western Cape

Summary

The divide and rule policy of the regime is the root cause of the problem.

Relations between whites and coloureds are healthier. They are influenced mainly by the common language, Afrikaans, and the social stratification policy of the regime.

Relations between Coloured and Africans are more difficult. However the two groups are of the same socio - economic status, although amenities are better available for coloureds than for Africans.

There are discriminatory tendencies even within the coloured community.

Discussion

The issues raised can be resolved and tendencies wiped out through.

The tricameral parliament, group areas act, and other legislation have a bearing on conflicts occurring between Coloureds and Africans.

The problem is national and must be forced squarely by both sides. There is need to counter negative socialisation.

Some gains have been scored through activities of democratic organisations particularly the youth.

UWC which was created to foster coloured socialisation must be targeted to bring about common understanding of the various groups.

Session 6a) The Language Question

Present-day and Post Apartheid South Africa (PASA)

Summary

The medium of instruction at UWC is Afrikaans, but the demand for English is growing as the number of African students increases. Thus the present policy is that of a dual medium.

It is necessary to view the language question in relation to the demands of the Freedom Charter.

The doors of learning and of culture shall be open to all.

All national groups shall be free to use their own language and to develop culture and customs.

Although UWC is faced with the language problem, we need to focus on country as whole.

Discussion

The liberation movement at present does not have a detailed language policy, but the ANC school SOMAFCO uses English as a medium of instruction. Indigeous African languages are also spoken. The diversity of languages contributes to the wealth of our culture.

Presently Afrikaans is viewed as the language of oppression. The minority rulers have placed it in a superior position to bring about inequality. But in PASA Afrikaans will be made equal to other languages. Derogatory terms will have to be abolished.

UWC must be turned into a South African University to counter the eurocentric type of education offered by present day South African Universities. The Afrikaans speaking community in the Western Cape should get acquainted with other cultural languages spoken in the region e.g Xhosa.

Women play an important role in transmitting language and therefore culture to the young - the future South Africa. This is a challenge to the Afrikaans speaking women to teach their children about the importance of learning African languages.

Literacy in various languages should be upgraded. For a people to be functional, they must be literate. Political education can be carried out effectively if material is written in indegenous languages as well.

More funds would be needed to produce written material in different languages.

Regional languages will have to be developed in terms of the Freedom Charter e.g the right of national groups.

In deciding on an official language for PASA, its functional aspect should be considered. It should:-

- enable South Africans to communicate with the rest of the world
- promote national unity
- promote pan - African unity
- facilitate communication with the international community
- be acceptable to the people of South Africa
- be cost - effective i.e it must be familiar to the majority of South Africans
- be feasible for implementation in our life - time e.g in terms of available literature, science technology, etc.

The medium of instruction need not necessarily be the official language. We also have to consider whether the medium of instruction at the early stages should be the mother tongue and later the official language.

The language question is a sensitive issue and therefore extensive research is necessary before a decision can be taken.

Emphasis should be laid on similarities in the indigenous languages rather than differences. Literature should relate to our struggle, be reflected in our cultural activities and the media. It should promote new kinds of values and consequently a new South African.

The regime has used language as a medium of disinformation. Afrikaans literature is devoid of a common destiny for the South African people.

In future it may be necessary to liberalise Afrikaans if only to bring about a better understanding between coloureds and other black groups which at present is minimal.

We need to call a conference that would focus on the contribution of the coloured peoples towards the struggle for national liberation since precolonial days to to-date.

UWC and the De Klerks Proposals (see document on proposals)

Summary

UWC does not support the proposals. Proposals imply that university authorities must become ^{ce}polimen and students must not indulge in polotics.

This is a national problem and an attack on the gains of the mass democratic movement.

Discussion

There must be a country wide mobilisation of academics and student bodies to reject the proposals. Afrikaans speaking universities and colleges must be drawn into the campaign too.

Progressive academics and student bodies must make an effort to mobilise universities internationally. Rectors can write letters calling for a day of solidarity with South African Universities, UDF, COSATU and student bodies.

Since the governments' whip is to withdraw funding, it is important that university councils take a united stand on joint action.

Session 7The Academic Boycott

The UWC delegation needed guidance from the movement on the boycott issue.

Discussion

The academic boycott is part of the comprehensive boycott campaign aimed at the total isolation of the racist regime. The boycott has achieved some degree of success both at home and abroad.

The situation has been transformed in other areas of struggle too. e.g sports, cultural arts, economic sanctions. Supportive international organisations in these and other fields e.g health, education, etc, are forging links with alternative forces that have developed inside the country.

The question is how rigorous the boycott should be. What should be the attitude towards the MDM which also has various components such as sports, cultural arts, education, health, etc. The issue needs to be discussed by the MDM and consultations with the NLM held.

Session 8FundingSummary

Every sphere of the NLM depends on funding e.g Trade Unions, civic organisations, health programmes (under Nardina) defence lawyers, newspapers for Robben Islands, etc.

Presently funding for specific projects comes from capitalist organisations and countries. Recently staggering sums of money were offered to civic organisations. Money without strings is easily accepted in South Africa today, but used correctly or not it has led to corruption. Mis use of funds is rife. There is lack of accountability.

This is a source of worry for UWC progressives. Very few people benefit from distance teaching funds for example. There is no private funding for primary schools, and very little for secondary schools.

Funding in education by big companies such as Coca-cola, is made available only for selected areas i.e tertiary education and research.

Individuals are creamed off through scholarships. The HSRC funds post graduate projects including research on people's education, but select only a certain category of black people with ^{the} so called credibility.

Large sums of money are provided by Americans and the British Council but with the objective to control.

Discussion

It is imperative that the liberation movement raises money to carry its tasks. The people themselves must pay for the revolution.

Some of the external funding for internal work has been mobilised through efforts of the liberation movement. Hence institutions in Western Countries are responding to changes taking place as a result of the revolution and people's campaigns in South Africa. They have taken a political decision that funds will be made available.

However all struggles have used external funding.

Moneys, no matter from what source, should be controlled by the community. Accountability on the use of funds is essential. Structures for control by the community must be created, to undermine influence of reactionary forces. Receipts of all kinds of expenditure are a must, otherwise the movement is reduced to corruption.

The MDM must evolve strategies to reverse and contain certain negative aims of funding agencies.

The HSRC as a government related body makes its funds available to individuals. UWC is almost bound to the HSRC. This limits the scope for research. Meanwhile other tendencies use the money. Progressives must make an effort to influence HSRC structures. The NECC should assert itself so that it is the people who lay down the conditions.

Progressive foundations tend to respond easily to political activities but not so for educational programmes, yet human development is also important.

There is need for the MDM and UWC to consult on funding, as happens between the ANC and its funding agencies.

Session 9

Transformation of UWC

Summary

a) Democratization of Structures

Background information on the universities history, goals, structures, etc was given.

It was not yet possible to democratise the Council as 8 of its 23 members were appointees of the state President. However the present rector was influential and sympathetic to the cause of liberation.

The Senate consisting of the academic Staff is white dominated. Blacks, though few, are among the progressives and are influential.

There is a degree of democratization in the Senate, Departments are autonomous. They decide on and effect their own curricular changes.

The ultimate objective is to have students representation on the Senate.

Some facilities e.g Education are progressive, but others are still conservative.

Except for the council, which can only be changed by an act of parliament, it is possible to transform structures at the UWC.

The SRC consist of 11 members. There is a move to democratise students structures. Students have demanded to sit on the Senate and bursary committees, and are challenging the University Act.

Recently a students women's group was formed. Its relationship with the SRC is still to be worked out.

Workers are organised into a union but are still awaiting recognition.

Discussion

Elections into the SRC are democratic, although arts faculties tend to dominate the structure. Affiliates to the SRC are apolitical. The SRC is affiliated to NUSAS but not to SANSCO.

Progressive students need to organise on the ground and influence elections if SANSCO is to be strengthened.

It is not easy to democratize a university as the state will not be prepared to lose control.

Democratization of a university can be attempted through greater participation by the community e.g trade unions, community organisations, etc. There is a limit to which UWC can democratize structures. However it should go as far as possible and mobilise other universities on common issues.

b) Accountability to Community

A progressive university should be accountable to the community, in terms of direction and use of funds. Thus structures should be created to effect such accountability.

A university is also accountable to truth i.e in terms of research. The truth must never be compromised for political commitment.

Research should be with responsibility. Accountability on research is to the community from whom data is collected.

The ideal as in the case of the NLM is to be accountable to the people as a whole, even those who differ with you!

Political commitment should not affect academic commitment and standards. Universities should not be involved in research inimical to humanity.

c) Academic Support

An outline of a progress report on the academic support programme at UWC was given.

Students not well prepared for university are given academic support.

There are various academic support programmes which include outreach programmes to school teachers. Supplementary instructions focus on academic development.

Discussion

The general retardation among African students e.g. those admitted at SOMAFCO or UWC is attributable to the educational system of apartheid. Students lack reading skills.

Material prepared for academic support at the UWC and that prepared by teachers' organisations should be made available to schools including SOMAFCO. Research papers on history done by UWC should also be made available.

Research on how education in South Africa can be equalised in all fields should start now. It is important to change inferior attitudes created by the system ^{towards the natural sciences and} mathematics. The curriculum needs to be broadened.

Session 10

A United Front

There was further discussion on a united front (UF) its objectives and tactics.

The objective of a UF is to yoke as many socio-political forces around a common ground as possible in our case against the apartheid regime.

There must be a core around which forces are united i.e. Those elements which constitute the MDM.

In the Western Cape where Africans are in the minority, the tendency has been to challenge the democratic movement. The majority of the working class is not organised under COSATU.

The main question therefore is how to organise around the core while retaining the mass character of the democratic movement and gradually marginalise those elements contesting the tactics and strategies of the MDM, and finally render them ineffective. To be able to guide the struggle, a UF needs political clarity.

Throughout its history the ANC has always called for unity of all possible anti-apartheid groups within South Africa. A background history of efforts made to create working relationships with the Unity Movement and PAC was outlined. But it appears that to these groups working together with the ANC will destroy them. Instead they are destroying such efforts, e.g the formation of the National Forum as opposed to UDF, AZACTU/NACTU as opposed to COSATU.

The UWC delegation raised some questions and doubts about some of the groups in the MDM. Their activities were opposed to the principles of the NLM. What about non-collaboration with such groups?

Tactical alliance is necessary as it may create access to a constituency even when the leadership is reactionary. At an opportune moment and for the purpose of advancing the struggle, unity is necessary.

At present our struggle is National and Democratic. Enemy collaborators must be neutralised out of the enemy camp. The national liberation alliance is based on the question of oppression and economic exploitation. The Freedom Charter addresses these questions. A Third Force - what is it?

In our situation a third force is that which falls between the forces of oppression and those of liberation. It has been created to protect the economic interests of the Western Countries which these countries see as threatened if the ANC vision of a new South Africa comes true. Inkatha, Idasa are a third force. A tactical consideration in dealing with a third force is necessary. It should also be neutralised.

The Dakar Meeting

The UWC delegation doubted Idasa's credibility in participating in the meeting held in Dakar.

The explanation was that the Dakar meeting cannot be said to have been a meeting of friends. But such a tactical alliance can be used as an instrument to carry the struggle forward.

It should also be noted that not all statements made by those who speak as members of the democratic front are the views of the NLM. Unfortunate statements uttered, are always corrected by the movement, and must never be blown out of proportion. Defence of the movement at all times is important.

Session 11

The Way Forward - Summary

Liberation of the oppressed majority is important. It cannot be achieved by negotiating handing over of power. The colonial state (minority rule) has to be crushed and dismantled.

Then there has to be creation of institutions of democracy to effect a socio-political change. This will be determined by:-

- the actual character of South Africa where the black majority are victims of oppression.
- the character of the state government being a colonial, capitalist state and blacks as victims of racial domination and economic exploitation.

The most consistent new force in the revolutionary process will be the working class. In the process it learns discipline, organisation and has social cohesion. It has no interest of exploiting. Because of its role in a countrys economy, and to survive, it has to be dynamic.

The Freedom Charter underscores the principle of democracy. It has a class and social character. It is important that leadership structures, alliances and tactics reflect the national and social character of the state. They must reflect the working class interests.

In South Africa the dominant group is not homogeneous. Various classes struggle for their shares in the benefits of racial domination. Loss of cohesion has resulted in the emergence of a new class of blacks that advocates change that will impose no discomfort in itself - i.e reform and oppression.

The NLM must ensure that these two do not go along together. We must destroy oppression and undermine reform.

Capital has influenced minority rulers to relax laws so as to effect reform and create conditions for emergence of black capitalists. This has resulted in loss of ideological cohesion for whites e.g cracks in the Nationalist Party. Even the Dutch Reformed Church now claims no justification for apartheid.

The NLM is to take advantage of these divisions. It must ensure that the state oppressive and repressive machinery fails. No black leaders of stature should be involved in apartheid machinery.

Discussion

On Militarisation of the Regime and the Armed Struggle

The military tactic is not isolated but is part of a multi-pronged strategy. Strategies of mass political action, underground action, armed struggle, international mobilisation are all interdependent.

The NLM will continue constant escalation of political and military struggles making it impossible for the regime to administer the country. We must encourage defections and break the laager.

On a negotiated Settlement

The regime will have to make the first move and meet certain conditions namely:-

- release of political prisoners
- lifting of the state of Emergency
- unconditional return of exiles
- removal of troops out of townships
- repeal of oppressive laws
- re-integration of the so-called TBVC states etc.

Preconditions would be disarming of the regime's forces and changes in administration to bring about a correct atmosphere for negotiations.

The ANC would consult all leadership of the MDM. People would discuss and then decide on what is to be negotiated.

On Boycott of the Tricameral Parliament

This must continue. Tactical changes if necessary can be looked into.

On participation of other groups e.g

Inkatha in negotiations

As far as the ANC is concerned there are only two forces involved:-

- a) forces of democracy
- b) forces of oppression

There should be no independents. All forces opposed to racism must accept leadership of the NLM. All those representing oppression will be on one side.

On Sanctions- and whether they do not weaken the core-working class - since they lead to unemployment.

Foreign investors employ more whites, and therefore in proportion to blacks, more whites will ^{be} affected. It is important that the unemployed should be kept organised all the time.

Closing

A vote of thanks was passed by a representative of the UWC delegation. He said it was both the individual and collective commitment that had made the meeting fruitful. He requested that a message of thanks be passed on to His Excellency President Kenneth Kaunda for hospitality extended to the delegation and for Zambia's commitment to our struggle for liberation. ANC is to send a written message to K.K.

The meeting closed at 11.45 on

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE VISIT PROGRAMME

SUNDAY, 25th OCTOBER, 1987

ARRIVAL OF UWC DELEGATION

MONDAY, 26th OCTOBER

8.30 - 10.00 1. UWC and the education crisis in South Africa

- a) the nature of the crisis;
- b) transformation of UWC itself;
- c) contribution of UWC to the general transformation process in society

10.00 - 10.15 TEA-BREAK

10.15 - 12.30 2. Colleges and schools in a period of transformation

12.30 - 14.00 LUNCH

14.00 - 15.30 3. Democratic organisations of teachers and students:

- a) role of teachers/academics in the struggle;
- b) analysis of present-day teacher organisations; (WECTU, DETU, ATASA, CTPA)
- c) task of building a united democratic teachers' organisation;
- d) analysis of present student organisations

15.30 - 15.45 TEA-BREAK

15.45 - 17.00 4. United Front tactics in the context of the Western Cape:

- a) democratic movements (UDF, trade unions, etc)
- b) National Forum Alliance (the Unity Movement, CAL)
- c) Religious movements

TUESDAY, 27th OCTOBER

8.30 - 10.00 5. Inter-ethnic attitudes and the democratic movement in the Western Cape.

10.00 - 10.15 TEA-BREAK

10.15 - 12.30 6) The question of language in present-day South Africa and in a post-apartheid South Africa

7. Academic Boycott

12.30 - 14.00 LUNCH

14.00 - 17.00 UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

WEDNESDAY, 28th OCTOBER

8.30 - 12.30 EDUCATION SECRETARIAT

12.30 - LUNCH AND DEPARTURE

ANNEXURE 1(b)

AMMENDED PROGRAMME -UWC VISIT (25-30th October, 1987)

Sessions

1. UWC and the Education Crisis in SA
 - a) nature of crisis
 - b) transformation of UWC itself
 - c) contribution of UWC to the general transformation in society
2. Colleges and Schools in a period of transformation
3. Democratic organisations of teachers and students
 - a) role of teachers/academics
 - b) analysis of present day teacher organisations
 - c) task of building united democratic is organisations
 - d) analysis of present student organisations

Session 4

United Front tactics

- a) democratic movements (UDF, Trade Unions, etc
- b) National Forum Alliance
- c) Religious movements

Session 5

Inter - ethnic attitudes and democratic movement in Western Cape.

Session 6

The language question in present day SA and in a post apartheid South Africa.

Session 7

Academic boycott.

Session 8

Funding/HSRC

Session 9

Transformation of UWC Democratisation of structures accountability to community Academic support.

Session 10

United Front.

Session 11

The way Forward

ANNEXURE 11

SOME TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

- NEUSA: NATIONAL Education Union of S.A Tul. Eastern Cape P' Maritzberg
and Orange Free State (OFS)
- WECTU: Western Cape Teachers' Union
- DETU: Democratic Teachers' Union Western Cape LAGUNYA
- EDASA: Education for a Democratic S.A (Western Cape-White schools)
- ECTU: Eastern Cape Teachers' Union (Coloured - Eastern Cape)
- ELPTU: East London Progressive Teachers Union
- PTU: Progressive Teachers' Union (Transvaal-Eldorado Park "Coloured")
- P.T.L. Progressive Teachers' league (Transvaal Lenasia "Indian")
- MATU: Mamelodi Teachers' Union
- PATU: Port Alfred Teachers' Union
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UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE DELEGATES:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Area of Interest</u>
1. J. Levi Engelbrecht	Senior Lecturer	Educational Psychology; Teacher Training School System.
2. Randy Erentzen	Senior Lecturer	Southern African History, People's History, School System.
3. Izak van de Rheede	Senior Lecturer	Linguistics, Teacher Training School System.
4. Edith Vries	Senior Lecturer	Student Support Services, Adult Education, Counselling.
5. Rachart Job	Teacher	Linguistics, School Guidance, School System, Alternative Education.
6. Lazarus Joseph	Teacher	Languages, School Guidance, Alternative Education, Informal Education, School System.
7. Yusuf Gabru	President (Western Cape Teachers Union)	Teachers Organisations, Teacher Training, Mathematics, Adult Education.
8. Samuael Mafumadi	Student (SANSCO/ SRC Member)	Student Politics, People's Education, School System.

ANC DELEGATION

1. Thabo Mbeki
2. Pallo Jordan
3. Sindiso Mfenyana
4. Billy Modise
5. Barbara Masekela
6. Andrew Masondo
7. Jackie Selebi
8. Mohammed Tikly
9. Wintshi Njobe
10. Reggie Mpongo
11. Makho Njobe
12. Miranda
13. Mark Shope
14. Peter MAYIBUYE