

**ORGANISATIONAL REPORT
OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
BY
THE SECRETARY-GENERAL – CDE ALFRED NZO**

**TO THE FIRST LEGAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AFTER 30 YEARS OF
PROSCRIPTION – DURBAN, 2-6 JULY 1991.**

Comrade President Oliver Tambo,

Members of the National Executive Committee, the Internal Leadership Core and Chairperson of the Regional Executive Committees, distinguished guests from home and abroad, Comrade Delegates representing the Membership of the ANC in all its formations.

I greet you all on behalf of the Leadership of this great Movement, the African National Congress, on this auspicious occasion of our First Legal Conference since the 1959 Conference which significantly took place in this very same City of Durban.

We convey our deep gratitude to all those who laboured day and night to ensure the success of this historic and epoch-making conference. Our deliberations and decisions are bound to affect not only the future of our country and people, but must of necessity reverberate on the Southern Africa region, the African continent and indeed the entire international community, who played a direct role in creating the climate which brought this day into being.

Particular thanks go to our hosts – the National Preparatory Committee and the Joint Natal Regional Preparatory Committee for providing the necessary facilities to ensure fruitful deliberations. The City of Durban is renowned for its hospitality and we have already seen signs that the people of this city have laid out the red carpet to receive this conference and its guests.

(NANGAMSO MAWETHU !!)

We say "Makubenjalo Nakusasa"

PART ONE.

Mr. Chairman,

The holding of this conference in Durban symbolises the unbroken continuity of the existence of our Movement since 1912, despite the 30 years of illegality. Our people are saying "We shall continue where we left off, despite the nuisance of this thirty years of Apartheid madness". Neither prison, exile nor death can sway us from our path to genuine freedom and peace for all our people. At the time of our ban in 1960, we decided to carry on the struggle underground, from the mountains, valleys, ghettos and cities of our country; from the dungeons of fascism and the forests of Mother Africa; from the pavements of Europe, Asia, North and South America and Australia/Asia.

This is the day of triumph for the ANC and all our people, as well as those who stood with us throughout those bitter thirty years.

Allow us to briefly touch on some important land-marks over these three decades:-

A. The Morogoro Conference:

As soon as the order was given for our structures to transform into underground operational units, and despite the ravages of the State of Emergency, the then leadership replenished itself from

seasoned cadres, and made preparations to carry out the mandate to provide leadership to our people in struggle.

The first underground conference of the ANC was held in Lobatse in 1962. This conference grappled with the new strategy and plans for armed resistance, especially the need to ensure smooth transportation and training of our first combat units in Africa and beyond. Those humble beginnings bore fruit in the famous battles fought with racist forces in the late sixties in the then Rhodesia.

The 1st Consultative Conference of the ANC externally was held in Morogoro, Tanzania from the 25th of April to the 1st of May 1969. This conference took stock of our experiences and mapped out new approaches to guerilla-warfare under the specific South African conditions. UmKhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) had distinguished itself in battle outside our borders. It now had to prove itself in the undefined battlefield of South Africa.

The decisions adopted at Morogoro were meant to ensure the implementation of the strategical and tactical programme emanating from the conference resolutions. Most important among these were:-

1. Consolidation of the Congress Movement from the different sections based on apartheid realities, which divided our people into strictly compartmentalised racial groupings (Whites, Indians, Africans and Coloureds). Thus all members of the Congress Alliance externally would merge under one leadership of the African National Congress (ANC).

The National Executive Committee (NEC) which consisted of 22 members, originally elected at the 1959 Durban conference, was trimmed down to 11 for greater efficiency. The NEC was mandated to canvass the growing demand for "open" membership of the ANC with the leadership and people inside the country.

2. The Revolutionary Council

A special organ called the Revolutionary Council (R.C) was created, directly answerable to the NEC, for the specific purpose of internal mobilisation and promotion of the armed struggle. This body had representatives from all the national groups in our country. It played a key role in re-establishing links between the External Mission and the ANC leadership and people inside the country, and facilitated the revival of underground politico-military units.

3. The Freedom Charter

Conference adopted a document of strategy and tactics which basically dealt with:

- (a) the nature and strength of the enemy;
- (b) our own strength, resources and potential;
- (c) the revolutionary path to victory.

Conference re-affirmed the validity of our ultimate goals as enshrined in the Freedom Charter, and called for its popularisation.

4. Other Decisions taken related to:

- (a) political education for all sectors of the movement;
- (b) the adoption of a code of conduct for all members;
- (c) the oath for all MK cadres;
- (d) training for all ANC members;
- (e) a commission to investigate and act on complaints and grievances in all sectors of the Movement.

5. Mass Organisation

The Morogoro Conference emphasised the need to organise our population into strong bodies of women, youth and workers respectively under the Women's Section, the Youth Section and the

South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). It recognised that the conditions of armed struggle necessitated reduced autonomy of these sections and also demanded restricted democratic practice.

However, to counter-balance these restrictions, the NEC evolved a process of consultation with regional structures. Prior to meetings of the NEC, regions would be invited to forward their proposals on any aspects of our struggle. These would then be debated by the NEC, reinforced by the participation of regional and sectional representatives. Such meetings were referred to as Extended NEC Meetings, and took decisions which guided the work of sectors of the Movement in between meetings of the NEC.

B. Towards Kabwe:

Among the important NEC Meetings, we may cite the following:

1. The 1971 Extended NEC Meeting (generally referred to as the Bush conference). This meeting dealt with internal (ANC) problems linked with resistance to "open" membership, which resistance subsequently culminated in the expulsion of the "Group of 8". The Meeting also resisted attempts by certain circles within the OAU (Organisation of African Unity) to impose on us unity with the PAC. Unity, we affirmed, must be on the field of battle. The Meeting resulted in a clarion call on ANC members to close ranks and step-up the pace and dedication to the struggle.
2. The 1974 NEC Extended Meeting held in Lusaka laid emphasis on the strengthening and expansion of the organisational machinery inside and outside South Africa; mass mobilisation through legal organisations; the intensification of armed struggle; the mounting of a Fund-raising Campaign.
3. The 1975 NEC Extended Meeting held in Morogoro addressed the situation inside the country; in Southern Africa and internationally. Responding to the enemy offensive of "detente" and "dialogue" with Africa, the meeting issued the Morogoro Declaration in March 1975 which scorched attempts to legitimise contacts with racist South Africa.
4. **June 16 Uprising**
From the moment of the outbreak of the June 16 Students' Uprising, the National Working Committee was permanently seized of this issue. The Revolutionary Council made day-to-day appraisal of events and assessed their significance, to enable the NEC to take appropriate measures and decisions, in the interest of further advancing the struggle. In this regard, meetings were arranged and held with a wide spectrum of representatives of the newly emerged organisations (e.g. SASO, BCM, SASM), while maintaining contact with our underground contacts. The significance of this event has been dealt with elsewhere. Suffice to say that, besides the formation of the June 16 MK Battalion, the entire ANC machinery got invaluable re-enforcements in all sectors.
5. The 1977 NEC Extended Meeting in Lusaka examined growing demand from the regions for "open" membership to extend to the level of the NEC. A conference was to be convened in 1979 to finalise the matter after due consultation with the people's organisations inside the country.
The NEC took a decision to launch an international campaign in protest and condemnation of the blanket ban on 17 anti-apartheid organisations within the country. The campaign proved a heavy set-back to the racist regime's diplomatic efforts to gain credibility internationally.
6. In November 1978, following a Joint NEC/RC Meeting, a Commission on Strategy and tactics was set-up, with the following terms of reference:
 - (a) Elaboration of an overall strategy based on mass mobilisation.
 - (b) Creation of the broadest possible National Front for Liberation.

- (c) Strengthening the underground machinery, drawing into it activists thrown up by the mass struggle.
 - (d) Development of operations out of political activity and guided by the needs and level of political mobilisation and organisation.
 - (e) Creation of a central organ to plan, co-ordinate and direct all activities inside the country.
 - (f) All our organisations, including the women and youth sections, to direct their activities towards the advancement of the struggle at home.
 - (g) Involvement of the whole movement in supporting SACTU's struggle to build a progressive Trade Union Movement which rejects all attempts to isolate the workers from the struggle of National Liberation.
 - (h) Formulation of strategy and tactics towards political institutions imposed by the regime on Coloured and Indian communities.
 - (i) Formulation of correct strategies and tactics towards the Bantustans.
 - (j) Undertaking a study of our people's history, languages, traditions, customs and culture to provide an adequate basis for the training and selection of personnel; and make a special effort to recruit workers and peasants for all levels of our Movement.
 - (k) Consideration of the question of the membership of the ANC.
 - (l) The meeting felt it necessary for the NEC to review and consider improving its capacity to discharge the responsibility for leading our movement and all our people.
- The commission submitted a document on strategy and tactics based on these directives.

7. It was as a direct result of this Commission and its document that the concept of the 4 pillars of struggle was formulated. The 4 pillars of our struggle were tabulated as:

1. Mass Mobilisation
2. The ANC Underground Structure
3. Armed Struggle and
4. International Mobilisation.

8. A new organisational structure was drawn up, which was geared to meet the needs arising from this updated strategy. Among the changes effected was the replacement of the Revolutionary Council with a more elaborate structure known as the Politico-Military Council (PMC) with its two sub-structures, namely the Military Headquarters (MHQ) and the Internal Political Committee (ICP). This was practically implemented in 1983. Also new professional bodies were created and some servicing units were made into fully-fledged departments. Among these we may mention the Department of Education; the Department of Health, the Department of Arts and Culture.

9. The NEC meeting of 1980 took a firm decision for convening a Consultative Conference and that preparations should become a matter of immediate discussion.

As part of preparations towards conference, the various structures and departments of the ANC organised their respective conferences, and put forward issues for consideration by the conference. In this regard the following are among the events that were organised:

- (a) The conference of the ANC Women's Section was in Luanda.
 - (b) The ANC Youth Section held its conference in 1981 at SOMAFSCO in Morogoro.
 - (c) The Department of Education, Health, Information and Culture held national council meetings and conferences.
 - (d) All ANC external regions held regional conferences.
- The stage was set to hold the 2nd ANC National Consultative Conference.

C. The Kabwe Conference and After:

The Second ANC National Consultative Conference was held in Kabwe, Zambia in June, 1985.

The Conference took place in the backdrop of heightened political activity and spectacular military operations within the country. The death-defying exploits of MK Units like the Silverton 3; the dare-devil operation at Booysen Police Station; the sheer daring and professionalism of the Sasol, Koeberg and Voortrekkerhoogte operations were still fresh in people's minds.

The campaign of mass demonstrations and defiance, particularly around the Tricameral parliament question, had raised the militancy and morale of both our membership, our people and our supporters. Even our avowed enemies were beginning to take the ANC seriously as a competent contender for political power in South Africa.

A full detailed account of the atmosphere, the all-embracing character and representativity of the participants, the depth and warmth of the discussions are a matter of public record. We shall only give a broad summary of the work and findings of the conference.

The conference reviewed the progress achieved in mastering work under conditions of illegality and pursuit of underground political and guerrilla activity since the ban of the ANC in March, 1960.

Conference gave due appraisal to the formidable tasks which faced a liberation movement operating from outside its national borders, but directing the struggle waged by the people inside South Africa. It noted the need to combine the demands of the internal struggle with the conditions prevailing in the international arena.

Conference acknowledged progress achieved in promoting the militancy and firm solidarity of both the inside and external anti-apartheid forces. It took cognisance of short-falls in reaching set targets, elucidated the main constraints and mapped out short and long-term goals for improved operation of the various organisational structures of the ANC.

Building on the achievements embodied in the decisions of the 1969 Morogoro conference, the Kabwe conference gave concrete expression to the maturity of our people in struggle, by extending the membership which was now open to all South African's irrespective of race or sex, to the leading organs including the National Executive Committee.

D. The Development of ANC Structures:

The three decades of clandestinity also saw the ANC develop from a:

1. Solely political organisation into one which expanded its arena of activity to include professional fields. The nature of these new areas was largely dictated to by the growing needs of our exile population. Gradually this tendency grew into a consciously planned effort, primarily as a means of bringing closer those professionals who preferred to make their contribution to the struggle within their spheres of operation. The ANC also felt that the time had come to spell out future policies in direct relation to the numerous spheres of social activity.
2. Up to the mid-seventies the ANC's spheres of activity centred around 4 major sectors:
 - (i) The ANC as the central (mother) body engaged in mass mobilisation and formulation of policy, strategy and tactics, and annual programmes of action.
 - (ii) The Women's Section.
 - (iii) The Youth Section.The latter two sections specialised in the mobilisation of their respective population groups.
- (iv) The people's Army - UmKhonto we Sizwe, whose exploits psychologically liberated our people:
 - (a) From the intimidation and fear of the brutal security forces;
 - (b) From helplessness in the face of the daunting technological might of the South African Defence Forces;
 - (c) From the white superiority psyche peddled both by the state institutions and the

establishment mass media.

Thus by 1978 the new organisational structure of the ANC incorporated, besides the 4 above - mentioned sectors, a wide range of professional bodies. These bodies acted as service units for our population but went further to elaborate policy ideas for a future democratic South Africa, in keeping with the postulations of the Freedom Charter. The structure which operated until the lifting of the ban on the ANC was basically the one adopted at the Kabwe conference. This structure envisaged the following main politico-administrative bodies:

ANC ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE (as adopted by the Kabwe Conference)

THE 3 MAIN OFFICES ARE:

1. Office of the President
2. Office of the Secretary-General
3. Office of the Treasurer-General

Each of these offices has Departments which fall under, as follows:

1. OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

- (i) Politico-Military Council (PMC) with 2 sub-structure.
- (ii) Military Headquarters (MHQ).
- (iii) Internal Political Committee (IPC).
- (iv) Department of Intelligence and Security.
- (v) Department of Information and Publicity (DIP).
- (vi) Department of Legal and Constitutional Affairs.

2. OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

- (i) External co-ordinating Committee (EEC)

This structure was meant to co-ordinate all the Departments under the SGO. It was later replaced by a system of Commissions grouping several closely related Departments.

- (ii) Department for International Affairs (DIA).
- (iii) Department of Education (DOE).
- (iv) Department of Health (DOH).
- (v) Department for Manpower Development (DMD) obviously this was before the question of sexism became a sensitive issue.
- (vi) Department of Political Education (DPE).
- (vii) Department Arts and Culture (DAC).
- (viii) Department of Social Welfare (DSW).
- (ix) Department of Economics and Planning (DEP) this department was originally under the office of the Treasurer-General. It now exists as the Department for Economic Policy.

N.B. The women and Youth Sections also fell under SGO.

3. OFFICE OF THE TREASURER-GENERAL (OTG).

(with the following departments:)

- (i) The Finance Department.
- (ii) The Projects Department.
- (iii) The Logistics Department.
- (iv) The Transport Department.
- (v) The Building and Construction Department.
- (vi) The Mechanics Department.

4. OFFICE OF THE AUDITOR-GENERAL.

5. CONTROL COMMISSION.

A decision was taken to ensure that each member of the NEC is assigned a specific responsibility in charge of some structure of Department.

A list of the elected NEC members is attached as appendix 1.

It indicates those who have since passed away and those who were co-opted to replace them.

TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE

In the last 30 years, the Tripartite Alliance (ANC, SACP, Sactu) grew in strength. With the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, (Cosatu), as a major national trade union federation in South Africa, the two trade union federations agreed on the dissolution of Sactu. From that point onward, Cosatu became a member of the Alliance.

The new conditions demand that the Alliance functions more effectively. A Secretariat of the Alliance has been set up, which has organised meetings on a regular basis for the purpose of consultations, co-ordination and planning of joint actions.

1. Oliver Tambo (President)
2. Alfred Nzo (Secretary-General)
3. Thomas Nkobi (Treasurer-General)
4. Robert Conco (Manci)
5. Steve Dlamini
6. Chris Hani
7. Pallo Jordan
8. Moses Mabhida *
9. Mac Maharaj
10. Simon Makana
11. Johny Makatini *
12. Cassius Make *
13. Henry Makgothi
14. Thabo Mbeki
15. Fransis Meli *
16. Joe Modise
17. Florence Mophoso *
18. Ruth Mompati
19. Anthony Mongalo
20. Joe Nhlanhla
21. John Nkadimeng
22. Aziz Pahad
23. Mzwai Piliso
24. Reg September
25. Getrude Shope
26. Sizakele Sigxashe
27. Joe Slovo
28. James Stuart
29. Dan Tloome
30. Jacob Zuma.

CO-OPTED 1988

1. Steve Tshwete

2. Sindiso Mfenyana
3. Timothy Mokoena
4. Ronney Kasrils
5. Jackie Molefe
6. Stanley Mabizela
7. J Selebi

E. The Road to Regained Legality:

1. By the time of the Kabwe Conference, the ANC policy positions were geared towards "seizure of power" precisely because the combination of armed activities and heightened political mobilisation strengthened the confidence of the oppressed masses in their capability to defeat the enemy and forge ahead towards a democratic transformation of the country.

Inside the country this confidence was bolstered by the unqualified victory in building the unity of the oppressed and democratic forces into the mighty United Democratic Front (UDF) in August 1983.

Even as the White Minority regime intensified its repression with one draconian legislation after another, it proved powerless to stem the wave-upon-wave onslaught of our unified people in all apartheid instruments and institutions.

Under a relentless campaign waged "between the anvil of mass action and the hammer of armed struggle" the people unbanned the ANC and demanded the release of its leaders and all other political prisoners.

In October 1989 the walls of apartheid dungeons cracked to release the Rivonia leaders. The release of Comrade Nelson Mandela in February 11th, 1990 shook their very foundations.

The unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations on the 2nd February, 1990 spelt the total failure of apartheid philosophy. Nothing could stand in the path of our organised people, marching to the goal of liberty, freedom and justice. Not only did, the apartheid regime bow down to the demands of the oppressed majority for legal recognition of their organisations, it actually accepted the legitimacy of our struggle as arising from the injustices of apartheid.

The minority government had no alternative but to accede to the demand of the ANC, the undisputed leader of the anti-apartheid struggle, to begin the process that would eventually lead to the democratic transformation of our country.

The closed doors of the apartheid regime which had frustrated successive leaders up to President Albert Luthuli were beginning to open.

2. The creation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in 1985 was a crowning achievement to the vision which inspired our Foundation Fathers and Mothers at Mangaung in January, 1912.
3. In its January Statement of 1985, the ANC issued a call to our people to "make apartheid unworkable and the country ungovernable".
4. The footsteps leading to that process were laid down in the famous Harare Declaration, achieved largely through the singular devotion and selfless drive of our beloved President Comrade Oliver Reginald Tambo.
This document became the basis for the first unanimously adopted resolution on South Africa by the United Nations Organisation in August, 1989.
The cycle of 30 years of illegality and tremendous sacrifice had yielded the collapse of 3 centuries of white domination and black oppression in South Africa.

Dear Comrades,

Before we move over into the period following the legalisation of the ANC, we shall briefly summarise the broad organisational problems the Movement faced, arising from operating outside our borders. In this context we take the opportunity to pay homage to the inexhaustible hospitality extended to all our people worldwide from the level of governments to the families and ordinary people in the streets. Without their natural warmth and acceptance, life for most of the exiles would have been unbearable. Our best form of thanks would be to strengthen and promote the relations with all our benefactors and supporters, especially those who hosted our communities in Southern Africa.

The broad areas which posed serious problems for the progress of our struggle from outside include:

1. The long distance from our fighting arena and absence of an all-round rear base.
2. Inadequacy of financial and material resources was our regular companion, with intermittent but short-lived periods of relief.
3. The hostility of major western governments in the early years would have despaired many, but the apartheid horrors served as inspiration.
4. In the latter years the activities of assassination squads and mercenary elements caused mass destruction and spread concern and insecurity.
5. The progress to our armed struggle was continuously threatened by enemy infiltration and subversion. The decision to embark on the President's Project (VULA) served to reinforce the remarkable efforts deployed by our politic-military structures under supervision and direction of Politic-Military Council (PMC).
6. Inability to communicate with kith and kin was a serious threat to mental and health stability for many, especially those of tender years.

In the face of these general obstacles and challenges, we can say that the Movement acquitted itself with honour.

PART TWO.

A. Period after the ANC Legalisation (February 1990).

The release of some political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations changed the political situation in the country and threw in new challenges at the ANC leadership in particular. It was thus decided to establish an Interim Leadership Core (ILC) consisting of the following five comrades: Nelson Mandela (Pollsmoor), Walter Sisulu, Goven Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba and Mac Maharaj (Underground). The ILC was under the chairmanship of Comrade Walter Sisulu who was also given the title of Internal Head of the ANC.

The Main task of the ILC was to establish the legal structures of the ANC inside the country. In March 1991, the ILC had begun the process of establishing the Headquarters of the organisation. The ILC prioritised the recruitment of members and the building of branches and regional structures.

It set about to appoint convenors in each of the 14 regions demarcated by the NEC.

The ILC appointed the following regional convenors:

PWV	Kgalema Motlanthe
E.TVL	Ntombi Shope
N.TVL	Thabo Makunyane
W.TVL	Zakes Molekane
S.OFS	Caleb Motshabi
N.OFS	Vincent Motsepe
S. NATAL	Patrick Lekota
N. NATAL	Willis Mchunu
MIDLANDS	Harry Gwala

BORDER	Arnold Stofile
E.CAPE	Benson Fihla
N.CAPE	Jomo Khasu
W.CAPE	(Trevor Manuel - acting) Reg September
TRANSKEI	Alfred Xobololo.

Regional convenors, in consultation with the ILC, appointed Regional Interim Committees, which were responsible for carving up the regions into smaller geographical areas for the purpose of establishing branches. The RIC's term of office and mandate ended as soon as Regional Executive Committees were elected at Regional Conferences. To date, thirteen of the fourteen regions have elected Regional Executive Committees. The Northern Natal region is the only one that still has to elect a Regional Executive Committee to replace that existing interim structure.

The ILC was expanded with the appointment of Cde Ahmed Kathrada as an Interim Head of the Department of Information and Publicity, Cde Mlangeni as Head of the Transport Department, Cde Wilton Mkwayi as Interim Head of Organising, Cde Vusi Khanyile as Head of Finance, Cde Raymond Suttner as Head of the Political Education Department and Mohammed Vallie Moosa as the Secretary of the ILC.

By June 1990, the NEC had begun to establish a permanent presence inside the country. This resulted in many of the functions of the ILC being performed by the NEC itself. In June 1990, the Organising Committee was established as a sub-committee of the NEC. This committee was primarily responsible for the building of branches and regions.

During the months of March and May 1991 the ILC the chairperson visited each of the fourteen regions. The purpose of these visits was to make an assessment of the strength and weaknesses of the regions. It was also to serve as a rounding-up process in the work of the ILC as it was to formally disband at the National Conference.

While encouraged by the progress made by regions, the ILC expressed concern about the absence of a concerted membership recruitment drive. In this regard, the ILC gave each region a target figure which had to be reached by 31st May 1991.

The ILC also assessed the level of contact, communication and consultation between the Regional Executive Committees and the branches. It found that in many instances this contact was very poor.

In its visits to the regions, the ILC found that there was no uniformity in the manner in which the various regions established sub-committees and regional departments. In some cases, regions were mechanically duplicating the structure of headquarters, without taking into consideration the specifics of that particular region.

The ILC also found that the Tripartite Alliance was not functioning at a regional level in a number of regions. It was also found that regions were faced with a difficulty in that there were very scanty guidelines about the role and functioning of the alliance at regional level.

In most regions the relationship between the regional structures of the ANC, ANC Women's League and ANC Youth League was found to be satisfactory. However, the relationship at branch level between ANC and the Leagues appears to be inadequate.

A matter of concern is that there exists a very poor relationship between ANC structures and the civic associations. Apart from the lack of co-ordination between ANC structures and civics, in many instances there are different approaches being taken on the burning issues affecting our people at a local level.

The ILC has also found that regions and branches were not consistently trying to mobilise the broad democratic forces like religious bodies, cultural and sporting organisations etc. behind the programme and positions of the ANC.

The ILC also assessed the progress being made in building the organisation in so-called Coloured, Indian and White areas.

ILC assessed problems and difficulties being experienced by regions. Here it was apparent

that contact and communication between the Headquarters and its departments with the regions needs to be improved.

One of the issues which were sharply raised by some of the sub-regions (e.g Southern sub-region of the N.TVL) is the redemarcation of the regions. The vastness of these regions, it is argued, makes it difficult to organise properly. This situation is compounded by the lack of adequate financial and transport resources.

Our organisational work in the rural areas, with the exception, perhaps, of the Border region cannot be said to be satisfactory. Conference will have to discuss this question at length and devise appropriate strategies to improve our organisational capacity in these areas.

It must be said that the primary objective in pursuance of which the ILC was created has been, by and large, achieved. However, it has to be noted that our earlier projections about membership figures could not be realised. This was due, to a large degree, to the horrific violence that was unleashed on our people. This had the undeniable effect of inhibiting our membership recruitment drive and, in some areas, seriously undermining our work. At the same time, we cannot shirk the responsibility of addressing subjective factors as well. Chief among these is the lack of experience and scientific methods of organising amongst grassroots operatives. Notwithstanding the impressive achievements made in politically educating our people on the ground, a lot still remains to be done. The ILC has laid the foundation for the rebuilding of our Movement. Our mission as an interim structure, therefore, ends with the convocation of this conference.

B: Building the ANC.

The task of building the ANC does not just involve increasing our numerical strength and building strong structures. It also involves the constant raising of the political profile of the Movement so that everywhere the masses feel that we are addressing the needs of the people and presenting viable alternatives to the present order of things. The leadership role of the ANC must be felt and earned in actual struggle.

A report in the STAR of 5 April 1991 comments as follows with regard to the impact we are making on the South African population:

"The African National Congress - with a little help from its political allies - commands the allegiance of three out of every four black urban residents, but might be pressed to win a simple majority in a national election.

The South African results of the internationally conducted WORLD SOCIAL STUDY indicates that the ANC has the support of 44% of South Africans - of all races - in the city, countryside and within and without the homelands".

There is little doubt as to the capacity of the Movement to command a degree of massive support. But it would be blatantly naive of us to become complacent and act as if under no circumstances whatsoever can the ANC be threatened or even be removed from the leadership pedestal it now occupies.

Conference will be required to look closely at this scenario and formulate an approach that will ensure that the strategic initiative remains permanently in our hands. At this moment we must confront the question: Do we have organisational strength and necessary control and cohesion at all levels of our Movement?.

Who Builds the ANC?

In addition to that, the ANC leadership and the entire membership must seriously look at another question: are we leading just the membership or the country as a whole? We agree with the Organising Committee that "our task as a Liberation Movement is much bigger than just signing up members. It is also striving to maximise support behind our policy positions. This is a critical area which we are not exploring with the vigour it deserves precisely because we lack enterprise,

creativity and initiative. We appear very happy to remain pigeon holed within the confines of populist rhetoric and cliches".

C: State of Organisation:

Let us now look at our actual state of organisation:

Membership:

We provide in this report statistical data which shows our numerical strength in terms of signed-up members and number of branches that have been set up. Because of logistical problems in the fourteen regions, the data are not an accurate reflection of what indeed we have on the ground. The numbers are certainly more than what the statistics indicate:

REGION	M/SHIP FEB.91	TARGET FIG APRIL 91	M/SHIP JUNE 91	BRANCHES
PWV	62,202	186,000	77,429	89
N.TVL*	5,736	15,000	22,160	56
E.TVL*	42,164	60,000	65,000	126
W.TVL*	3,750	10,000	11,262	25
N.CAPE	2,138	10,000	15,260	56
E.CAPE	24,633	80,000	57,854	53
W.CAPE	30,000	80,000	53,000	111
BORDER	35,689	80,000	65,228	116
TRANSKEI	18,031	40,000	36,937	63
N.NATAL	-	5,000	2,500	3
NATAL				
MIDLANDS	20,051	40,000	26,401	57
S.NATAL	27,720	75,000	50,596	96
N.OFS*	5,507	15,000	20,554	24
S.OFS	11,699	40,000	15,000	61
TOTAL	289,320	776,000	521,181	936

* Regions that have achieved target figure by June 1991.

Since December 1990 our membership has more than doubled. Practically all regions, including the embattled PWV and Natal regions, registered growth and continue to do so even to this day. To reinforce the regional efforts, the National Organising Committee deployed a few comrades from abroad in some regions and urged all regions to intergrate in all their structures all those members who returned from outside and prison.

Common problems facing the Branches:

Our branches are our basic unit of organisation. In our visits to the regions we have come across much the same kind of problems country-wide. The major ones facing the branches are:

- lack of proper communication lines with the RECs resulting in lack of leadership and guidance from the RECs to the branches;
- no systematic visits by the RECs or the organisers to the branches, so branches feel "leaderless";
- many branch executives are not functioning properly and therefore, there is no clear branch activity where members know and understand what they are meeting for and what they are supposed to do in the meetings;
- poor administration by the RECs leads to neglect of branches.

The Organising Committee is attempting to address these problems in the following ways:

- * we are in the process of producing a number of simple booklets dealing with "how to chair a meeting"; "the role of a branch"; "how to plan a meeting"; "how to take minutes" etc. These will be printed in all languages so that they are accessible to all our people;

- * we will be running training courses for all the regional organisers;
- * we will be assessing the work of the organisers to ensure that they work according to a plan and in a systematic way;
- * lines of communication between the branches and the regions and the regions and Head Office must be clarified in the new ANC Constitution to ensure that the branch needs are addressed by the REC and Head Office if necessary.

However, we agree with the ILC report "that work in the rural areas cannot be said to be satisfactory".

Who are we recruiting?

The biggest portion of this membership growth is drawn from the African sector as would be expected historically and demographically speaking. We are not making much progress in respect of the Coloured, Indian and White populations. We have had a series of discussions with some regions and even direct talks with members from the affected communities. A number of observations were made in these deliberations as to what could be contributory factors to our low impact:

- the ANC is perceived as an African organisation;
- a misconception on the part of the ANC that non-racialism is a given, and not an ideal to be striven for;
- alliance with the Party;
- violence;
- ANC's alienation of itself from these communities;
- failure to engage the church, sports and professional organisations;
- reliance on the same sort of campaigns which only draw the activist component;
- ignorance and complacency;
- ANC's image.

This is a pertinent area for conference to survey. Suffice to say that we have started a process of specifically recruiting in the Coloured, Indian and White areas.

We must also note that we have not really broken new ground in our general recruitment drive. It is important to pursue a systematic approach in building the ANC to ensure that we relate to all sectors of our people and not just the activists.

D: Problems hampering growth:

Besides these generalised observations, there are many other factors that have slowed down our growth and even halted it for some time in a number of regions. Here we shall concentrate almost entirely on categories of subjective problems which need to be discussed in detail in commissions.

- Factionalism and cliquism.
- Lack of local initiative and creativity.
- Total dependence on logistical assistance from Head Office.
- A sense of complacency that nothing is at stake and ANC's ascendancy to power is already assured.
- Lack of political education to equip organisers and members adequately for their day to day work.
- The apparent state of confusion at Head Office and the bureaucracy that accompanies it.
- Lack of apparent co-ordination of departments at Head Office.

Insufficient resources for the regions.
Insufficient sensitivity to the national question.

Problems facing the RECs:

Demarcation:

The RECs are facing a host of problems not least the size of their areas. The question of demarcation is problematic. In many cases it has contributed to our low performance precisely because of the vast distances that organisers and leadership have to traverse from regional offices. We can address the problem by dividing regions into sub-regions. Sub-regions could be composed of different zones - a zone being a number of branches.

Relations with other Organisations:

Civics:

Relations between ourselves and the civics in many areas are becoming strained. Civics have a crucial role in uniting the masses of our people across the political spectrum in all campaigns against the regime and for the social upliftment of our people. We need to discuss the role of ANC members in civic structures.

Trade Unions:

We have asked the RECs to formalise contact with their regional union counterparts in order to map out the way forward, especially in terms of mass action. While in many instances this has been done, the quality of that relationship needs to be upgraded.

Chiefs:

Our approach to traditional institutions has not always been clear. CONTRALESA can be an important avenue for contact with the chiefs in order to discuss a whole range of issues. In areas where there has been consultation with the chiefs it has emerged quite clearly that there are many areas of agreement between most of them and the ANC. The main and crucial area being the land question.

We have delineated positive and negative aspects in our building process. Conference must now reflect on the issues and provide the requisite framework to guide the National Organisation Committee.

E. The ANC National Campaigns Committee:

To implement the decisions of the December Consultative Conference the NEC established a Campaigns Committee in January 1991.

To date the NCC has had four meetings with all the regional representatives. The Working Committee meets at least on a weekly basis.

The NCC's first task was to focus on the campaigns decided on at the December Consultative Conference.

The major campaigns of the NCC revolved around the demand for a constituent assembly and interim government, as well as the removal of obstacles to the process of negotiations (eg the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the scrapping of the Internal Security Acts).

Demand for a Constituent Assembly:

Marches and stayaways took place throughout the country to demand a constituent assembly and the removal of obstacles. Successful stayaways took place in Port Elizabeth, Border and the PWV. In the E.Cape 57 marches took place. Big marches of 40 000, each took place in Bloemfontein and Bochabelo in S.OFS, with smaller marches in Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town.

Several marches were refused permission, including Bophuthatswana and Northern Transvaal.

Signature Campaign:

The signature campaign was launched as the major campaign to force the white regime to yield to the demand for an interim government and constituent assembly.

The campaign was formally launched on 11 March 1991, together with massive publicity through advertisements, posters, leaflets and stickers. It was followed with workshops for activists and rallies from March 21. Notes to aid activists in mass work were also distributed.

It is difficult to assess the number of signatures collected as only the Transkei has submitted some of the signed forms to the NCC. Furthermore, most regions have not sent in written reports on the progress made on the campaign. At the April 13 meeting four regions reported collecting a total of 16 848 signatures. The most recent report from Eastern Cape states that it has collected 96 030 signatures thus far.

The NCC has decided to tour most of the regions to ensure that regional executives are taking this campaign seriously.

In some regions like the PWV and Natal, the violence directed against our communities has made door-to-door work impossible in many areas. Furthermore many people are fearful of signing.

It is not clear as yet what impact this campaign has had on recruitment. Many of our cadres do not seem to appreciate the importance of this campaign, and the possibilities open to the ANC through this campaign.

Furthermore, leadership at all levels has not involved itself in encouraging activists to go door-to-door by joining them.

Release of Political Prisoners Campaign:

The NCC published media and placed advertisements with names of political prisoners to launch its campaign for the release of all anti-apartheid political prisoners.

The NCC worked with the Human Rights Commission on this advertisement, and also won the support of a host of other community and religious organisations.

Marches to prisons were planned throughout the country on April 6, but many regions did not do so. Marches of 20 000 people took place in Kroonstad, about 30 000 people in the Vaal, 20 000 people in the East Rand of PWV, and a very low turnout of 3 000 in Soweto. The ANCYL organised a rally in the Eastern Transvaal. No activities took place in E.Cape, Border, Natal, N.Tvl.

Consumer boycotts were also planned for the weekend of 8-13 April to demand the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and an end to the violence. This was called off after regional consultations took place. Instead an alternative action was called for, and it was recommended that a stayaway be called on May 2 to coincide with the hunger strike of political prisoners. This stayaway call was subject to consultation with COSATU as well as the leadership of the ANC and SACP. After consultations, this proposed action was called off because of a lack of time to prepare.

Mass Action on the Failure of the Regime to meet with the April 30 and May 9 Deadline.

A meeting of the Tripartite Alliance after the 9 May deadline expired decided on a series of actions to press the regime to yield to these demands.

The first action was a fast on May 22 in solidarity with the hunger striking political prisoners. Since regions were only informed a day before the proposed day of fasting, there appears to have been no participation beyond the ANC leadership itself. Except for the PWV, no other region participated in this day of fasting.

The ANCWL and ANCYL launched numerous pickets and marches throughout the country, succeeding in raising the plight of the hunger strikers.

The June 15 marches met with different results in different areas. The main theme of these marches were "Peace, Freedom and Jobs". It was most successful in smaller areas which organised activities on a decentralised basis. The biggest marches were in areas like Welkom (50 000) and Virginia (50 000), with smaller marches in many other areas of the OFS. Marches in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town were much smaller, all attracting less than 5 000 marchers each.

The Tripartite Alliance also decided on a national consumer boycott, although it was left to the discretion of the regions as to the timing and length of such action should they decide to go ahead. Very few regions have responded positively to this suggestion. Some townships in the Transvaal country areas have started local consumer boycotts, whilst the PWV region intends to begin a consumer boycott on July 25.

There has been little follow up on the proposed stay-away action. The dates have been left to COSATU to decide on.

Campaign for Peace.

The Tripartite Alliance formed a Peace Committee to co-ordinate efforts to bring peace. It is hoped to co-ordinate peace efforts throughout the country. The peace meeting in Sandton on 22 June was the first step towards a Peace Conference that should result in binding decisions on all the participants.

A Preparatory Committee has been established with 3 representatives from the ANC led alliance, 3 from the Government alliance, 3 from the Inkatha alliance and the 12 members of the original consultative committee.

The Preparatory Committee has established 5 working groups:

- (a) Code of conduct for Political Parties.
- (b) Code of conduct for Security Forces.
- (c) Implementation and monitoring mechanisms.
- (d) Socio-economic development.
- (e) Process, secretariat and media strategy.

The working groups must submit their reports to the Preparatory Committee on July 24.

May Day:

On May Day, the E.Cape had at least 10 rallies with total attendance of about 128 000 people. Other regions had far fewer rallies, with S.Natal attracting 36 000 people through 3 rallies, OFS/N.Cape had 30 000 people with 5 rallies. In total there were at least 33 rallies throughout the country attracting 261 000 people. The main PWV rally at Soweto was poorly attended with about 4 000 people.

Back-To-School Education Campaign:

Meetings were held with the NECC to discuss this campaign. This is not a simple campaign, as in many townships, there are no proper schools to go back to. Schools are not maintained properly, with broken windows, shortages of desks, textbooks etc. The issue of school funds also had to be addressed.

The education crisis effects almost every sector of our society. Failure to tackle this matter urgently will have serious repercussions now and in the future. We urge all structures of the ANC, other sectors of the democratic camp, educational organisation and other civic structures to initiate a massive programme of action to deal with the education crisis.

Aids

This issue must be given priority in the ANC. Education must be targeted at all levels, from

activists to the community as a whole. The issue is so important that we recommend that each branch should be asked to appoint an AIDS officer.

We also recommend that the ANC NEC appoint a sub-committee on AIDS, and work closely with other bodies that are already working in this field. The government must also be pressurised to do much more on this issue as can other sectors like business and the media, both radio and newspapers.

Gender Issues:

The gender issue should form part and parcel of every campaign, and a necessary part of the political education campaign. It is important to take this campaign to branch and grassroots levels.

The March 8 demonstrations held by the ANCWL on the issue of safety of women, must be followed by many similar activities.

Land Campaign:

The land issue is one of the most burning problems confronting our people. We have established a land commission to give more serious attention to this matter. If handled decisively and properly millions of people could be mobilised and organised. Campaigns to date have been isolated and largely unco-ordinated and there has been a lack of overall strategy. Some issues that will need urgent consideration are:

- Re-occupation of confiscated land.
- Urban land and housing.
- White Paper on land.

Some observations about Mass Rallies and Marches:

Attendances vary greatly, for a variety of reasons. On the one hand the quality of mass work done before-hand is poor, especially for centralised activities. On the other hand, the same forms of activity are repeated for the same demands. There seems to be little creativity or variety on campaigns.

Centralised versus decentralised rallies: In major urban centres like Johannesburg, many marches and rallies have been centralised. In other areas the focus has been on decentralised activities. On the whole, it appears that local rallies and marches are far more successful. One reason for this is that there is more of a focus on local issues. Furthermore, there is a greater tendency for centralised rallies to focus on a whole series of generalised demands.

Many of the activities on the Witwatersrand and other major centres have recently been poorly attended. Apart from the Vaal, activities in Johannesburg and Pretoria seldom attract over 10 000 people. Whilst the effect of the violence is one factor, the poor quality of mass work is another factor to consider.

F: Conclusion:

Mass activity is a vital component of our overall strategic direction. Our analysis based on reports of the campaigns committee and other structures of our Movement indicate that in determining the forms of mass action we are not sufficiently considering the changed situation and the new dynamics. As indicated earlier there is no strategic approach to mass campaigns. We are re-active and not pro-active. Clearly we have not utilised our full potential to mobilise millions of our people into effective action.

We urge the incoming NEC to give special attention to this issue. At this stage all forms of mass action must have the perspective of forming a coherent programme which will enable us to direct our actions to the regimes weakest and most vulnerable spots.

Let me take this opportunity to mention some factor for consideration:

1. Our approach at campaign level at incorporating other political organisations has been quite problematic. There seems to be no effective consultation structures for quick consultation on campaigns. Such consultation takes time, and this reduces the time for mass work on the ground. Often we only consult other organisations after we have taken decisions and printed leaflets and posters etc.

The problem is further exacerbated by the fact that at the level of mass work, there is very little gain or help from the other political parties. There is a need to assess how such a front can be effective on the ground around concrete campaigns.

2. Related to the above problem is the way in which other forces can be won over to support our campaigns. This applies to religious organisations, civics, community organisations, professional associations like NADEL, Black Sash etc. The way we take decisions on campaigns makes it difficult to get effective participation even from organisations that have supported the MDM in the past.

3. We concur with the campaigns committees observation that "mass actions like consumer boycotts and stayaways can only be embarked on after widespread consultations with other organisations, otherwise such action proves to be counter-productive". I hasten to add that consultations must also take place with the people.

4. If we correctly believe that the masses are the makers of history then they must be involved in the process of decision making. This will necessitate strong and effective ANC structures at every level of our society. Our structures must be dynamically linked to the community at which they operate, and we must not pay lip-service to the ideals of democracy and accountability.

PART THREE

DEPARTMENTAL REPORTS.

ANC Women's League:

The 1981 and 1987 ANC Women's National Conferences were very important platforms and opportunities for ANC Women to assess their work and strength in and outside the Movement. By 1981 a well-structured ANC Women's Section had emerged in the external mission.

The ANC declared 1984 the year of Women of South Africa. Women's mobilisation and organisation was accelerated in the course of that year. Inside South Africa, in the Mass Democratic Movement and underground there was a resuscitation of political consciousness and activity. It was because of the role of women in the ANC who threw their weight into international mobilisation, that today the 9th of August is recognised by the United Nations as the Day of Solidarity with the women of South Africa and Namibia.

The second ANC National Consultative Conference at Kabwe had a special discussion on women. Its position was reflected in the following words: "The task of organising and mobilising our women into a powerful, united and active force for the most thorough -going democratic revolutions falls on men and women alike".

The Kabwe Conference also pointed to the need to link up the work of Women's Organisation with Trade Unions. In South Africa itself women - who form the majority of domestic workers - formed the powerful SADWU, a COSATU affiliate.

The December 1989 ANC In-house Seminar on "Women, Children and the Family" was an important milestone in looking closely at the place and role of women in South Africa. Important amendments to the constitutional guidelines and the ANC Draft Constitution were raised by the seminar which was attended by men and women.

In January 1990 the ANC Women's League Section convened a historic conference of South African women in Amsterdam under the theme "MALIBONGWE". Women from the religious sphere, Trade Unions, professionals, students, artists and activists from inside the

country met exile women in two weeks packed with activity, discussion and interaction among themselves and with Dutch counterparts.

After the unbanning of the ANC workshop attended by 40 women from inside South Africa was convened in Lusaka. Whereas the MALIBONGWE conference had prioritised the launching of a national alliance of women of South Africa, the unbanning of our organisation posed new challenges which resulted in prioritising the re-establishment of the ANC Women's League.

The League was launched in Durban in August 1990 and subsequently held its first conference after 30 years in April this year in Kimberley. The conference also discussed the Policy Statement on Women's Emancipation issued by the NEC of the ANC. One of the issues arising out of that historic document is the need for a national commission on The Emancipation of Women. The document further points out that women's emancipation will not be an automatic "by-product of the struggle of democracy, national liberation or socialism. It has to be addressed in its own right within our organisation, the Mass Democratic Movement and in the society as a whole". By the time of the League's conference the estimated membership was 100 000 with a total of 661 branches throughout the country. The conference adopted a programme of action which will play a key role in the period ahead.

Arising out of the Women's League conference are the following matter that need the attention of this conference:

- (1) The proposed amendments to the constitutional guidelines and the ANC Draft Constitution that were raised in the League's conference and other gatherings, need serious consideration.
- (2) a stand against child abuse and violence against women has been taken. We need to integrate this position into the ANC Code of Conduct in a manner that reflects the seriousness with which these crimes are viewed in the ANC and society generally.
- (3) Some of the issues that continue to need addressing are:
 - low rate of recruitment drive in Indian, Coloured and White areas, sometimes even in areas that enjoyed a high level of Women's organisation before the ANC was unbanned;
 - need to demarcate regions into zones and branches to make organisation easy;
 - more intellectuals and older women must be attracted;
 - rural organisation remains the greatest challenge and indictment on the Women's League and the movement generally. We need to shift our concentration from urban important task, lest we neglect the majority of our oppressed and the least developed areas of our country. The support of chiefs is central to our success in this particular sector. Attention must be paid to this with the assistance of CONTRALESA.

Recommendations:

- (a) The in-coming NEC must urgently consider the function of Emancipation of Women as soon as possible.
- (b) The ANC's commitment to affirmative action should be implemented by all ANC departments and organs.
- (c) The ANC should commit itself to signing various international instruments dealing with discrimination against women, including the United Nations Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.
- (d) ANC and COSATU, including the Women's League and Women's Forums, should pay attention to the question of women's work in debates on the future economy of the country.

) A thorough study on the role and experience of women in MK over the past years need to be done.

Youth League:

After the unbanning, our movement took the steps of examining ways and means of establishing the Youth League. The central role in these endeavours was played by the ANC Youth Section and the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO). The Youth League was finally launched on October 7, 1990 which coincided with the 73rd birthday of our President, Cde O.R. Tambo, who was unanimously chosen as Honourary President of the ANC Youth League.

By then a Provisional National Youth Secretariat (PNYS) had been set up and since the launch of the League, Provisional Regional Youth Committees (PRYCS) have been established in the fourteen (14) regions of our country. The League has an approximate membership of 400 000 most of which are to be found in the urban centres and in African areas.

In line with the League's programme of action and the decisions of the last National Consultative Conference a number of activities and campaigns were initiated by our youth. Some of the highlights are:

the April 30 Occupation of governmental and National Party offices in demand of the honouring of the Groote Schuur, Pretoria and other agreements by the regime;

the May 9 demonstrations, picket and sit-ins in support of the ANC ultimatum on violence;

the June 1, marking of the International Children's Day;

the ~~country-wide~~ country-wide rallies and marches to mark the 15th Anniversary of the National Youth Day;

the re-launching of the National Congress is still on the agenda for this year.

The Youth League has developed cordial relations with other democratic and anti-apartheid youth organisations. Initiatives are underway towards the development of a Youth United Front. It has been considered to be of great importance to have contact with youth wings of parliamentary political parties and to engage most of them in debates around the issue of a Youth Front.

International contacts have been continued and the Youth League maintained its affiliation and involvement in the activities of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), The Pan-African Youth Movement (PYM), the International Union of Students (IUS) and the All Africa Student Union (AASU). Relations and interaction with the youth organisations of the sub-region have not reached the desired level and must be of priority in the coming months as the new change South Africa develops.

Despite the achievements scored by the youth they have not as yet made major in-roads into the White, Coloured and Indian youth communities due to the absence of a proper approach which takes into account their socio-political realities. Equally poor is the visible presence and mass participation of women in the Youth League.

The League found it difficult to reach their target membership figures due to some of the following reasons:

Lack of financial resources and transport for the smooth running of offices and for ensuring mobility for organisational purposes, especially in the rural regions.

Violence, particularly in Natal, the PWV area and some Bantustans.

The strict recruitment procedure which entails, among other things, long-drawn consultations with local democratic youth organisations before setting up a

- (b) local committee;
an under-developed infrastructure at the local level.
- The absence of a large contingent of ANC youth, which still remains in exile, that could be playing its role in the mobilisation process.
- The lack of clear and regular lines of communication between the ANC and its Youth League further aggravated the problems mentioned above.

Recommendations:

The NEC has held meetings with the Youth League with an aim of finding ways and means of involving the youth in all the structures of the Movement. We need to emphasise that this process needs to be intensified so that the youth is involved in debates, consultations and formulation of policy.

The Department of Political Education.

In march this year the Department of Political Education was established within the country. Its main tasks were:

- (a) to set up structures at national, regional and branch level for the conducting of political education;
- (b) to train political education officers at regional and branch levels, and
- (c) to provide political education through various means, suited to different levels of experience and consciousness of our membership.

In twelve (12) of the fourteen regions fulltime political education officers have been appointed and some regions have established a regional department of political education. Given the mass character of the ANC it is clear that conventional teaching methods, lectures, written material and so on are not adequate for reaching all our membership. We recognised the need for political educational officials at all levels to be equipped to conduct educational activities of a variety of types. Together with the Education Resource and Information Project (ERIP) we have initiated a six (6) part-course training, two (2) political education officials from each region. We are insisting that attendance at such courses be a condition of employment for fulltime DEP officials. Three (3) other members of the National department attend the course to upgrade their own skills.

On behalf of the ANC, the Department of Political Education has produced a variety of publications like the "The Road to Peace", "Let the People Decide", "Guideline to Branch Educators", "Strategies and Tactics of the ANC" and a number of papers for discussion purposes such as:

State of Nation

Interim Government and Constituent Assembly

Basic Principles of the ANC.

In preparation are other publications and a 200 page history of the ANC. There are regular contributions of articles on Political Education to *Mayibuye*. Members of the department have contributed articles to the commercial press as well as *New Nation*. Two tapes on negotiations have already been produced. An 18 part poster series explaining Interim Government and Constituent Assembly was produced and distributed to all regional structures. This is used as a medium for explaining our policies to comrades who are illiterate.

The department has close working relationships with other departments and has representatives sitting on the Political and Organising Committees. Visits to regions are a crucial

part of this department. A number of in-house seminars have been organised for officials at Head Office, members of the alliane leadership and other fraternal organisations. A series of internal briefings have been initiated, where outsiders speak on topics where it is felt that the ANC would benefit from their insights.

The department has established close and rewarding relations with a number of service agencies such as Human Awareness Programme, ERIP, Learn and Teach and the English Literacy Project.

Recommendations:

1. Those comrades who have qualified in relevant professions should be asked to join this department which is still understaffed and seeking suitable people to fill other positions.
2. Financial constraints have made it difficult to distribute widely some of the material that we produced. Transport facilities are not sufficient to make visits to regions as regular as the situation demands. These matters need our immediate consideration as we intend to increase visits to regions and pay special attention to the weaker regions
3. We need to assist in setting up a translation bureau in Johannesburg that will provide material in all the languages of the people.

Department of Economic Policy:

Ever since the meeting of the Department of Economic Policy, attended by 60 economists from all regions of the ANC both internal and external, held in Harare in September 1990, the department has pioneered and coordinated quite a number of activity around the issue of economic policy. As a way of generating and contributing to the debate around economic policy the department has produced numerous discussion and research papers which have been distributed to the general membership. It has also assisted in media work on specific economic issues, such as the Government Budget, Nationalisation and ANC Economic Policy positions.

The ANC has had a long standing relationship with NAFCOOC, which represents black business. We, represented by the Department of Economic Policy, have a joint economic commission with this body, with three (3) people from either side. Besides this, hundreds of meetings have been held with various business groups such as:

- the Consultative Business Movement, representing some go corporations;
- the SACOB, the main organisations of business, which represents 35 000 companies;
- the FABCOS black informal sector, which represents taxi associations, stokfels etc. A joint committee has been established between them and us.
- Insurance companies, like Southern Life and Munich Re.

These have been meeting with foreign business delegations and chambers of commerce of foreign investors in South Africa. These have focused on the issue of sanctions and our view on the role of foreign investments in the future. This matter will be discussed fully in the commissions.

The department has helped to set up regionally based ANC economics associations, which can facilitate discussion around economic policy issues. Twelve (12) regional workshops have been held so far. Following a national workshop in May this year, that was organised by DEP and attended by fifty (50) delegates from all regions and allied organisations, a draft manifesto was produced. This conference will consider it for adoption.

The DEP has closely liaised and met regularly with COSATU on relevant and common issues of interest. Together with DMD, the department has embarked on training courses to empower ANC Economists to contribute to Economic Policy debate. Research work is still limited and attempts are being made to establish an Institute for Economic Policy Research and Training,

which will be broadly based at the Wits University.

Links have been established with both SADCC where we have observer status, and the PTA, with a view to looking more closely at regional economic issues. Links already exist with UNCTC (UN Centre for Trans-National Corporations), who will be assisting us with the development of an investment code and other pertinent issues.

Recommendations:

1. There is a need for an industry-wide workshop to look at the role of insurance companies in reconstruction.
2. A development strategy needs to be initiated. This will demand closer cooperation with other departments especially with the office of the Secretary-General.
3. We must do deeper research work on issues such as: policy on housing, a post-apartheid investment code, economic strategy of growth through redistribution, relationship between a new constitution of South Africa and economic issues.

The Department of Education:

The Department of Education is still situated in Lusaka dealing with external matters. The main reason why this department remained outside, was because of our main educational projects in Tanzania, namely, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFSCO) and the Dakawa Training Centre. Another reason is because of the number of students still studying in the Frontline States and abroad.

The projects in Tanzania were established in order to take care of our educational needs of our youth who fled the country. From the time when Head-Quarters was moved to South Africa, a number of various proposals and recommendations have been made concerning the phasing out of the projects.

We will need a concrete time-plan for phasing out these projects and accommodating those students who are presently in those institutions. Therefore, we think a special task force will have to be set up to oversee the phasing-out process. Such a task force will have to be under the direct control of the NEC and involve a number of departments like the treasury, projects, etc. We ask the in-coming NEC to give special attention and a final solution to this matter.

An Educational Desk was created inside the country to represent the Movement on educational issues. The major objective was to make interventions in the educational crisis so as to bring maximum pressure on the government to make meaningful changes. We have continued to place on the political agenda the need to resolve the educational crisis and to take steps towards the development of a single education system.

On the initiative of our Deputy President, Comrade Nelson Mandela, a Joint Working Group was established. It is composed of prominent educationists, principals, representatives from church organisations, the NECC and homelands.

Early this year the members of the group led by the Deputy President, Comrade Nelson Mandela met with the State President, F.W. de Klerk. A follow-up meeting on issues discussed was supposed to have taken place late last month, but unfortunately had to be cancelled. It will be re-convened at a suitable time after our conference.

In terms of Organisation the ANC decided not to attempt to create an additional policy formulation initiative over and above what is being done under the auspices of the NECC (National Education Co-ordinating Committee) would not be worthwhile. We reached an understanding that we will participate in the various programmes of NEPI (National Education Policy of Investigation) an organ of the NECC.

Other means have had to be found, however, to enable the ANC to commission special research needed on a short-term basis to provide a back-up mechanism for the Joint Working

Group. Although some work has been done, we must say that this has not yet been properly structured.

On the issue of scholarships it was obvious that the Education Desk did not have the capacity to administer scholarships, as our Department of Education did externally. Therefore, a decision was taken to transfer the administration of scholarships to the EDT (Education Development Trust). The Italian Government's donation for ANC educational purposes has thus been handed over to EDT.

The Education Desk has held productive meetings with the PSI (Private Sector Initiative) to secure their support for an initiative that seeks to address the educational crisis. Such meetings have involved organisations like the CBM (Consultative Business Movement) and the Urban Foundation. We have also encouraged other organisations involved in educational projects. For example, we supported the COSATU initiative to achieve co-ordination in the area of basic adult education and literacy.

Recommendations:

1. We need to reconsider the present structure of the Department of Education and the Education Desk as to how it can suit the present conditions existing within the country. Like we said, this matter deserves urgent attention if we are to remove the general perception that not enough is being done to resolve the education crisis.

2. The Joint Working Group was a first step towards confronting the government on the crisis. We need to work towards the creation of a broader national educational front, that will involve all bodies concerned with the crisis. The call is for a properly guided strategy.

The Department of Manpower Development:

The Department of Manpower Development had the task of providing the Movement with qualified cadres. Through this department, we initiated programmes which sought to upgrade educationally disadvantaged members of the ANC, offering sponsorship of part-time studies for members who do not have the opportunity to attend fulltime courses and organising printed material and text books for educational programmes in ANC settlements in Africa.

Whereas in 1985 only the ILO was funding programmes of the department, in the course of time funds came from other donors.

The DMD has been running a programme of internship for newly qualified cadres. A brief summary thereof is as follows:

1. In cooperation with Southern African Advanced Education Project 151 trainees undertook internship in the United Kingdom in such fields as administration, engineering, media and information services, education and training, finance and accounting, medicine and health, legal services etc.

2. In Zimbabwe 26 people have been attached in the following fields:

Mining
Research
Agriculture
Motor Mechanics
Media.

Other internship programmes were carried out in Zambia, Canada, New Zealand and Tanzania.

Inside the country the DMD sought co-operation with the Centre for the Development of Human Resources, which has been carrying out work within the structures of the community

organisations, the Trade Unions, the women and youth civic organisations and other sections.

There are a number of organisational problems that have confronted us within this department, for example:

1. There are structural problems where the terms of reference between DMD and the Department of Education seem to be overlapping. There still exists some uncertainty when it comes to the question of scholarships and the policy thereof.
2. In this department it was not easy to deal with the question of deployment of cadres within the different departments of the Movement.
3. There was no proper response from the different departments when courses were organised for training of persons. Co-ordination seemed to be far below expectations.

Recommendations:

1. The Movement should take a second look at the question of human resources. Our personnel has to be organised in such a way as to make it perform better in all fields we are involved in. We need a policy to guide this process.
2. The in-coming NEC will have to properly assess the work of this department with regard to the situation existing here in the country. It will have to look into the question of whether the present structure suffices to face the new demands of our time.

Department of Arts and Culture:

The Department of Arts and Culture has in the past 5 years established a very close and dynamic relationship with cultural structures like FOSACO (Federation of South African Cultural Workers Organisations), COSAW (Congress of South African Writers), FAWO (Film Allied Workers Organisation), PAWE (Performing Arts Workers Equity), TAP (Thupelo Arts Project), SAMA (South African Musicians Alliance), so as to mobilise our people both in the rural and urban areas.

Since being transferred to South Africa the department has been engaged with the task of:

1. facilitating the emergence of a non-sectarian National Cultural Structure in South Africa;
2. engaging Apartheid structures for transformation and
3. restructuring the DAC to mobilise for the expression of a democratic culture in South Africa.

In fulfilling this work the department has on many occasions also worked with cultural wings of the PAC and AZAPO.

At the last International Symposium on culture held in Los Angeles, where all the South African organisations mentioned above participated, the policy of the cultural boycott as endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly was reaffirmed. The symposium called on governments, organisations and individuals not to entertain any cultural or academic links with South Africa unless any particular activity in these fields have the intent and effect of opposing apartheid and giving appropriate assistance to the anti-apartheid structures and to the disadvantaged sectors of the South African society.

The DAC has also spearheaded discussion and debates on various issues like the creation of a non-sectarian National Arts and Cultural body and a foundation. In conjunction with other departments the department is working on a policy on language in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The future organisational structure of the DAC have to be considered and finalised by the

incoming NEC.

Recommendations:

The organisational structure of the DAC has to be seriously considered and finalised by the incoming NEC. We should clarify whether DAC will remain a department or a desk under the prevailing conditions in the country.

Department of Health:

The current Health Secretariat elected in 1986 has been working under the mandate of health workers and allied departments of the ANC that constituted the National Health Council in the same year. The Health Secretariat has maintained links with health workers inside South Africa. The re-location of the Department of Health into South Africa has not been completed as some of its members are still outside. At present there are five (5) regional ANC health structures that have been formed inside the country.

Our Department of Health feels it has not been given the necessary attention it deserves. The concern is mainly that there has been no representation at NEC level. The existing regional health committees have proposed the idea of an National Consultative conference on health to formalise structures and procedures for a National Health Department of the ANC. A draft document on Health Policy has been circulated to the regions and will be presented to conference for consideration.

We believe health issues have a place both in the constitutional guidelines and in the strategy and tactics of the ANC. The disparities under apartheid and the omissions of vast communities in planning for social services are a legacy that the ANC should not inherit without putting an appropriate alternative. Therefore, we should also consider the role of the health sector in the negotiating table for a new South Africa.

Recommendations:

The previous task of this department was mainly centred around the provision of health services for our people in exile. Under the prevailing conditions in the country this task is unlikely to be the focus. We propose to the in-coming NEC that the main function of this department should be policy issues towards which membership opinion at regional and branch level will constantly be sought. Policy issues vary widely from primary health care, community development to the present hospital crisis. Whether these matters can be handled by a department or a desk is an issue that needs to be considered.

International Affairs:

The struggle against Apartheid has captured the attention of millions of people around the globe. Never any liberation struggle received such popular support. This is due to the understanding of the international community that the System of Apartheid has no place amongst the community of nations.

The ANC has used this pillar of our struggle most effectively. We have through the establishment of over 40 missions and by building contact with a broad and variety of Governmental, Political, Anti-Apartheid, Religious, Social, Cultural and Sporting Forces spread around the globe, built up a mighty weapon that turned the Apartheid state as a pariah amongst the nations of the world.

Over the past 30 years our Movement has spent enormous energy in informing and mobilising people around the world in support of a struggle which is not only ours but which became theirs as well.

From the establishment of one mission in Tanzania we have progressed over a span for 30 years in the establishment of 20 missions in Africa, 8 in Europe, 4 in the Nordic countries, 4 in America and 5 in Asia/Australia, a total of 40 around the world. These missions working under the

department of International Affairs and guided by the President and the office of the Secretary-General has harassed enormous resources and political support for our Movement and struggle. Over these three decades we established ourselves as an influential force in the United Nations and its Allied Agencies, The Non-Aligned Movement, The OAU and the Commonwealth. Our prestige and reputation continue to rank high amongst these bodies.

We built ties with major religious forces in many countries and have maintained an admirable relationship with the World Council of Churches and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

We succeeded in building a World-Wide Anti-Apartheid Movement based in the smallest towns to the major cities of the world.

The many visits undertaken by our President, Comrade Oliver Tambo and more recently by our Deputy President, Comrade Nelson Mandela has resulted in our Movement, securing a high level of international prestige that no other cause or Liberation Movement has been able to secure.

We must at this National Conference work out a strategy of keeping the support of this massive body of support. We need them now and will undoubtedly need them in the building of a better South Africa.

It is also important that we pay serious attention to the kind of relations and interaction a Non-Racial Democratic Government will have with its neighbours, with the continent and the rest of the world. We need to work out a new Foreign Policy for South Africa that will remove its pariah status to join the work as an important actor the promotion of peace and development.

Lastly, it is necessary to make a special comment on sanctions. Our Movement was the initiator of sanctions. We succeeded in the imposition of sanctions by a wide range of Governments and International Organisation. We therefore must be able to work out a clear strategy for managing and controlling their lifting. At this conference we must once and for all determine a clear policy on this issue taking into cognisance the reality around this.

Conclusion:

Dear Comrades!

The political perspectives outlined by the Presidential report clearly identified the general direction of political events in the coming period. Our organisational structures at every level must also reflect this direction.

It is absolutely vital that we shed all illusions, wishful thinking and romantic notions and objectively and realistically prepare our forces for the sharp and complex battles confronting us.

It is our consistent and principled struggles, it is our capacity to give directions and leadership even at the most dangerous and difficult times, and it is our unity in action and purpose that has forced the regime to seek a political solution to the acute crisis confronting our country.

Today we can confidently proclaim that the ignominious apartheid system will be reduced to the dustbins of history and a new democratic South Africa is on the agenda.

Let us boldly march forward and ensure that our conference theme becomes a reality.

To achieve this objective we need to transform our organisational structures at every level and qualitatively raise our political consciousness. In carrying out these vital tasks it is necessary to guard against two dangers. Firstly we must continue our fight to avoid extreme subjectivism, that is the tendency to direct everything from the top instead of giving guidance. This results in commandism, and leads to the isolation of organisation from the masses and ultimately to self-destruction.

On the other hand we must avoid another extreme - the underestimation of the importance of the subjective factor and the acceptance of anarchy, spontaneity, disorganisation and the tendency to criticise without accepting the principle of self-criticism and constructive criticism.

We are honoured to be the vanguard of the liberation struggle. This has not been achieved by proclamation but by the correctness of our policies and by concrete actions.

Since our formation the whole purpose of our existence is to serve the interests of the people. Through their own experiences the vast majority of the oppressed are convinced that no other political force can serve their interests better.

We must zealously guard this honour that has been bestowed on us. This demands an organisationally strong and united movement which is armed with the correct strategy and tactics. To day, more than at any previous time, we must be the leaders not only of our members but of the people as a whole. We must consciously and in a non-sectarian way, build, develop and consolidate our links with the masses. We have survived all attempts to destroy us because we relied on the masses, we drew our strength from them and we reflected their hopes and aspirations.

We have always been conscious of two potential dangers in the inner-relations between our organisation and the masses. We could either run ahead as the masses or lag behind them. Both these possibilities would inevitably lead to our isolation from the masses, to helplessness and inefficiency.

We therefore strove, not always successfully, to struggle for and to defend the fundamental interests of our people, to raise their political consciousness and to build an effective, fighting organisation. At the same time we strove to learn from the masses, to consult with them, to have confidence in their creative abilities and their commitment to struggle and sacrifice.

Dear Comrades!

In this period of great upheavals and change, new and more complex challenges and dangers confront us. We will undoubtedly experience spasms of concern, uncertainties and anxieties. Some manifestations of this is the tendency to raise problems, mistakes, shortcomings and demands for absolute democracy. Unfortunately not enough attempts are made to contribute effectively to the solution of these problems.

We cannot accept the thesis that it is "my task to raise the problem, but it is other peoples task to solve it". we believe that we must not only pose the problems but actively contribute to its solutions.

The concept of constructive criticism is well established principle within our movement. However, today, we must note that there is a deluge of "criticism", of "loose talk" and of slandering, but very little self-criticism. We must all be concerned that the media have become the source of constant leaks from informed sources . This cannot continue.

We believe that democracy, accountability, criticism and self-criticism is possible if we also adhere to the principle of discipline. This should be equally binding on all of us. This discipline cannot be enforced by dictate or authoritarian methods. It arises from commitment, political consciousness, correct policies and the maintenance of deep and wide connections with the masses.

Our experience over the past 30 years is that, even the best of policies and structures are ineffective if it is not based on certain regulations (standing orders) which will ensure that each and every member or official, is fully answerable for his/her actions.

The question of accountability must not be limited to the leadership at every level being politically accountable to their constituencies. It must extend to rational and efficient use of ANC property and assets.

Both inside and outside the country the situation, during the period of clandestinity and acute repression, was one of exigencies and emergencies. The importance and urgency of tasks necessitated quick decisions and frequently led to disregard for basic norms of democracy and accountability.

Constrained by the limited number of cadres available to fulfil the manifold tasks, many of which had to be carried out on the basis of "on-the-job" training, the question of assignment on merit was replaced by assignment on availability of person-power. Time and again we were forced to use people who had proved failures in one field and to try them in a different area of work - sometimes with even worse results.

In the current situation, with vast human resources at our disposal, we have a better opportunity to correct such malpractices. We should aim for higher standards of performance, efficiency, visible accountability and corrective measures. Our fulltime activists, in particular, must all be accountable for their actions at work and even outside of their work places. They must receive due "censure" for irresponsible behaviour or failure to carry out their tasks.

Codes of Conduct: have been elaborated, adopted and abrogated through disuse. We shall need to exercise stricter control and high disciplinary conduct if we are to elevate the prestige and respect for our organisation. We have some of the documents adopted in the past to build on. What we require are corresponding rules and regulations to effect observance of those codes of conduct.

Our policy positions on major issues, be they political, economic, socio-cultural or otherwise can withstand public scrutiny because they basically emanate from the people. Attitudes and behavioral patterns are much more difficult to monitor. But we have no choice if we are to withstand the highly competitive environment of the open South African Society we envisage.

The new NEC will have to elaborate the new rules of the game:

- (i) Standing orders and dismissals etc.;
- (ii) Codes of conduct for various spheres of responsibility;
- (iii) Standardised forms of reports at all levels (National, Regional or Local) and all spheres of activity (political, financial etc.).

Such measures are a sine-qua-norm if we are to maintain the authority and prestige of our organisation within the membership as well as nationally and internationally.