

Common Society: Another rethink by PMC

"Unbanning of ANC. Some Strategic considerations."

Introduction

De Klerk wants to initiate negotiating procedures while balance of forces is still on his side. His aims are to involve ANC, gain legitimacy for his govt. & end SA int. isolation.

2. Govt. wants to 'restructure' apartheid within ~~an~~ its structures. At the least De K. wants to safeguard economy & guarantee white power & privileges.

3. This approach complies with demands in Harare declaration & puts onus on ANC to negotiate settlement.

4. Our conditions for negotiations have not been met & many crucial issues are unclear, eg. definition of pol prisoners & 'the conditions for the return of exiles. We cannot at this stage communicate with Pretoria. NM has a vital role to play

'Four Pillars' of our Struggle

1. Strengthen our pol. & military forces; turn the situation to our advantage.
2. Mass mobilisation & organisation become priority to build powerful ANC within SA:
mass action around grievances (lifting SoE, release pol. prisoners; demand a constituent assembly;
Consolidate our forces, broaden alliance, & include bantustans;
win over members of enemy army & police
3. Underground: crucial to building people's army, training officer corps, stockpiling armaments in strategic areas in the country, under ANC leadership.
4. Armed struggle. We should declare readiness to negotiate laying down of arms on both sides. Armed struggle must continue, however, while SoE persists, security laws operate, demonstrators are attacked

Additional measures build armed forces, including units within state army; upgrade external MK units, who will be crucial in future
5. Don't seem to be 'unreasonable' in approach to De Klerk's policy, take advantage of the world community's approval (reflected in UN Declaration of Human Rights), stress the negotiations concept contained in the Declaration, & select issues in negotiations so as not to be taken off guard

Building a legal ANC

PMC paper (undated) headed 'Unbanning of ANC) - 2nd week in Feb.

Building Legal ANC

We chose to build a mass movement instead of a small closely knit group & must stick to this formula, review the 1958 constitution & related 1985 Kabwe documents, ensure controlled process of recruitment, clear authority, & rigorous political education

A national organiser will be appointed with regional propaganda and pol. education departments, women's & youth leagues, pioneers & volunteer units for self-defence

Most UDF members will join ANC as individuals, but some group affiliated bodies will have a place e.g. TIC & NIC, & Jodac type bodies. ANC will have large no of full time cadres, with links in civics, , trade unions & professions.

SACTU should be phased out & deploy its members in COSATU

Selected persons to set up Anc structures will include released leaders & ex political prisoners, Anc cadres, , tentative dates for the national conference. Delegation of functions & location of final authority will have to be decided (i.e, internal & exile sections)

Fundraising needs urgent attention.

Organisation of return from exile

It must be arranged systematically & strategically, with great urgency, with due care for such issues as amnesty, freedom from interrogation, ID's, security, & actions of police & military

Cadre selection should be decided on basis of quality & not current departmental employment. Departments should work out detailed proposals for their field of work at home. PMC structures will be retained on/ground. A nation-wide campaign under slogan 'ANC meets the people' under control of Mabeka & the exile leadership.

Recommendations

We need a very senior strategising committee to handle such issues as the return of members, democratic participation, accountability & planned approach to work - weaknesses that beset us in exile must be cured before we return.

ENDS