

PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE ANC

A. CAMPAIGNS WE NEED TO TAKE UP

VIOLENCE

We need to build a campaign against the violence that the regime, its allies and third forces are unleashing against us at the moment. The answer to this violence is to build peace amongst our people. We can never resolve differences amongst our people with violence. The work of the joint ANC, Cosatu and UDF working group against violence must be strengthened. We suggest that an immediate campaign must be launched during October, including the following actions:

1. Preparation during the first two weeks.
2. During the second half of October, mass work around a petition, mass pickets and mass media to ensure that our position is understood.
3. Culminating in a mass march and rally at the end of October - date to be fixed at conference.
4. Urgent meetings with other organisations set up mechanisms to resolve tensions, and to prevent such tensions spilling over into violence.
5. A series of meetings with our organisations in potential trouble areas to resolve tension that may exist at a grassroots level.
6. Building defence committees where our people who are under attack.
7. Intensive education amongst our members to ensure that everybody understands our position on violence amongst the people.
8. Involving other forces, eg churches, in the campaign.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

This is a vital demand that we need to win over the next period. We suggest:

1. An information pamphlet that spells out our position.
2. We raise this demand in all our other work.
3. A campaign around this demand in February 1991.
4. A concerted attempt to get our view across in the papers.

LAND AND HOUSING

It is of vital importance that we intensify the fight for land and housing for our people. We will be faced with even worse problems when we come to power unless we can force the state to devote more resources to land and housing. We propose that:

1. We must build a strong relationship with the civic organisation at all levels.
2. All branches must build strong links with the civic organisations in their area.
3. Branches must assist civics to take up these issues.
4. We need to consider whether the ANC should not in its own name launch some campaign around this issue.
5. A campaign for the resignation of management committees and community councils.

BUILDING ORGANS OF PEOPLES POWER

In the current situation it is more vital than ever that we need to build strong and dynamic organs of people's power such as street committees. This must be the strategic objective of all our campaigns as none of our work will succeed unless we achieve this. We suggest:

1. Each branch must take some measures to set up an infrastructure for street committees, even if it consists only of a contact person in each street.
2. A committee be set up to monitor the extent to which progress has been made in this respect.

GANGSTERISM

We need to address seriously the issues in our communities. In a number of areas, our people are already taking up the issues of gangsterism. In this campaign we must be guided by the following principles:

1. We need to involve the mass of people in the campaign which must be linked to the question of street committees.
2. Under no circumstances must we allow these actions to become violent. To solve the problem in the longer term, we need to reform the gangsters and the eliminate causes of the problem.

LRA, LIVING WAGE, PRIVATISATION AND LABOUR ISSUES see point 1.

OTHER ONGOING AREAS OF WORK

We also need to work around a number of other areas, eg our ongoing campaigns against to build a mass ANC, mass discussion of the Constitutional Guidelinges, popularising the Freedom Charter, building our alliance with Cosatu and the SACP, repression (detention, release of political prisoners, right wing violence, etc), environment, building the Womens League and Youth League, gender issues, etc.

B. CAMPAIGN STRUCTURES

As a political movement, we must be in a position to respond quickly to issues. Campaigns have been the way that we have mobilised our people in the past, and we must be in a position to do so in future. We suggest

1. At branch and zonal level we need clear structures that can take decisions regarding campaigns rapidly when required.
2. At a central level, we need a structure that allows quick communication between branches and effective coordination. Also, personpower and a number of skills are required to run any campaign, eg media, distribution networks, etc.
3. We propose a semi-permanent campaign structures consisting of one person from each ANC branch as well as several members from the REC. This structure should meet at fairly regular intervals and be accountable directly to the REC.
4. Members can either be nominated by their branch, or can perhaps be volunteers.

C. INFORMATION, PUBLICITY AND MEDIA

INFORMATION

Here we look mainly at the issue of information for our members. It is vital that members of the ANC should be kept as well informed as possible about developments, especially at a time when things are changing very quickly. We suggest:

1. A monthly members meeting open to all members where a reportback of topical interest can be given. It should be on a fixed day each month to enable people to make adequate preparations.
2. A monthly update circulated to all branches containing internal ANC news, eg summarised minutes of relevant meetings, planned meetings, national developments, etc. It can be quite rough as it is not for public distribution.

MEDIA

There is an urgent need for us to reach the masses of people to explain the aims and policies of the ANC, and to address the many burning issues of the day. We suggest:

1. A Western Cape newsletter of the ANC, if possible on a monthly basis.
2. Regular pamphlets to address burning issues.
3. Perhaps a compromise with cost would be if central media could be written and layed out in some way so that branches can have it printed as and when they require.

PUBLICITY

Our profile in the newspapers should be much higher. We often do not respond to national and local issues. We suggest the following measures:

1. A proper publicity department in the Western Cape that would be able to respond to issues on a daily basis.
 2. Request newspapers to allow us a column where we can put our point of view.
 3. Investigate the possibility of a progressive newspaper in Xhosa, as the English literacy rates are even lower than Xhosa.
 4. Investigate at the possibility of a radio station in view of the massive illiteracy rates in SA and Cape Town.
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D. RECRUITMENT

We suggest:

1. Branches must have fixed address or office where people can join the ANC.
2. All branches must have an organiser and structure responsible for recruitment.
3. Regular meetings of these organisers at a regional or subregional level.
4. A recruitment day in November or December when we will attempt to have tables at all the public places in our areas.
5. Regular recruitment weeks when no meetings to take place and we go out to recruit. Need to combine with publicity.
6. Recruitment must be based in struggle - in all campaigns we must make an effort to recruit.
7. Under no circumstances must anybody be forced to join the ANC.
8. We need a good slogan to give direction to a recruitment campaign.
9. Branches must increase their membership by 50% within 6 months or else they must provide a written explanation to the REC. (or perhaps some other form of "discipline")
10. Smaller structures, eg street, block or hostel committees must be set up to help with recruitment and other tasks.

E. SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP

We suggest:

1. It is vital that general members meetings must be made interesting as possible. They must focus on policy and not on administration.
 2. A committee under the REC must be set up to propose a framework for how branches should operate.
 3. The recruitment person and sub-committee in each branch must have responsibility to integrate new members, and report on the reasons for any lapsed members.
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F. POLITICAL EDUCATION

We need to stress that there should always be a dynamic link between PE and our programme of action. We suggest the following tasks for the Department of PE:

1. The DPE must be set up properly as soon as possible at a regional level.
 2. We need to discuss the employment of full time staff.
 3. Setting up a resource centre.
 4. Preparing PE material and packages for branch and zonal PE.
 5. Organising a monthly discussion forum on contemporary issues, perhaps on a sub regional level. Maybe the same as the forum suggested under information.
 6. Organising PE focus days or weeks, possibly over holiday period.
 7. Investigating formal PE education courses through sympathetic institutions such as UWC and service organisations.
 8. Set up the necessary links with service organisations like CASET, CVET, ERIP, CACE and UWC to assist where possible.
 9. Arrange PE at a mass level with branches, especially linked to local struggles.
 10. Produce visual and other material suitable for PE for those who cannot read.
 11. Investigating cooperation with other agencies to address the problems of illiteracy.
 12. Producing PE material suitable for various sectors of the MDM.
 13. Organising a regular forum with the PE persons from all branches which will ensure that PE takes place at a branch and zonal level.
 14. PE at a branch level must be run at least once a month at a level suitable for newer members. Each branch must have PE person.
 15. Each branch must have a formal distribution network for our media and PE material.
 16. Branches must also cater for more intensive PE for people who want to discuss issues in greater depth. Perhaps this can be done at a zonal level as well.
 17. Branches must also arrange less formal PE in the form of housemeetings.
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G. FINANCIAL SELF SUFFICIENCY

We suggest:

1. A principle that sufficient funds must be raised from members to pay for the running of the organisation. Fundraising to be used for special projects only.
2. All branches must organise regular fundraising and report on these to the REC.
3. All employed members should be approached and asked to pledge a monthly amount to the ANC. A progressive "tax" rate of about 1% if a members earns less than R2000 per month, 2% if over R2000, 3% if over R3000, etc
4. 10% of all fundraising should be paid to the region, perhaps for a special fund to assist poorer areas.
5. Each zone to arrange a special fundraising event at least once every 6 months of which 50% of the proceeds will go to the region.
6. The finance sub-committee be mandated to draw up a budget within 1 month.

H. PREPARATION FOR NATIONAL CONFERENCE

We suggest:

1. The DPE must take responsibility to set up and run commissions to deal with the policy issues.
 2. Delegates must be nominated at least a month (?) before the conference to enable them to prepare properly.
 3. Perhaps our region should focus on the issues where we have some experience on eg language, education, some parts of economics, etc
 4. We need clarity on whether there will be regional or branch mandates for the conference.
 5. We need to set up a process for obtaining information about nominations for the NEC and discussing them.
 6. The incoming REC must take responsibility to ensure that the national discussion papers are ready well before the time.
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I. RELATIONS WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS

Relations with our allies Cosatu and the SACP: we suggest:

1. Regular meetings at regional and zonal (and local where possible) between the respective executive structures to strategise jointly;
2. Setting up a smaller joint working group consisting of a few people from each structure that can meet more regularly and stay in close contact;

It is also vital that we must improve our ability to campaign on labour and economic issues in alliance with the labour movement to strengthen our alliance in practice.

We suggest:

1. A permanent labour support structure or labour desk to mobilise our resources in support of any actions by the labour movement.
2. A person on the REC and on each BEC to be responsible for labour issues. (This need not be their only responsibility).

Relations with other broadly MDM forces: civic organisations have already been covered in A. We need to consider some regional follow-up to consolidate the gains of the CDF and to lay the basis for a wider Patriotic Front in future at a regional and branch level.

Relations with other political organisations: we suggest:

1. It is vital to ensure that we take action to ensure that political tolerance is not only an idea, but that it is practised in our communities.
 2. We need to set up a structured relationship with these organisations to avoid the possibility of reactionary forces exploiting the tensions that may exist in certain areas.
 3. We need to consider setting up a permanent desk under someone from the REC to be in charge of this important and sensitive area of work.
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ROUGH TIMETABLE

OCT	RC report backs, action re pol prisoners	policy commissions	violence campaign.
NOV	Nat Conference prep	policy commissions	
DEC	Nat conference.	fund raising	recruitment day
JAN	NC reportbacks	fund raising	
FEB	Contituent Assembly		