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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS(S.A)

FIRST WORKS COMMITTEE SEMINAR HELD AT MAZIMBU ON THE 27-28 AUGUST 1983.

SLOGAN: "WORKERS, THE FUTURE IS OURS - BUILD IT TODAY".

OPENING SESSION: Saturday 27th August 9.00 a.m.

Chairman - Comrade Sonny Leshika welcomed the Treasurer-General, National Commissar, Education Secretary, The Tanzanian Government Representative, Cdes Pitso, Mahlatsi and Pekane from HQ, Cdes Castro, Edwin and Douglas from Luanda and also all delegates and observers.

He stated that this was an historic event being the first Works Committee Seminar to be held at Mazimbu. It had been a long process to get to this point as it had first been mooted in January of this year when it was realised that much in-depth work needed to be done.

The ANC Workforce is expanding and it was recognesed that there was a need to come together to work out a programme and guide in order to fulfil our missions externally.

Since the formation of the Works Committee together with the Production Units, much had been gained but we needed to strengthen these experiences. He hoped that the Role of the Working Force in the Liberation Struggle would act as an action guide for the next few years.

After the reading of papers prepared by members of the Works Committee and Production Units, they will be discussed and analysed. Thereafter, the Seminar will go into the following four commissions to make recommendations:-

1. a) Our Workforce - A New Detachment in the Liberation Struggle

   b) The Political Role of the Works Committee and Production Units in the present Phase of the Struggle

   Chairman-- Cde M Tikly
   Secretary " C Hodgson
   Members - Cdes E Ngutshana, A Mrubata, E Maphumulo, E Diale, D Ngakane, L Mogaai, J Khumalo, T Pekane, N Nene, E Abrahams, W Zulu, B Mnyanda and Pennuell Maduna.

2. Adult Education, Cadre Development and the Role of Production Units in these.

   Chairperson Thandi Sicelo
   Secretary Lulama Mapule
   Members A Masondo (National Commissar), H Makgothi (Education Secretary), O Dennis, Tim Maseko, R Sibengile, Mabooe (absent), D Sefatlhe, E Khaile, D Mathata, L Sesoko and N Khoza.

3. Organisational Structures, Methods and Techniques - the Tools at our Disposal.

Chairman - K Pampallis,
Secretary - S Nkwe
Members - D Moleko, K Sithole, S Hodgson, M Ngozi, E Madeko, A Radebe, A Nkosi, Castro, G Tawe, I Nelsen, D Kena, M Miteoane Z Dube, J Ndlovu, P Cloete, M Magugu, K Majozi and J Mlambo.

4. Holidays for Workers

Chairman - D Nene
Secretary - A Nhlapo
Members - TT Nkobi (Treasurer-General), S Leshika, A idweshu, R Hodgoson, T Bathao, B Pitso, N Mohlala, D Gaboo, L Shope, R Motsumi, N Khumalo, E Tsatsi, N Dumase, NMalatsi, Y Ngidi, Balungile, R Mtimkhulu, M Martin.

Comrade Treasurer-General, TT Nkobi was called upon to make the Opening Address.

Cde Nkobi began by singing, together with those present the workers song. In the name of our revolution he then declared the Seminar open and delivered his address (attached).

The Chairman thanked Cde Nkobi for his address and called on Cde E Diale, Regional Treasurer of Angola ANC to give a message on behalf of the Combatants of Umkhonto weSizwe (attached).

Cde Diale delivered his message and was thanked by the Chairman for his inspiring speech. He congratulated M.K. for their heroic and sacrificing efforts in our Struggle.

Messages

Messages were read from the Pioneers by Cde Nomthandazo, from the Students Workers Committee by Cde Leornard Sesoko and from the Dakawa Development Centre by Cde Mary Ngozi.

1. Pioneers

"To our Dear Workers,

With many thanks for all the hard work you are engaged in building up our Community, Mazimbu.

It is the workers through their endless toil and sweat who have built South Africa into that dynamic country it is today. It is also through this same endless sweat and toil that our workers are building up Mazimbu.

We the Pioneers will strive to reinforce the ranks of the workers and also help in building a new South Africa.

Lastly, on behalf of the Pioneers we wish you a very successful Seminar.

Long Live the Spirit of Labour!
Long Live the Working Class!

2. Student Workers Committee

"On behalf of the Studants Workers Committee, I bring fraternal greetings to this Seminar of the Mazimbu Works Committee. The Students Workers Committee representing 11% of the Somafco studnet population, who are enthusiastically participating in the Production Units after school hours, week-ends and during the school holidays. We do not forget to pass warm revolutionalry greetings to the International working class, and in particular our working class inside the country (S.A). who are experiencing day to day harrassment from the brutal, fascist Botha regime. I would like to thank the Works Committee for inviting us in this historic Seminar, the first of its kind. This is the first workers seminar and we hope it is not the last. As people who are still engaged in the struggle against racism, fascism in our country, exploitation of our wealth and suppression of our people, this seminar will help in strengthening our efforts towards our main goal, which is a free and democratic South Africa.

In this Year of United Action, we , the students have chosen to unite hand in hand with our fellow compatriots in the production force of our revolutionary Movement. We have chosen to follow our parents, brothers and sisters. to be part of them, and to respond to our late leader, Cde Malome Moses Kotane when he said. 'The people of South Africa need us and South Africa will be what we make out of it.'

We, the students of Somafco through the Student Workers Committee, pledge ourselves to strive hard to achieve the demands of our Educational Policy to close the gap between mental and manual labour and to show those who are still having the Apartheid hang-ups, what Somafco wants out of us.

It is our duty to mobilise each and every corner of this world for the total isolation of the Apartheid regime. Let us use each and every minute as a battle ground for the advancement of our revolution, throughout our life, until South Africa belongs to all who live in it and is governed by the people themselves, as our revolutionary document, the Freedom Charter, has clearly stated.

So comrades, we hope that our gathering here today and tomorrow wibl come with concrete resolutions which will have to be implemented and we promise to be part of implementation to the resolutions adopted.

Lastly I would like to thank the organisers for this Seminar and the participants.

Workers, the future is ours - so we have to build it today; tomorrow will be late. Time wated never regained!

Power to the People!
United Action!
Workers of the World Unite!"

3. Dakawa Development Centre

"We are a small Community in Dakawa but our students have shown what they are capable of doing. By our own efforts, in a few weeks time, we will have water running out of our taps. For this we also thank the Works Committee and all other workers in East Africa for having helped to dig our trench and lay the water pipes."

Cde Enos Ngutshana took over the Chair - 10.55 a.m.

The Chairman indicated that we must discuss the involvement of our students in production. Cde Makgothi believes that students should participate in the work - in kitchens, agriculture and workshops. Cde Nkobi had raised important points which should be carefully examined.

Cde Leshika read the Works Committee Report (Attached).

Discussion on Works Committee Paper

The Chairman referred to the Section where certain Production Units feel they are not answerable to the Works Committee and have actually refused members of the Works Committee when trying to solve problems, admission to their meetings.

Cde Nkwe wanted to correct the impression in the paper that the Teachers Representative on the Works Committee was an observer. After reporting back to the Teachers, having a attended the W.C. for the first time, they agreed he should be a full representative not an observer.

Cde S Hodgson agreed he is a full representative but there is as yet no Teachers Production Unit. His attendance helps to facilitate liaison but the W.C does not receive reports as to how the teachers are improving in their style of work and so on.

Cde Maseko thought this was not a proper forum for discussing this. Two members of the Works Committee had adressed the Staff who then looked into areas of common ground and agreed on a representative. Now it is suggested that the teachers should form a Production Unit which is apparently taken for granted by the W.C. We should not jump to conculsions - we are all workers who need to look into ways and means of maximising our efficiency.

National Commissar enquired whether the Principal thought that this should be discussed in the Commissions?

Cde Maseko felt that "common ground" could be discussed in Commissions or some time in the future.

National Commissar wanted all the shortcomings (page 4) to be discussed in Commissions to assist the Works Committee.

Cde Maduna suggested that Tanzanian workers should be included for discussion purposes.

The Chairman thought it more relevant to go into our relationship to Tanzanian Workers and JUWATA.

Cde Tikly asked that the role of volunteers in Production Units needs to be examined.

Cde Castro strongly advised that the Treasurer-General's paper be included, since he had queried some of the definitions we use for workers.

11.30 Tea adjournment

11.50 Session resumed

Cde Keith Sithole Chairman

Cde Nene read the paper - Our Workforce, a New Detachment in the Liberation Struggle (attached).

Discussion

National Commissar said fundamental attitudes have been raised and the Commission examining this paper must come out with recommendations to all Sections, RPC, Women, Youth, that will force everyone to study the Paper. It highlights the negative attitudes of hiding behind pseudo-criticism. It raises the question of seeing this task in the rear as part and parcel of the Struggle. It must be calculated through all units for practical application. Fundamentals like the respect for ANC property means the same thing whether you destroy the Stores with TNT or do the damage by theft or neglect.

Cde Tikly expressed satisfaction and pleasure at this paper where major issues, both large and small for the whole Complex were included and pointed the way to resolve problems and produce more. He suggested that the Commission look at the proper perspectives of the W.C. and P.U. in relation to an understanding of the situation at home as this was an important element of education.

Cde Pitso wanted to be clarified on the term "worker" as it was not spelled out clearly enough in the paper.

Cde Nkobi - Workers of the World unite to destroy Capitalism. This is an important factor for our people who are fighting against exploitation, labouring for starvation wages; when sick, banished to rural areas. But the ANC Worker, works for himself - he is the owner of the means of production and this is the distinction between the two.

Cde National Commissar suggested that he would touch on this as an introduction to his paper.

Cde Castro pointed out to the Section on Discipline - what measures should be taken. When do we punish and when do we rehabilitate; do we transfer our problems; when it comes to taking action do we have the means to enable us, for example, to deal with a thief instead of sending him to Dakawa.

Cde Enos Ngutshana read the Paper - The Political Role of the Works Committee and Production Units in the Present Phase of the Struggle (attached)

Discussion.

Cde Sidweshu underlined the phrase "the core should be examplary". He said like everyone else he previously liked money and clothes, but since joining the ANC had learned that these things are valueless and of no importance. Many workers have come to realise this - and those who do not just talk but who put theory into practice are conscious of being workers and their work is visible here - they are the examplary core who should be the magnet for the core to become a detachment.

Cde M Ngozi pointed to the paragraph on Women in Production. She said that in the ANC women had the opportunity to prove themselves, but mostly they have not reached this stage of understanding. She posed the question - where are the women at this Seminar? - Instead of being here they are at home looking after their children. When will we qualify this paragraph? Those women who are here should transmit this message to them. The Women and Youth Sections must redouble their efforts to overcome this weakness of non-participation in politics of our women. Women in Production must prove themselves to be capable. Out of 12 members in the W.C only one is a woman. Why are we women not capable of bringing forth our ideas, and helping to plan for the future of production? What are we women doing to give something to the Movement?

Cde L Shope said women in South Africa were exploited but it was the duty of women to liberate themselves and for men to help in this precess. She asked where was the woman's force in the emblem for this workers Seminar? She said it was important to use propaganda means for the liberation of women.

National Commissar urged the Commission to bring forth implications of ANC workers being the owners of the means of production - since this underlines that we cannot be irresponsible, steal from ourselves or be tardy in our ways of work. He felt this re-inforced the previous paper.

Cde Mathabo said students also needed to be imbued with political consciousness - to understand for example that if they could not go on an outing because of lack of transport that there were priorities in the Struggle, and their needs could not always be met.

Cde N Mehlala believed that the reason women did not attend gatherings of this kind was because of a language difficulty and that the Women's Section made provision for this by translating into other languages.

Cde Dennis discussed "incentives being paid while engaged in production "work". However, here it was not always the case many receive their incentives whether they come to work or not. As soon as a young student gets pregnant she gets an incentive. Some production units do not keep attendance sheets. The commission should examine these points. He felt

strongly that as "a new detachment" there should not be differentials in incentives for work done, whatever the nature of that work.

National Commissar said the word incentive meant encouragement to do something. In the development of Socialism there were two stages:-

a) From each according to his ability to each according to his contribution
b) From each according to his ability to each according to his needs.

This is a dialectical question which did not come from theoretical discussion. People come from a society where they had certain attitudes, which have to be changed and the second stage presupposes plenty.

Productivity alone can bring about this stage therefore, if we take this to its logical conculsion no ANC member has any right to have incentives since they receive all the necessities of life. This applies in some areas. We should not become utopean egaletarians where one has something better from the other, then our attitudes are not correct. The collective interest is much more important than the personal interest. He felt this should however not be pushed too hard at this stage.

Cde S Hodgson proposed the Commission also take into account the role of workers in other organs of our movement - these organs help in our main task which is production. He stated that a paper on Women was included in the agenda and some of the points from it should also be the concern of this Commission.

Cde Ernest Khaile questioned how it was possible to do work appraisals, eg. as a worker/teacher how would he enrich his work by development and how to judge his work performance?

Cde Maduna on the question of student involvement in production he had the impression that the School was isolated from the rest of the Commmunity who should all consider how to be engaging them. In Bantu Education they had to do chores - cleaning of the School, Carpentry, etc.

Cde Masondo pointed to leading cadres in the Works Committee and all other departments who should also accept advice. This was a fundamental of leadership. If the lower bodies are working seriously and feed higher bodies, the latter can always benefit from this.

Cde Douglas Sefatlhe felt it was essential to build a new work discipline to avoid the tremendous waste and misuse of goods donated to us by carelessness and uncaring attitudes.

Cde Nkobi: in referring to the Role of W.C. said one must look carefully at the aims and objectives of the Movement, one which is collective leadership. At HQ we have management Committees - not individual managers but collective

management - to improve our work. Their task is to be constantly thinking of expansion and improvements.

We shun labour because at home if you did not pass at school then you were sent to work on the land - to dig, plant and so on - not to analyse the soil, not to do the scientific side of agriculture. It is important to develop collective leadership and that can be created with the projects we have here.

K Pampallis said the role of Production Units and Works Committee in relation to Management was not clear and had caused problems in the past. Chairmen and Secretaries have been in conflict with heads of departments. This needs an understanding of how they can work together and a definition of their individual responsibilities.

Cde Castro - You have a manpower problem. We have come from Angola because we too have a manpower problem and intend to take back some of your manpower. He said the Slogan "Fight, Learn and Produce" was fine, but the students here are learning without producing. Good academic results are a contribution to the Struggle but the students have also to be productive if they are to be useful members of society. In some countries where they are studying, our students complain if they have to attend political or cultural meetings but we have no place in our Movement for luxury students, who should all be contributing their utmost wherever they are. The army marches on its stomach. If it does not produce it does not eat.

Cde Mary Ngozi: when our Commander-in- Chief said the army needs funds - he appealed to us to raise funds for M.K. If they had sufficient money they could have performed even more effectively in their tasks. This was painful to hear. We must do everything possible to contribute from our incentives towards M.K.

Cde Mathabo thought politics should play the major role - Somafco has its own political programme and it is time that the students themselves begin to realise that they are a part of the workers. What is needed is a common programme to embrace the students as well.

Cde Masondo asked for clarification re the proper usage of the word "worker" and whether the definition as used in this Seminar is in line with the Spirit of Mazimbu. As he saw it, the term worker meant one who produces. The worker, the proletariat in the revolution is the dynamo for change, therefore he fights to change things. He sells his labour for wages because he works in a system of commodity production and labour power is his commodity. But when Capitalism is destroyed and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is achieved, he is still a worker but also the owner of the means of production. His relationships then change.

In subsequent papers the W.C. indicated that the worker in the context of this Seminar is an ANC cadre who is productive and who must know that he is also the owner of the means of production. If the worker is thus defined it will

satisfy the T-G. There can be no problem if this gathering regards itself as cadres of the Movement engaged in the Struggle for liberation. Workers in the liberation movement are allies of the workers in exploited societies and we express our solidarity with them. Thus we would not be using the term worker in a negative sense.

Both as National Commissar and Head of Department of Manpower Development he said it was an honour to be at this Seminar. The first meeting of the Community he addressed after arrival here; dealt with the new Structures being set up by the NEC - those of the Internal and External tasks.

He believed that experience gained in the workshops or skills acquired on the job was also an educational process. Some of our cadres want to study for prestige sake. On this campus one often hears students being harangued for not engaging in labour but one never hears the workers being admonished for not studying.

We have been criticised at this meeting for using only one language, but we all have to acquire this language. If we are to translate, which other language must we use? It would not be fair to select one. What is needed is to lift the level of all our people academically. They should acquire English to be able to read and to study. On Robben Island, the comrades all worked to wipe out illeteracy and the army is doing this too.

National Commissar then presented his Paper - Adult Education, Cadre Development and the Role of Production Units in these (attached).

Discussion

Cde Castro suggested the term "worker-cadre of the ANC". He pointed to ANC workers who also worked outside of the organisation, but did good jobs too. He felt that a salaried worker did not fall into the same category as one getting incentive. Those on salaries may think they have a basic interest to defend.

Cde Masondo could not imagine how the ANC could engage in a contract with its own members in a master-servant relationship. Therefore when he speaks of workers he means those engaged in production work. He does not approve of focussing on which one is getting this amount or that. He had previously told the comrades at Mazimbu that incentives cannot be increased, unless the leadership decides otherwise. Nevertheless, ANC comrades cannot go on strike if they won't get an increase, because then it would be regarded as a salary. In the case where an ANC cadre works outside the Organisation then his relationship is with his particular employer.

Cde Nkobi: on matters relating to our own existence the ANC members are very thorough. Way back in 1963 people used to say to us "You will not get your liberation, you are too clever". If you say to any other soldier 'hit the enemy',

he will not ask questions but will hit. But if you give the same order to a South African he will ask 'at what angle shall I hit?'"

This is good; the power of the ANC depends on political analysis of everything. Before this Seminar was conceived we never thought clearly about the implications of giving mia moja or incentives to ANC cadres. Now we have to ask ourselves are these an inducement fo work harder? We only have to look at MK who do not receive any incentives, but go and fight.

We are revolutionaries engaged in trying to achieve our objectives. When we have conquered and taken power we will have to develop our country. We will have workers who are master of their own destiny, therefore everyone must be properly trained. We do not want intellectuals on one side and labourers on the other. We need to find the answers.

We cannot have a distinction between those trained academically and those trained to fight the enemy. Because we have students at School does not neeessarily exempt them from being in MK - they too must be trained to fight but it is preferable if they get their degrees first so that they will have greater understanding. We do not want different classes of people. The power and strength of the ANC lies in its ability to discuss, debate and find answers.

Cde Pitso was still not satisfied with National Commissar's definition of a worker. We are involved in development and everyone here is involved in and is a beneficiary of this project.

We have competent organs in our Movement, e.g. SACTU, the working class body. He indicated he was not against what had been said, but felt it required justifying. The T-G spoke of a detachment of workers as being better than other workers. But the ANC is a workers Movement.

The Chairman expressed the opinion that the definition of the word worker appeared to be a topic on its own and should be fitted into one of the Commissions. He felt there had been suffieient theorizing and intellectualising on this subject.

Cde S Hodgson believed that Commission dealing with this paper should analyse the present adult education programme - how it could be improved and how the production units can help. Those of us who are better educated than others have a political duty to upgrade our comrades who have come from Bantu Education - how to find more time and other ways to do this.

Cde Doris Manthata delivered the paper - The Role of Women in Revolutionary Production (attached)

Discussion

Cde Demase said that the Department of Manpower Development

s-ould examine how female comrdes can be brought to work in certain departments where it has always been felt that only men work. He was happy to report that the Electrical Department had recently recruited three women.

Chairman felt this was a challenge to Management to fairly distribute manpower.

Cde Richard Sibengile believed that adult education should be related to work - not looked at as separate student studies, but rather as a developing factor to skills at work. That should not prevent them doing other studies as well, but the theory and the practice of work is important.

Cde L Shope felt that it was the task of everyone to liberate women and to examine what type of women we want in a new South Africa. When she was in Cuba the male comrades came to borrow her political books but not one of them took Lenin's book on the Role of Women. She felt men too have a part to play in Women's liberation ; they should be interested to learn what our women are doing at home - none of them seem to care about this side of our struggle. It is clear from our struggle that when women clearly understand their role, the struggle goes forward.

Cde K Pampallis criticised the smiling and giggling that followed Cde Shope's remarks. Women are a potential 50% of our population, who can effectively contribute to production yet they are not taken seriously.

Cde Castro maintained thay the liberation of women was an urgent issue. Our President had made a clear statement at the Luanda Women's ANC Conference - "that the women should make their demands". But women must make their contribution too. We are all here to liberate ourselves - let the women help the men to do this as well as to liberate women. "They will find us ready.

The Chairman remarked that a new woman and also a new worker were required. He then invited observers to also join the Commissions.

Paper - Organisational Structures, Methods, and Techniques - the Tools at our Disposal was read by Cde Daddy Skorobela (attached).

Discussion

Cde Masondo If Management is not part of production units then coordination could be affected. Production Units should be able to plan on the Plans of Management and Hedds of departments. They should be able to discuss how to fulfil their side and they in turn must feed management who must also be prepared to take advice.
Management should not be burdened with solving disciplinary problems but should allow Production Units to solve minor infringements before going to the W.C. and the Complex Disciplinary Committee.
The Complex D.c. as also the College DC should only discuss very serious disciplinary matters - here he felt there

should be a strong interrelationship between the Production Units and Commissariat - who is responsible for propagating correct political attitudes.

Cde Sidweshu said it was necessary to see how to bring our political life into production. The W.C, did not feel the need to have a Commissar as they believed they were all Commissars there.

Cde Tikly welcomed the suggestion for stronger links between the W.C. and the Directorate - a proposal he had already made to the Education Council Meeting that a member of the W.C. should sit on the Directorate. He will be very happy if this is accepted by the HQ as the W.C has played a very positive role in better to attitudes to work, achievements in Production and bring cross sections of the Community together in Production Units and W.C.

Cde Nene (Nomvume) queried how one reconciled a Production Unit with the NICC. Does it mean students are to be involved in Production and by this do we mean in the field or in the Cultural field such as graphics, painting, etc., in which area students are already involved.

National Commissar in reply to Cde Sidweshu said it is not a question of pushing commissars into Production Units but rather finding and selecting from them there. This is part and parcel of political work.
As for a student not being involved in production it was not their fault but ours. We have not worked out how to organise them in production-- we have not planned for this. But we must do so. We should spread them - find out their tastes and interests.
If some are already busy with creative art tasks - that is also work. Leave them to do so. However, the Commission should be sure not to hamper their academic progress - they must pass their exams as well as being productive.

Cde S Hodgson felt because this paper raised shortcomings in Production Units, and W.C, making concrete suggestions, the two papers should be looked at together. Production Units and W.C have always regarded management as being in ANC production - as another job, not as positions. There is thus no conflict as they are expected to participate. If they do not, it is because Production Units are not doing their work properly - work and discipline problems should be thrashed out.
All groups, whether they be art groups, academic or whatever capacity must work in a collective to improve their work style, discipline etc. Even in the aret field very expensive materials are used which must be cared for and protected.

Cde Ngakane failed to understand that production units could elect Chairmen and Secretaries wheras represenatatives to the W.C had to be appointed by management.

Cde C Hodgson explained that all heads of departments were supposed to be representatives on the W.C and these cadres are appointed personnel.

Cde Sicelo asked about comrades who leave one department to work in another. On what grounds can they do this?

Cde Ngutshana said this was a problem too for his office as comrades are idling around because they leave a department - other departments may not necessarily want to have them. He felt the Commission should come out on guidelines about this.

Cde Maseko suggested people could only move after consultation with their heads of departments.

This ended discussion on the Papers and the Seminar broke to go into Commissions.

Sunday 28th August - 11.15 a.m. Seminar resumed.
Report-back from Commissions: Chairman - Cde Dikgang.

Commission 1

Report given by Cde C Hodgson.

a) Our Workforce - a New Detachment in the Liberation Struggle.
b) The Political Role of the Works Committee and Production Units in the Present Phase of the Struggle.

Dear Comrade Leaders, Dear Comrades!

Our Commission was charged to discuss two papers dealing with the political context and role of our Workforce in the rear.
In order to discuss the first paper properly and in view of the doubt expressed in the Plenary Session on the definition of the term 'worker' in our Liberation Struggle, the Commission decided to clarify this term first.

However, after a lengthy discussion, no agreement was reached on this point. The following views were expressed:

1. Some people felt that the term worker in the classical sense should be replaced by the term 'revolutionary worker', 'CADRE WORKER' or simply 'CADRE'.
   These suggestions were made mainly to differentiate between the worker, who is employed and is in conflict with his or her employer and the ANC cadre, who is engaged in productive work for the struggle.
2. Another view was that the term 'worker' should be replaced by 'ANC Project Worker'. This term should refer only to those workers who are engaged in productive sphere. Objection was raised by some to the term 'ANC PROJECT WORKER' because it meant that this would refer to manual labour and another term would be needed to describe mental labour e.g. teachers. Therefore the term 'working people' was suggested.
3. However, after lengthy discussion, a good number of people (over one third of the Commission) had no objection to the term worker and in fact preferred it, provided that the context, inwhich it is used, is clearly understood and also that this term 'worker' refers to and includes people engaged in differant jobs like teaching, nursing, etc.

Because of these differing views, the Commission failed to reach a consensus and therefore submits the matter for further discussion.

We then proceeded to discuss the first paper: 'Our Workforce - A New Detachment in the Liberation Struggle'.

The Commission approached the discussion by attempting to extract the main points in order to define 'The New Detachment' As time was against us a sub-committee was appointed

to finish the task. The sub-committee found itself forced to include sentences from nearly every paragraph and realised that it was almost reproducing the paper.

The Commission therefore recommends that the Seminar adopts the paper in its entirety and pushes for the implementation of its ideas contained in it. We would like to see this paper taken to all the Production Units and discussed thoroughly; members of the new detachment understand clearly their mission.

A senond sub-commission was appointed to prepare points to lead the discussion on the second paper:- 'The Role of the Works Committee and Production Units in the Present Phase of Our Struggle'.

Role of Production Units

The Committee felt that the definition in Paper 2 of the role of the P.Us is a sound basis for elaborating the functions of P.U.s.

We would like this Section to be accepted by the Seminar and recommend that the Works Committee redrafts the functions of Production Units clearly so that P.Us ensure that the mission of the New Detachment is being fulfilled.

Role of Works Committee

Again we are in agreement with the POLITICO-ADMINISTRATIVE ROLE OF THE WORKS COMMITTEE, as outlined on Page 4 of Paper 2. But we recommend that the planning of the students involvement should be done in conjunction with the relevant structures e.g. The Directorate, the School, etc.

Who should belong to Production Units

The Commissions felt that all workers whether in the Suppies teaching, agriculture catering etc, whould form P.Us. However, reservations were expressed as to whether or not teachers and the workers at the Charlottes should form a P.U.

Collective Leadership

It was felt that major decisions, such as suspension, affecting members of the P.U. or the W.C. should not be taken by Management without consultation of P.U.s and W.C.

Volunteers

The Commission felt that they should be fully integrated in the work of the P.Us but should retain their statuse of Volunteers.

Tanzanian Workers

Formal links should be established between the W.C. and JUWATA.

Discussion on Report of Commission 1

Paper a).

Cde Masondo said the definition of the word worker should be seen in the context as raised by the T-G. He felt that 'ANC'Workforce' should be the correct definition.

Cde Castro pointed to the army equivalent. Soldiers are normally employed for oppressive reasons, but in our Orgsnisation our fighting forces had a special role - theyware ANC Soldiers. We also have ANC leaders. He could see no reason why ANC workers should raise any problems. They are differant from Volunteers or Tanzanian workers.

Cde Nkwe expressed concern about the direction of the meeting. We needed to emphasise the kind of workers we have here - they are not paid, but are cadres of the Movement. All terms are applicable to us and we should not only choose one form.

Cde Joseph suggested the term 'Revolutionary Producer'.

Cde Nkobi - we are revolutionaries here. When he first raised the question it was in the spirit of trying to orientate our people. It obviously achieved this objective by the discussion it raised. He was satisfied that the concept was understood. We said we wanted a new man in South Africa when we built Somafco. We are different workers, different soldiers. We have therefore, succeeded in shaping a new man.

Cde Tikly said the majority of the Commission had no objection to the term worker. If preceded by ANC, it is understood in that context to be a worker of a special kind. It is true that many workers, white collar, teachers, etc. do not like the label worker. Terminology has a lot to do woth revolution, for example, 'black' used to be a negative term, but that word has revolutionised our thinking. If teachers could accept being called workers without thinking this reduced their status we would have revolutionised their thinking. The new detachment clearly states its role and functions, therefore ANC worker fits in perfectly.

THE COMMISSION ADOPTED THE FIRST PAPER AS IT STANDS

Discussion on Report of Paper b)

THE DEFINITION OF THE ROLE OF PRODUCTION UNITS WAS ACCEPTED and the WORKS COMMITTEE TO FORMULATE IN CLEAR TERMS WHAT IS EXPECTED FROM THEM.

Cde Masondo made the proviso that plans and implementations for each sector be carefully explained so that both the Works Committee and Production Units accept this style of work.

The Chairman underlined that in general pllanning, the main task of production Units are to fulfil the plans. Those in responsible positions in management must heed and also take advise from the lower structures.

Cde Edwin also thought that lower structures needed to discuss plans of management to clearly understan how to implement.

Cde Nkobi pointed out that when speaking of management we are referring to management composed of workers. They must view and plan the whole situation here and in this way others too can learn managerial skills.

Cde Masondo thought Production Units workers with some technical know-how should be included in management who must be from our workforce.

Cde Tikly on planning of students in production, explained that the spirit of the statement of the statedment did not imply independent planning but with the proper consultative machinery, in the light of co-ordination already discussed.

Cde Ngakane expressed reservation about the teaching staff and the Charlottes production units since they do not fall under management but under the School and Women Section. However, he felt there should be cooperation and a way found to link them in.

The Chairman explained that the Works Committee presently fell under the Directorate - this should be borne in mind.

Cde Masondo said it was not a question of control but what the Works Committee was all about. The history of how it was formed is not relevant. What is important is the political attitude it is creating towards work and this is in line with the definition of an ANC worker. The teaching staff too should be ensuring that their attitudes are also in line. They should not view their jobs as individualistic or ad employment. He felt that there was need for a teachers production unit, in order to translate political attitudes into political action. Some countries had Teachers Trade Unions. Academics should not regard themselves as a special class - that is dangerous. Each production unit would obviously have its own individual character and the Works Committee would not interfere in academic matters. We want no aristocrats of labour within this Complex. The concept of a collective that develops politically has to be introduced some way or another; these are not people of a special kind.

The Chairman in reply to a question from Cde Maduna said that Cde Nkwe was already a full member of the W.C. representing teachers, but the teachers do not yet fully understand what this implies.

Cde Tikly enlarged on the fact that Somafco has certain structures and the staff meeting, in a way, acts as a kind of production unit which evolves the work done. The crucial point is the relationship between the staff meeting

Commission 2 Report-back given by Lulama Mapule

Adult Education and Cadre Development and the Role of Production Units in these.

Agenda

1. The Present Situation in Adult Education (A.E)
2. How to introduce A.E: Analysis
3. Role of Production Units in Cadre Development
4. Fair distribution of Work as Related to the Role of Women.

1. Present Adult Education Programme

The Commission found that the present Programme was not adequate and that this comes from the feeling of the Adult Education Students themselves.
However, it has been discovered that despite the inadequacy enthusiasm is also low - if there was more enthusiasm it would be felt the need to supply more than what is presently given.
It is therefore recommended that our people be shown the importance of Adult Education to encourage the planners of of Adult Education to know what to offer. The present programme is expected to continue until December 1983.

2. Analysis: How to introduce A.E.

Adult Education should be regarded as a school in its own right, with its own facilities and its own manpower. Therefore the Directorate is requested to provide all facilities that will be required for Adult Education. There would also be the need to streamline three groups of students, viz.

1. those who would have to follow the same programme as Somafco;
2. those who would not necessarily follow the Somafco curriculum - to be taught on-the-job, upgraded for greater efficiency;
3. the Beginners (this left with the Adult Education Planners). A National language was recommended to be used as soon as there are facilities.

The Commission felt that in the long term participation in Adult Education Programme should be made compulsory.

3. Role of Production Units in Cadre Development

Production Units to motivate comrades to attend Adult Education classes. Production Units should adjust shifts such that Adult Education students are able to attend - to see to it that workers develop the correct attitude to work - to develop politically - technically, etc. Comrades should be made to realise the importance of Adult Education in relevance of Education to Production. Each Unit should be responsible for monitoring the progress of its members in Adult Education Programme.

4. Fair Distribution of Work as Related to the Role of Women

As far as the ANC is concerned there are no restrictions to the development of cadres. To advise all departments to make sure that this is carried out. Female comrades should also show interest and enthusiasm to enter in the different sectors of skilled work. Production Units to warn strongly against negative attitudes that certain skills are inferior and should only be allocated to certain people. Female comrades should not seekfor concessions at their work places.

Discussion on Commission 2 Report

Cde Maseko indicated that there were presently 25 students in the Secondary A.E. classes and 18 Beginners.

Cde Makgothi said that weknesses were in the present staff, insufficient time allotted for classes and lack of enthusiasm from the general Community, however, there is a demand and a potential and facilities must be provided for a better programme.

Cde Dennis was of the opinion that qualified technicians who have returned to us are not being utilised in the programme.

Cde Tikly explained that one of the major problems was that there were three categories of learners - those students studying for 'O' Levels where the time factor makes it impossible as two-thirds of the time is required for study and here this is humaly not possible.
We need to clarify in our own minds what we want adult education for. The National Commissar said for cadre development, to improve the level of literacy and technical skills in production units. For those wanting to go to university or technical colleges special arrangements would have to be made.
He said everyone should not expect to leave here for higher education. We need people here, so on-the-job training for upgrading should be provided. Some of course, would be identified for higher education.
Another problem was the different levels thus cannot be treated as a class of students and distance learners programme is still in the future. He advised caution and felt that the Directorate should think and discuss in depth this whole issue; that we should not be pressurised by certain sections of the community into making hasty decisions. The fundamental aim should be cadre development and higher education for some. We shoud not mesh into something which might again crumble.

Cde Masondo thought that those comrades who were needed for work here as part of our cadre needs, should have the opportunity to go to Technical Collges not to universities. They can develop on the spot but have to have some background for this.

He was worried about young people with potential and this group should be given extra time by increasing the number of hours and days. We must recruit teachers for them. The Directorate should send recommendations to the Educa- and Adult Education Committees so that clear patterns develop and HQ should assist the local leadership. A register of those wanting to be involved should be started immediately so that we know what we are planning for.

Cde Dumase indicated that the Women's Section had made specific proposals for A.E. and some meetings between the Principal and planners had taken place where progress was made. He thought that this document should be included in the Seminar proposals.

Cde Nkobi stated that the President had been very concerned that some of our comrades who came out as early as 1962, who are very dedicated, are still unable to write! One day we would have to answer for this. All departments must assist to uplift our cadres, and a scheme should be augmented soon.

Cde Pakane believed it was necessary to look at compulsory aspects of A.E.

THIS PAPER WAS THEN ADOPTED - CDE MADUNA HAVING MOVED AND CDE MOHLALA SECONDED THE MOTION.

Commission 3 Report back given by Cde Karin Pampallis

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES, METHODS AND TECHNIQUES - THE TOOLS AT OUR DISPOSAL

This Commission was gharged with examining the Paper entitled 'Organisational Structures, methods and techniques - the tools at our disposal." We were also to examine the Report of the Works Committee, as well as to discuss various suggestions arising from the Plenary Session. Our discussion has led us to make the following proposals to this meeting:

1. We endorse the consept of a W.C representative on the Directorate. We feel this will be an aid to the necessary coordination of activities. In addition, it must be emphasised that there should also be a flow in the other direction. That is, Heads of Departments and others on the Directorate should endeavour to attend the W.C. meetings whenever possible, and perhaps P.U. meetings as well. In the absence of such opportunity, the members of the Directorate should feel themselves responsible to keep themselves informed by way of reading the available reports.
2. Regarding the relationship of management and department heads to the P.U.: it should be a responsibility of the Manager/department head to organise the work in such a way that the mission assigned by the Movement is fulfilled; whether this is to construc a building, to sew garments, to repair vehicles, or whatever. In this light, overall planning and the setting of goals is the job of the technical head. It then follows that the task of the production unit must be to support the fulfilment of these goals. That is, the P.U. must ensure the development of the awareness capability and efficiency of its members to meet the demands of their area of work. In carrying out these duties, the P,U. has the right to analyse the given goals, and if necessary to make criticisms and recommendations to the mangement and/or department head.
3. The links between W.C and P.U.: In order for the proper fulfilment of the respective tasks of these bodies, it is necessary that there is full and accurate reporting between them. The Chairman, Secretary and Representative should liaise closely in order to ensure a proper and truthful report is made to the W.C. Accurate and consistant reporting from the W.C to P.U could be facilitated by providing the Rep with a summary of the proceedings of the W.C meetings. In addition, one or more members of the W.C can be assigned to participate in various P.U.s if those P.Us are facing particular problems.
Furthermore, Chairmen/Secretaries of P.Us could be invited to attend W.C. meetings for a specified period of time, to facilitate learning and information flow.

Chairpersons/Secretaries/Works Committee meetings should be held monthly in a definite programme designed to strengthen the abilities of the Secretaries and Chairpersons.

4. Re emulations: The Commission endorsed the statement of the paper that both criticism of problems and praise of progress are essential for the development of our cadres and the fulfilment of our tasks. To this end, the Commission recommends that "emulations" be an item on the agenda of each P.U. meeting, and that each worker be discussed individually by the P.U. The discussion should include areas such as: regularity of attendance; coming (or not) on time; quality of work; attitudes towards work; and perhaps performance in A.E. on technical upgrading, if applicable. Both criticism and praise should be made public.

5. We endorse the recommendation made in the paper that social and personal problems should not in the first instance be raised in the P.U. Rather they should be referred to the RPC Units. Only if these alternative channels fail, and if the problem affects work performance, should it be brought to the P.U. The Commission also felt that it was the duty of the P.U. to encourage its members to attend RPC Unit meetings regularly.

6. Bulletin: The role of the Bulletin in fulfilling the tasks of the W.C and P.U should be encouraged and expanded. To this end, P.Us should be more involved in contributing to the content of the Bulletin than they have been in the part.
The Commission recommeds the revival of the concept of a "Bulletin representative" from each P.U, who would be responsible for ensuring contributions from his or her production unit. This group could, for example, meet once a month to discuss content and a smaller group (maximum 4) could meet thereafter to finalise the contents of a particular issue.

7. The Commission endorses the Paper's proposal that PUs meet weekly. However, we wish to point out that all units should feel free (and even obligated) to meet more frequently if the necessity arises.

8. The Commission endorses the concept of a standard agenda to be followed by all production units - and in general agrees with the type of items put forth in the paper. We recommend that the exact format be worked out by the Works Committee.

9. We agree with the suggestion that there should be at least one full-time functionary on the W.C, and that office space be made available.

10. We endorse the necessity of ensuring that any changes in the Directorate structure and responsibility do NOT affect the politifal tasks of the P.Us and W.C. Our production tasks must continue to be uplifted. Our work discipline must contiue to be improved. Our collective

must continue to be strengthened. The work of the P.Us continues.

11. Arising from our discussion on the reports and the drawing of the above points, a feeling arose that a general statement on the Works Committee, Production Units, and their structure was necessary. Therefore, our Commission has formulated the following Resolution for the consideration of the Seminar:

RESOLUTION ON THE NEED FOR PRODUCTION UNITS AND THE WORKS COMMITTEE AND ON THE QUESTION OF APPOINTMENTS

Wherever ANC workers are based and in whatever area of work they are engaged, there is a need for them to be organised in units like production units, in order to develop a sense of duty, a concious work discipline and to inculcate the spirit of collective responsibility towards implementing their tasks. At Mazimbu all these units are called production units.
Where a numver of production units are engaged on a project, which is the task of the entire workforce, it is necessary that the efforts of the production units need to be coordinated and guided by a Committee of examplary workers, representing each production unit.

To ensure that this is achieved in a collective, spirit and that management and workers are directing their efforts in the commom interest, it is recommended that

1. P.U. Representatives to the W.C. should be appointed by the Directorate after considering recommendations from the P.U. and the W.C. itself. In fulfilling their tasks; these representatives are responsible to the Directorate as well as to the P.Us.

   The P.U. has the right to criticize and if necessary to recommend removal of a Representative, who is not fulfilling his or her duties.

2. Production Unit Chairpersons and Secretaries should be elected by the P.U.

Comrades, numerous issues were referred to our Commission. We have dealt with them as fully as possible in the short time available to us. However, there are still a few points that need to be discussed:

a) persons moving from one work unit to another
b) nature of selection of W.C Chair and Secretary
c) relationship with Commissariat

These could either be discussed by the Seminar or be referred to the W.C for future resolution.

Discussion

Cde Masondo agreed with the report that the question of the relationship between the Commissariat and the Works Committee was a complicated issue which should be left to the Commissariat for solution.

The Chairman put the proposition which was agreed that production units must discuss and make recommendations regarding the Movement of workers from one production unit to another.

Cde R Hodgson thought it was equally applicable - namely that management could not arbitrarily remove people from a production unit without consultation with the Works Committee and relevant production units.

Cde Masondo on the question of criticism and praise always being made public had his reservations. Praise perhaps could always be publicised but censure was not always wise as it might destroy rather than build a cadre. It is preferable that comrades be interviewed in a small committee first and only if this method has no effect then stronger measures to be taken - but only if an atmosphere is being created that is dangerous to the Community as a whole.

Cde Dumase said that the preparatory Committee of the Conference had put forward the view that the Works Committee as presently constituted - was not fully representative of the Mazimbu workers due to the fact that they were appointed rather than elected. This meant that the Works Committee was working in isolation from the membership in a master/servant relationship. That there should be frequent general meetings of the entire workforce. That the Works Committee does not pay attention to the workers complaints which would be solved at general meetings. The Works Committee should not act as the police of the workforce.

Cde S Hodgson stated that the Commission spent most of its time on the formulation of the Works Committee and in debating the [illegible]. They discussed the election instead of appointment of representatives to the Works Committee but decided in favour of appointed reps as clearly explained in the resolution in the Commission's Report.
There is no basic difference between management and workers and for guidance, attitudes to work and discipline the most exemplary workers should be on the Works Committee. No one will dispute that it is not always the best people who are elected. We have many appointed personnel in our Organisation e.g. The Chief Representative, Director, Commissar, etc. Usually in informal [illegible], Production Units do make recommendations.

Cde Masondo thought there were fundamental political points. The proposal for elections when connected with not taking up complaints or policing of workers must have come from the people who are not playing their part and object when the Works Committee points out their mistakes.

Even assuming the Works Committee was elected they should still have the same attitudes. The people who complain are most likely to elect irresponsible elements to the Committee.
In fact he had views put forward by the RPC leadership asking if it was not time to change to appointments rather than elected personnel, as they have no back-bone in their structure. One should understand what is the function of the Works Committee - it is not just an organ to take complaints from workers to the leadership. Its task is to look into the workers problems, to try to discuss and solve them and only take them higher where this is not possible. They must be in a position to talk to the leadership with authority.
He was surprised at the suggestion that the Works Committee was not representative or not looking after the workersinterests. They have raised all manner of workers problems - holidays, outings, adult education etc. We cannot allow irresponsible structures here.

Cde C Hodgson corrected the statement made by Cde Dumase that what he raised was accepted by the Preparatory Committee. She said that it had been discussed at the meeting of Chairpersons and Secretaries but was not an agreed point.

Cde K Pampallis stated that this type of statement has for long been under discussion at various levels - right and responsibilities of ANC members. Many at Mazimbu are very positive about their rights but negative on their responsibilities. They are vocal when it comes to what they deserve There are no different interests between management and workers - they are all for the same thing - the liberation of South Africa.
We might as well ask the UNHCR for refugee status instead of considering ourselves as freedom fighters.

Cde Sicelo felt strongly about the lack of lunch hour for workers as this causes a retrogression of their capabilities.

Cde Masondo suggested that if it disrupts work it should be referred back to the Administration for a solution in conjunction with the Works Committee and should be treated as urgent.

Cde Castro - on the proposal that there be a full-time functionary of the Works Committee, said this may necessitate taking away one of the best workers away from production, but good and responsible person is required for this task.

Cde Masondo said he was not in agreement as he felt that would be removing the person from the problems of the workers.

Cde Nkobi interjected that he thought we were all full-time workers.

Cde Dennis also felt it should not be a full-time person but understood how this arose. He suggested that a part-time secretary who could compile reports, take round messages, etc., so as to relieve the Chairman and Secretary.

The Works Committee should select names and put them to the Directorate for approval.

Cde Dennis MOVED AND GDE CASTRO SECONDED THE ADOPTION OF THE PAPER - MOTION CARRIED.

Commission 4 Report-back given by Cde Pioneer

HOLIDAYS FOR WORKERS

Preamble

The Commission agrees that every ANC cadre needs a rest. However, the ANC is a Liberation Movement at War. Money is urgently required for our armed and political struggle at the front and inside South Africa.

Taking this into consideration, it is realised that funds cannot be diverted to provide holidays in the usual accepted sense. We recognise too, that Mazimbu is only one of many centres and that HQ has to take into account the overall needs of all members.

The Commission therefore recommends:-

1. that every ANC cadre be granted two weeks rest per year, after evry 12 months work.
2. that in the case of serious illness, production units in liaison with the medical staff should recommend to HQ for treatment and rest abroad, while bearing in mind that a very limited number of places are available to our movement for this purpose.
3. that HQ should explore the possibilities of short courses, exchange programmes and other holiday offers in all friendly countries, through Trade Unions, Women, Youth and Student Organisations. This should enable some comrades to have the opportunity to also get away. This would be viewed as an alternative to a fortnights rest at the place of residence. Production Units should have the right to select the best workers for these opportunities, if and when they occur.
4. That in view of the fact that the majority of comrades will be spending their rest at their place of residence, recreational facilities are an urgent requirement both for health and relaxation reasons. Therefore, a project document should be drawn up for HQ for the building of a club house, swimming pool, tennis courts and other sporting facilities.
5. That the workers should assist in the building of these.
6. that recognising the difficulties of taking one's rest at the place of residence, proper infrastructures must be established in departments to ensure they function effectively so that comrades can fully benefit from their time off work.
7. that in conjunction with production units, deapartments must plan staggering rest periods for their personnel so that work can continue smoothly with not too many away from the department at a time.
8. that where incentives are paid, comrades should receive full incentive during their two weeks off work.

Commission 4: Holidays for Workers

Discussion

Cde Ngakane was not satisfied that it should be left to Production units to liaise with the Medical Staff on recommendations for medical treatment abroad.

Cde Spencer pointed out that there was a representative from the Clinic on the Works Committee but in any event we should not be afraid to recommend because that may offend certain people. It was the duty of Production Units to look after its workers.

Cde Masondo said the liaison for procedures for treatment abroad were clearly laid down and finally arrangements are made from HQ.

The Chairman said there were comrade who minimised their illnesses by not reporting to the Clinic, but nevertheless their work is affected so Production Units have the right to demand that they report to the medical staff.

Cde Tikly was in favour of more sports and recreation facilities which the Administration already has under consideration. However, he would not wish Mazimbu to become a holiday resort for the Movement.

Cde R Hodgson explained that the fortnightholiday would apply to workers whose attendance at work was 80% and would be reduced proportionately by absenteeism. If people have been ill this would be taken into consideration provided it was certified by the Clinic.

THE ADOPTION OF THE PAPER WAS MOVED BY Cde EDWIN AND SECONDED BY CDE DOUGLAS - CARRIED FORWARD.

After an adjournment the Plenary Session was resumed.

The Chairman said we must ensure that the resolutions and decisions taken here should be implemented as soon as possible - at least vigorously tackled so that we can begin to see our dawn of freedom. He then called on the National Commissar to sum up.

Cde Masondo said this was a pleasant task as there were very important deliberations over the last 48 hours. On the striking features of the Seminar had been the political approach to the problems put before us. All the papers layed stress on the political approach which was a very healthy sign.
In the ANC we believe that unless one moves from a political premise one cannot find correct solutions. That is one of the factors in the training of our army where the political syllabus is emphasised. Mercenaries may be good soldiers but they will never be revolutionaries - that is the difference between us. We know when we shoot it will

mean that we will govern and have equal rights; when we work, tasks must be in the direction of understudying the revolution and working towards the establishment of a demorratic South Africa.
The paper, even the title, Our Workforce - a New Detachment in the Liberation Struggle, indicated direction and he hoped it was not mere sloganising. Discussions are important for translating political theory into political practice. It is easy for us to be well-versed with texts and political knowledge for the sole purpose of transmitting this to others. But this Seminar asked us to translate political consciousness into political behaviour and attitudes.
If we only put into practice 50% of the discussions here we will become a better Community and better workers of the ANC. This Seminar has also tried to work out relationships with those who have come here for the purpose of assisting us. They are our expatriate friends and we appreciate their help. If things said about Production Units and the Works Committee are followed by them then there can be no misunderstandings between us.
We have asked them to come to assist us in our adult education and cadre development and while so doing they are helping us to carry out this gigantic task of this School and Complex whose very presence here is a blow against our enemy.
If, by the time their contracts expire, our friends have helped to produce people who can fill their boots and continue their work,-then they will have done us a great service. But the workforce of the ANC must recognise that the teaching process does not only depend on the teacher, but even moreso on the student. We must be willing to learn or else even after freedom we will be depending on them.
One of the things we are fighting in South Africa is that Whites contend that they are doing more for us even than the African States. There may be truth in this but we resent it. We want to be doing things for ourselves. We are trying to produce people who can manage on their own.
Relationships between Production Units and Management is also what we are all about. If there is good co-ordination then the goals we want to achieve will be achieved. An ANC worker is not to use his membership of the ANC to do what he likes in the work situation. We must give responsibility to those who will control workers aiming for personal gain in the name of the Organisation. ANC workers should be the most highly productive because they are the owners of the means of production. If there is to be overtime, the ANC workershould be the first to do this. The definition of an ANC worker is very clearly defined here.
If some of these negative attitudes can be removed from ANC workers this will help in working harmoniously together w with our expatriate friends. However, he warned our friends that in the ANC we have developed an attitude of discussion because we want to understand things and why we do them. Some of our friends might be used to giving orders without

giving explanations to enable them to understan the nature of the orders. For us it is part of our learning process. On the other hand, while trying to find the answers we should not curtail work. We appreciate the role of our expatriate friends. Their contribution to our revolution may not yet be conceived by them but will surely become apparent later. They are doing more than some of our own people who have not yet thrown in their lot with us. He hoped we would smooth out any rough ends between us and them.

He hoped that we were now all clarified about relationships between structures. Some people who think the Works Committee is acting like a police force, or that the Directorate is not efficient, are probably the very comrades who want to haper them.

He thanked the workers in Mazimbu for organising this very educative two days and hoped that out of this endeavour will come the fruit that will advance our Struggle.

The Chairman then called on Cde S Hodgson to propose a vote of thanks.

Cde S Hodgson said his was also a simple task. He thanked the Works Committee for perceiving the need for this Seminar at this time; the Preparatory Committee who had started work, without any previous experience in January, but who had sought advice and help; Cde Dennis who had been always a staunch activist of the Works Committee and Production Units.

He said that the Preparatory Committee recognised that the preparation for the Seminar was in itself an educative exercise, involving Production Units in discussion of papers, etc.

To achieve maximum quality, the papers had been collective efforts, and their results reflected that comrades had to analyse and discuss them in depth. The collective approach to work and problems develops us.

He gave rousing thanks to our fellow workers in Zambia and Angola who had made such a meaningful contribution to the Seminar.

He thanked our fellow workers in the kitchen without whom our minds and tongues would have given up the task; our student Art Workers for banner, posters and decorating the hall; the Technical group for typing, duplicating and other related items; the students for looking after and cleaning the hall; the Directorate for assisting over many problems. He thanked the NEC for responding to our call at such short notice to enable the National Commissar, T-G and Education Secretary to guide the conduct of the meeting. He added that without the behind-the-scenes guiding and bullying by Cde Makgothi on the Steering Committee the Seminar would probably not have been steered to its successful conclusion.

On behalf of the Works Committee and in the militant spirit of the Seminar, he proposed the following undebated and unopposed resolution which was adopted with acclaim. The resolution reads as follows:

"TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANC.

This historic Seminar of ANC Workers in the rear greets the Leadership of the NEC and our people struggling on all battlefields of our country. We salute our fellow combatants in the fighting detachment of Umkhonto weSizwe, whose bold actions, even during the course of the Seminar inspire us to redouble our efforts and to match their heroism at the fromt with our heroism in the rear. We are determined to fulfil the work and production tasks assigned to us in an examplary way. Organised in Production Units and united in the Works Committee, we pledge to strengthen our organisational structures and to raise the level of our contribution to meet the present demands of the struggle. By so doing we wish to report to our leadership that our detachment is combat ready!

Long Live the Production Units!

Long Lime the Works Committee!

Long Live the ANC!

The Future is Ours - Build It Today!

SUBMISSION TO THE WORKERS SEMINAR 27-28TH AUGUST, 1983

"WORKERS, THE FUTURE IS OURS - BUILD IT TODAY!"

THE STATEMENT FROM THE OFFICE OF THE TREASURER-GENERAL

It gives me great pleasure to attend this important seminar particularly because the idea of holding it came from the very people engaged in the day to day running of our projects and small industries - that is, people who are involved in actual production. This initiative on their part is most welcome to the Treasury. It evinces a high level of political consciousness on the part of the initiators of the move and can only augur well for the future of our projects.

Having said that I should like to hasten to correct a wrong impression caused by referring to this seminar as a Workers' Seminar, as if to suggest that ANC cadres who do projects work are "employees" of the organisation.

Clearly in our situation none of the full-time operatives of our movement - whether their mission may be- can be referred to as workers in the classical sense of a class of propertyless people who manage to eke a living by selling their labour power to a minority class of capitalist exploiters.
Any project set up by the movement anywhere in the world belongs to the members. And so it follows that any ANC cadre working in any of our projects is in fact an owner working for himself or herself and for the good of the organisation as a whole.

This view accords with the objectives we set ourselves when we set up our first projects. Seeing as those objectives are still largely valid to this day and are the guiding principle of the running of our self-help projects, I should like to restate them.

We said then the aim of each of our projects should be:-

a. To make the communities they were designed to serve, self-sufficient in their basic human needs;
b. To act as training groups for the acquisition and development of managerial and other technical skills by those of our Comrades involved in project work;
c. To help generate funds for our main task - the liberation of our country from the yoke of oppression and exploitation.

These are the kind of objectives which can only be realised by dedicated and selfless revolutionaries and not by a team of workers.

Comrades we should not, for a minute, lose sight of the fact that we are in the struggle and that whether we are deployed by the movement we should do our level best and execute our given mission with honour. However, far removed from the frontline our mission may appear to be, we should always remember that every task and every little job we may be called upon to do, is designed to advance our revolution a step nearer our cherished goal, of national liberation and independence. In the hope of realising our project objectives we created an organisational structure for each project we mounted. Briefly each project was to be run by a Management Committee - a collective made up of Comrades working on the proj-

ect and headed where feasible by a specialist or experienced Comrade. Because we did not always have our own cadres to head our project we made use of the services of personnel from non-governmental organisations and solidarity groups.

Comrades, I cannot say the structure we cameup with was perfect. Our aim was to prevent the autocratic tendencies traditional forms of management engender where we have one manager and a number of foremen under him. This form of management would never make it possible for our cadres - who were denied this opportunity back home - to acquire managerial skills.

In some cases this system worked harmoniously. In others it did not. There were several reasons; first, there was obvious lack of managerial skills. Even those of our cadres - and friends - who had the technical know-how in the various projects we mounted, and whom we appointed to managerial positions did not necessarily have management skills.

Second, some of the managers we appointed could not work with the Management Committees. Indeed in certain cases they dominated the scene and intimidated the collective who merely acted as rubber stamps endorsing whatever the manager suggested and were scared to challenge his authority.

Third, the collective itself did not always carry out their expected work of ANC cadres, perhaps because they did not themselves fully understand what their areas of responsibility were. I hope this seminar will come up with concrete suggestions and proposals for improving the organisational and management structure of projects, for consideration by HQ.

A disturbing feature of the way we have been running our projects is the fact that few ANC cadres are involved in project work. More than 70% (in certain cases the figure is even higher) of the total workforce of our projects is made up of the nationals of the countries where these are situated. This is a very unsatisfactory state of affairs. It belies the wrong attitude our people have to work - particularly manual labour.

In some regions even when the RPC holds subbotniks during harvest time, few of our people turn up. Curiously enough, these very people are the first to complain whenever supplies are not delivered on time.

I hope this seminar will work out ways and means of involving our people more in project work - particularly those whose work is sedentary. The need for this is felt sharply in a complex such as Mazimbu where we have a College which strives to, amongst others, eradicate from the minds of the young the unnatural classification of labour into mental and manual.

Earlier I reminded you of the 3 objectives we set for over self help projects. One of these, you will remember, was to train our people in technical skills. Now such training can be done in two ways. One would be "on the job training" whereby cadres would acquire skills or learn by doing the job.

The other opportunity or training, our projects offer, is "experience amassing" whereby cadres who have recently completed their studies in relevant technical fields would have the chance to acquire practical experience. Only in this way would their education and training be complete.

I am encouraged by the foresight and the sentiments expressed by the organisers of this seminar when they correctly refer to the workforce engaged in project work as a detachment. This is precisely what it is. What is more this detachment will grow as the demands of the struggle grow.

The Treasury is now trying with the idea of having some other type of project - fund raising projects. All this implies that more and more people will have to be brought into the ranks of the project workforce.

But before we venture into this new area we need to critically examine and appraise our past performance.

Have we achieved the objectives we set ourselves?
If not, why not?
Were these objectives realistic and realisable?
What can we do now to improve the performance of our projects?

These and many more are the sort of questions which will occupy the minds of all the participants to this seminar.

A quick look at our Agricultural Projects (and I am taking this as an example because these projects deal with a vital area of responsibility) reveals that these projects - even those which have been operating for sometime - are far from making our people self sufficient in most of their food requirements.

A mere look at the financial statements submitted to HQ by Regional Treasurers shows that the greatest expenditure is on food. And this figure keeps on increasing in spite of the fact that we have Agricultural Projects in almost all those areas where we have large settled ANC Communities. Although I would be the first to accept that agricultural output depends, to a large extent, on the vagaries of the weather, I cannot understand why we should continue to spend much on food when we have adequately mechanised agricultural projects and easy access to the inputs required.

There is another dimension to the food problem whichever way we go in Africa we are met with the painful sight of malnutrition and hunger, even in those areas richly endowed in natural resources. Whilst we may give one thousand and one reasons why food production is a continental problem in Africa, particularly in those countries that have opted far the non Socialist path of development, some of these reasons will not apply to us. The African farmer has become a commodity producer. He will opt for the production of cash crops that bring him more income rather than produce food crops that yield low returns.

Our Agricultural Projects are meant to produce food crops largely for our own consumption. Only the surplus is intended for the market.

Comrades, if we cannot meet the need now when our numbers in exile are still low, we will have a problem in our hands when more and more people are forced to flee South Africa as a result of the stepping up of the armed struggle!

Our other projects are no different in their productivity (or should I say unproductivity) few are able to make their financial contribution to the fighting fund. Ofcourse project contributions will only be possible if our projects are profitable ventures - which they clearly are not.

Where have we gone wrong and how can we remedy the situation? My own view of the situation is that many of our problems are management ones (or lack of it). We need to strengthen the administrative structure of our projects.

Members of Production Units should be increasingly involved in the decision making process. They should participate in setting output targets for our projects. They should be informed about actual results at the end of the day. And if actual performance and budgeted output vary, the variances should be examined and explained to all parties concerned, and collective solutions found.

Another way of improving the productivity of our projects is to exercise thrift and economy in the utilisation of our resources - physical as well as financial.

The output of some of our projects is low precisely because most of the inputs are wastefully utilised. There are various reasons for this. In some cases waste is unavoidable in the initial years of a project because the workforce is largely unskilled. In others the waste is most certainly avoidable if only people will handle ANC property with that degree of care they would normally show in the handling of their own personal affairs. In other cases still, we are forced to see the wastefulness as an act of economic sabotage.

In an attempt to improve the performance of our projects the Treasury has set up for instance in this region the Office of the Special Representative of the Treasure-General's Office.

One of the functions of this Office is to monitor the work performance of our projects in East Africa. We hope this Office will assist the projects in their work.

In the final analysis however, it is the level of political consciousness of our Cadres that will improve the productivity of our projects. The realisation that picking up the hammer or the hoe is as vitally important to our struggle as picking up the gun.

Production is essential for, without it not only could the work not advance, but it would be impossible to ensure the people's survival, let alone meet the growing needs of the masses.

In the final analysis, the principal contradictions who are to control the means of productions, for greater well-being in society and increased economic and social progress. Thus production in our society, in our mids, in our schools, in our army

is a school of independence. It does not only meet our needs, but also teaches us responsibility and discipline.

In our centres the practical side of production is satisfactory, what is now needed is to relate it more closely to theory, so that experiences can be exchanged, understood and internalised. Fortunately we are beginning to have an increasing number of young people recently trained in fields directly related to production. We must try to spread their scientific and theoretical knowledge among our instructors and cadres through talks and short courses. This will enable us to improve our production techniques and achieve greater diversification.

In conclusion, let us put more energy and work in our projects for the benefit of our struggle.

I thank you.

SUBMISSION TO THE WORKERS SEMINAR 27-28TH AUGUST, 1983

"WORKERS, THE FUTURE IS OURS - BUILD IT TODAY!"

MESSAGE FROM THE COMBATANTS OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

Comrade Leaders,
Comrades,

First of all, allow me comrades on behalf of the entire membership of our organisation, the ANC, in the embattled and revolutionary People's Republic of Angola and in particular on behalf of those of our comrades who constitute the fighting units in Umkhonto We Sizwe, to convey to you at this seminar, warm and revolutionary greetings.

We would like to begin by thanking the Works Committee for having extended an invitation to us to come and participate in the gigantic work to be carried out here at this seminar.

We also want to record once more, our appreciation to the Party and Government and the People of the United Republic of Tanzania, our hosts, for continuing to make it possible for us to meet in their country, thus facilitating our work for the liberation of our people from the yoke of fascism, exploitation and repression in the hands of the whitemi minority regime headed by Botha and Malan. We want to thank you, in other words, for making it possible for us to hold this seminar here at Morogoro, a place, a name that will forever remain dear to the hearts and minds of many a South African.

This seminar perhaps the first of its kind in the history of our movement, is held at a very important time, when inside our country we notice a great movement of the oppressed people, a movement unparalleled in the annals of the struggles of the people of South Africa. Our people are engaged in a bitter struggle, whose objective is to end the exploitation, oppression and miseries they have been subjected to by the successive regimes of the white minority clique that rules by brutal force over them.

This movement of the people is characterised by a United Mass Action of all the fighting detachments of our people, who are forever unflinchingly marching forward, striking telling blows at the class of exploiters and the Government of brass hats in South Africa.

Side by side with the Mass Action of our people are the sacrifices of our own comrades-in-arms, sacrifices that have captured the hearts of the people. These are symbolised by the recent murder of comrades Marcus Motaung, Simon Thelle Mogoerane and Jerry Mosolodi. Here the dauntless courage and fighting spirit of the parents of our dear Marcus, Simon and Jerry was to raise a clarion call to the nation, particularly the fighting units of Umkhonto We Sizwe to fight to the bitter end, come dungeons dark and gallows grim.

Just like always whenever the people rise up to challenge the Status Quo, the racists resort to the intensification of repression, the increasing employment of puppets and turncoats of the likes of Sebe and others of his ilk to kill our people. Recently, as you know, Sebe brutally, in cold blood, mowed down 15 workers, injuring 61 others. This without doubt, once more emphasises the fact that no enemy institution has ever and can ever serve the interests of the people, on the contrary, these serve to hamper and hinder all human liberty and dignity. All the Sharpvilles, Sowetos, Matolas and recently the Maseru massacres were carried out with the help and connivance of these men. Indeed all these obstacles in our march to freedom and liberty deserve a crushing blow from our People's Army, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

We believe that the racists in South Africa are daily forging the very weapons of their own destruction through all these diabolic laws and brutalities against the people. Furthermore, no power on earth can ever succeed in putting down the will of the people desiring to be free. That is why we see the ability of our army, working units, youth and women to correctly co-ordinate in the fight for our birthright, as the only sure guarantor of victory in South Africa. The efforts we make to create and promote cadres that will keep the banner of revolution high will be our only sure reward. These will then be able to take their correct positions in the enormous work of reconstruction of the new South Africa of the Freedom Charter, a task requiring deep political understanding, dedication, patience and even more sacrifices than ever before.

We believe, therefore, that the idea conceived, to hold a seminar of this nature has correctly conformed to the demands of time and conditions. We are going through a period when the entire imperialist world is experiencing the worst of economic crises, when it seeks to burden the workers, not only in the capitalist countries, but everywhere in the world with the grave consequences of its chaotic economic policies. These are times when the imperialists led by Reagan in America feverishly push forward a diabolic scheme to raise higher the arms race, thus forcing the Natural Allies of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, that is, the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, to divert whatever monies aportioned for assisting these people in their development, to arms production in a serious bid to safeguard the gains of their revolutions and freedoms.

These are times when we in the National Liberation Movement are more than ever before, called upon to learn to produce so as to fend for ourselves. The time when we need to learn to save every penny so that this can be utilised in the fighting inside the country. This is the time for us to understand that whatever project work we undertake is meant to reinforce whatever assistance we get from our friends the world over and that this work should be considered by us a great beginning, a giant step forward in the life and work of our organisation. We need to bear in mind that great beginnings such as these are bound to produce great results, especially if pursued with great care and revolutionary zeal.

We want to wish the Works Committee continued success in its noble aims of creating political cadres capable of correctly translating the organisation's policies into practical reality. Here we think in particular of planned work, a healthy attitude towards labour, collective work, accountability and an open mind and readiness to criticise and self-criticese. These, we deem, as the tested guarantors for progressing our work. In Angola, in all our areas, we are engaged in farming activities and we are now beginning new large scale projects similar in scale and scope to these at Mazimbu and Dakawa. We have therefore come to this seminar keen to learn from the rich organisational experience gained by the comrades in this region.

To the workers in our projects, our word is: In your work remember that you are fulfilling a special mission aimed at the liberation of the downtrodden in your country. You should be able to say: "All production for the sake of Victory". You should always work to fulfill your daily quota and if possible overfulfill this for the sake of the other fellow who might have fallen or might be maimed forever.

These efforts, we honestly see as inseperable and indespensable component of our people's war. We cannot help but be reminded of the heroic workers of the Soviet Union and recently of Vietnam, who when their country was under the seize of the nazi hoardes, demonstrated great valour and heroism not only in the battlefield but in production as well. The success of those who were charged with the duty to drive the enemy out of the country was in part inspired by the fact that everything necessary for the man in the battlefield was available thanks to the political clarity, sacrifice and selflessness of those in production.

Today, this great lesson of other revolutions, demands of us that we in our conditions should make maximum use of it. The success of our project work is significant because it is an inspiration to us all. It will urge the fighting man forward because everything he perceives will help to raise his fighting morale. There is truly an indivisible unity between the man in arms and the one in production.

Comrades we want to take this opportunity to pledge solidarity with all the people the world over who are fighting for their freedom. We think of our sister peoples in Namibia led by their vanguard SWAPO of Namibia, victims of fascism and racism, the only concrete way of solidarity with them in their life and death struggle for liberation in Namibia.

To the peoples of Southern Africa, we say the heightening of our fight inside the country is the only answer to end the bitter situation they find themselves in for daring to support our fight, a situation of destabilisation, intimidation and undeclared wars, the only hope we see for a lasting peace in our region.

We think of the people of East-Timor under Fretelin, the people of Palestine under PLO, the people of Sahara under Polisario Front, the heroic and fighting people of El Salvedor led by

the Farabundu Marti Liberation Front. We do not forget the people of Nicaragua and of the Carribean basin who are subjected to American intervention and attempts to reverse their revolutionary gains with the help of internal counter-revolutionaries and other bands in the pay of the CIA. Victory over these forces of darkness is certain because the correlation of forces in the world is in favour of Progress, Peace and Security.
Glory to Labour!

LONG LIVE THE ANC!
LONG LIVE THE UNITED MASS ACTION OF OUR PEOPLE!
AMANDLA!
MAATLA!
ALL POWER!

SUBMISSION TO THE WORKERS SEMINAR, 27-28TH AUGUST, 1983

"WORKERS, THE FUTURE IS OURS - BUILD IT TODAY!"

WORKS COMMITTEE REPORT

Comrade Leaders,
Comrades,

We are meeting here to assess the part activities of the Works Committee and the Production Units, with a view to improving on them. This seminar should review the achievements and shortcomings of the work started by our pioneers, who have laid the foundations for the present workforce, which is constructing and contributing to this fountain of knowledge - Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College. It is also the task of the participants in this first workers seminar to identify vital landmarks for the future, to suggest ways and means of improving our planning and our political and organisational work. Having done this, the seminar should try to establish clear guidelines for action over the coming years. It is not my duty to suggest ways of improvement. Other speakers will elaborate on this. My assignment in this seminar is to brief you on the historic background of the Production Units and the Works Committee, the role they are playing, the problems they are facing and to what extent they are solving them.

I must emphasize from the outset that the Production Units (PU's) and the Works Committee (WC) are political organs. They do not replace management. Their main role is to strengthen our workforce by organising and mobilizing each collective to fulfil its production assignments in an exemplary way.

At the beginning in November 1980, the WC was formed to take workers problems and problems of discipline away from the desk of the Project Manager. The early guidelines for the WC were roughly as follows:

-"Production Units set up in each collective of workers are to ensure efficiency, material economy, attendance and work discipline. Disciplinary problems are to be referred to the WC only after they have been dealt with by the PU. Representatives from each PU to the Works Committee are appointed by the management. They report weekly from the PU's to the Works Committee and back. Secretaries and Chairpersons of the PU's are elected by the members of the Production Units.

The task of the Works Committee is to assist and guide the PU's and management to attain maximum efficiency; to coordinate working relations between PU's, to discuss disciplinary cases referred by the production units and, if necessary, to refer them to the Disciplinary Committee." -

Because of the growth of Production Units in other departments, the Works Committee is now responsible to the Directorate. The Production Units which have been set up are as follows:

Transport	Tailoring
Building Site	Mechanics
Technical Department	Supplies
Agriculture	Stores
Administration (formerly Treasury)	Carpentry
Clinic	Electrical

Comrades, for nearly three years the WC has been meeting almost every Saturday afternnon to discuss reports from the Production Units. It is true that in the first months it spent all its time discussing disciplinary cases, and at times it was forced to take strong action. But we could not find time to discuss the reports piling up from the PU's. Finally we realized that we must consequently insist that the PU's take this responsibility upon themselves. Since then our task has been mainly to advise, and sometimes to correct the actions taken. Serious cases have been referred to the Disciplinary Committee with our recommendations.

In this respect we have had some success. Where PU's have been functioning well, we have been able to strengthen their authority and several PU's have successfully dealt with disciplinary cases, notably the Building Site, the Electrical Department, the Technical Department and Agriculture. However, many PU's are not functioning as they should and there is a big gap between the level of discipline in different units.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Comrades, I would like briefly to highlight some of the achievements of the WC and PV's since their formation:

- The year following our formation, the WC launched a programme of annual emulation. It has become a custom now to award annually the Best Production Units, Best Workers as well as Best Improved Workers and Production Units. We remember also to award our veterans who have played a staunch role as outstanding workers and have given their best to the struggle. We must extend and improve this programme!
- Hand in hand with the emulations we started the custom of workers New Year's Eve Party. The purpose of this party has been to gather our entire workforce in an atmosphere of relaxed comradeship and we have made it a point as workers to contribute towards the costs of the evening so as not to overtax our Treasury.
- It has also become a tradition of the WC to exhibit the fruits of our production at the annual international Saba Saba Trade Fair. Here we have demonstrated proudly to the world our capability and activity as a detachment of the African National Congress. This activity has helped the workforce to appreciate its achievements.
- In support of our new pioneer project, the ANC Development Centre, Dakawa, the WC and PU's have taken two serious initiatives. Last year we organized a programme of weekend Letzima's where production units helped to clear the bush in preparation for planting and this year we have started a similar programme to assist with the trench for Dakawa's water pipeline. In organizing our "shock troops", the WC is also trying to build the collective spirit of the

PU's themselves. On our visits we always try to stay overnight to come closer to the new arrivals and inspire them wherever possible.

- Also to help building the collective spirit and to raise the technical horizons of the PU's, the works committee has encouraged study trips related to the work of the Production Units. Unfortunately only two PU's have taken advantage of this opportunity.
- Early on the WC became concious of the need for a bulletin to assist in its tasks to help build the new worker, the new collective and to feed the community with news of activities. Here we must pay tribute to the comrades, who have sacrificed their free time to ensure the regular publication of the Bulletin since April 1981. The main shortcoming of the bulletin has been in the dryness of most of the PU reports and the WC and PU's must find ways to improve this. It is also high time that we found a fitting name for the Bulletin.
- The WC has campaigned for a proper holiday programme for the workers and together with management has submitted concrete proposals to the TG's Office. We are still awaiting his response and whilst we realize the need to economise, we must emphasize that it is necessary for any worker to have a rest from time to time. Comrades, a positive response from Cde. TG will impose a greater responsibility on us to increase our production and our efforts. Holidays cost money and money must not be diverted from our struggle at home.
- The WC has insisted that recommendations for scholarships should be channelled through the PU's and the Works Committee, so that recommendations can also be made by the candidates own workmates and we trust this will assist in reducing the comrades who go abroad and disgrace our movement.
- After the death of adult education in the beginning of 1980, when it was handed over to the school authorities, the WC helped to revive it and with assistance from the Youth Section classes were started in the Tailoring Workshop early in 1982. Some of the comrades, who attended then are still proud of their ability to read and write. But the present programme of adult education is inadequate to meet the needs of our struggle and this seminar must examine the problem.
- Where it has been called on to assist, the WC has persuaded comrades who have resigned, to return to their posts. It has helped to solve numerous serious problems, which have sometimes affected the entire community. Take, for example, the case of the clinic. Some years back the staff of the clinic was involved in continuous misbehaviour, drinking and roaming around in the ambulance. The WC insisted on the immediate suspension of one comrade, who was subsequently removed permanently from Mazimbu. It also insisted on a definite programme of clinic hours for the benefit of the clinic workers as well as the community. Many comrades working at the clinic today are not even aware of the battle we fought at that time.
- The WC campaigned for a transport officer long before the Directorate did, long before the accident which killed our comrade last year. We even outlined the qualities needed for the post and searched our ranks to find the right man.
- We have started to make progress in drawing our education

workers into our work. For some months now an observer from the secondary school has been attending WC-meetings, and we have recently been informed that they intend to join the works committee, though they have not yet decided how best to do so. We welcome this and hope that the comrades will soon form a production unit or units which will participate fully in our tasks.

- We have been inspired by the participation of an increasing number of students in after-school work. Many of them are outstanding and we welcome also the formation of the student works committee.

SHORTCOMINGS

- Comrades, our efforts to assist the Charlottes to form PU's has not been whole hearted. The workers in our Child Care Centre need to be organised like any other workers and whilst the Charlottes are the responsibility of the Womens Section, all workers have a duty to assist in this mission. We must redouble our efforts!
- We have done nothing to organise our ANC catering workers into production units and we also feel that all catering should fall under one department. The WC has made many efforts to improve the catering for the workers, who often go to work without breakfast and only eat after knocking off in the afternoon. Better catering could be assured if a PU was set up.
- We have failed to organise the cobblery and garment factory PU's and the Tailoring PU, which once received the Best PU Award is no longer meeting! Other Units like the Mechanics Workshop are also not meeting and this has contributed to serious problems, which the WC is trying to help solving.
- The WC has not succeeded in assisting PU's to submit proper reports. Some do not report regularly, others do not report accurately and try to cover up problems. We have experienced this in the Agriculture, Logistics, the Clinic and Treasury (now Administration). Some units submit dry, dull reports week after week. Poor reporting seriously affects the ability of the WC to strengthen the units.
- Many PU's are failing to hold interesting and productive meetings, which can only mean that they have failed to understand the purpose of the meetings. Some topics discussed include matters completely unrelated to work such as clothing and food supplies, complaints about residences, bicycles for personal use etc. The Building Site is notorious for this type of meeting and it has only a competent secretary to thank for its good reports. Such meetings have led to some Department Heads refusing to attend PU-meetings.
- There are PU's (e.g. the Treasury) where comrades are afraid to criticise and correct each others mistakes, especially when their seniors are involved. These comrades are failing in their duty to our struggle and the WC has not been effective enough in assisting such PU's.
- There are also PU's which choose at times to hide behind structures or structural changes in the management (Directorate) to avoid their political responsibilities, when these become uncomfortable in the Unit. The Units, or individuals in the Units, suddenly claim to be responsible to their Department at Headquarters or to the Chief Representative or RPC. This type of thing affects our work seriously and we

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feel strongly that the seminar should take a stand on this issue.

- Only when we solve, once and for all, the question of punctuality and strict attendance at work will we be able to really claim to be the new detachment of ANC workers. Some PU's have taken initiatives in this area but others are far behind and hundreds of manhours are lost to our struggle every week.
- The programme of meetings between the WC and the PU chairpersons and secretaries has scored some successes but meetings have not been organised regularly and topics have not always been well prepared. We must overcome this to strengthen the link between the WC and the PU's,
- The WC has not taken strong steps to ensure that all its members attend WC meetings regularly, though generally they do. WC members do not all take notes and reporting back to the PU's is generally weak and sometimes not even a true reflection of WC meetings and decisions. This retards our progress and should be corrected.
- Since the departure of our former Regional Commissar, the WC has tried but failed to draw into our meetings the complex commissar.

Comrades, the work of the WC members is very full. Little time is left for planning ahead or for active work with the PU's and individual workers. It is becoming increasingly clear with the growth of our workforce that there is a strong need for one or two full time functionaries on the WC. In the meantime our work will continue!
Despite our weak cadres, we have many powerful and conciencious workers in our ranks on whom we can depend for the success of our mission.

Our projects like Somafco and Dakawa are battlefronts and no matter what difficulties we face we pledge to fulfil our mission in an exemplary way!

We will develop our heroes!
Forward to Victory!

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SUBMISSION TO THE WORKERS SEMINAR 27-28TH AUGUST, 1983

"WORKERS, THE FUTURE IS OURS - BUILD IT TODAY!"

OUR WORKFORCE - A NEW DETACHMENT IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE!

Comrade Leaders,
Comrades,

At this point in time when our struggle has reached a point of no return, when the struggling people of South Africa are seeing the dawn of Freedom as a near reality, it is a matter of utmost importance for all of us as the main liberatory force to examine and find out exactly what the present phase of our struggle demands of us. During this last but one stage of our revolution our movement, the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto, are poised for the seizure of power. It is therefore essential that we clearly define what role each section, each detachment, has to play during this period. Whilst the combatants of our army (MK) are concentrating all their efforts on the front, we workers in the rear have an equally responsible task. Cadres in the rear, who are actively involved in simple everyday tasks like administration, carpentry, building, catering, transport, etc., form a new detachment in our liberation struggle.

Many people tend to lessen the importance of this new detachment in the process of liberation. During the stage of seizure of power this detachment is duty bound to contribute on a daily basis to the front. Whilst it is engaged in the fierce struggle to raise productivity during this stage, the detachment is also actually training itself to take up its second and extremely important tasks of imparting these experiences after the seizure of power when we will consolidate this power and build a new society along the lines of the Freedom Charter. The endeavour to support the front materially is followed by the second stage in which the new detachment finds itself engaged in a revolution that is "more tangible, more radical and more decisive than the seizure of political power", for it is a struggle to overcome one's conservatism, tribalism, indiscipline, petty bourgeois egoism - and this will be a victory over the habits inherited by the workers and peasants from the accursed capitalist exploitation of our country.

The new detachment of our workforce in the rear has been assigned a mission in the struggle. To succeed in this mission, we workers must be armed with a clear understanding of our role and tasks in the struggle. Without this clear understanding we become merely refugees surviving on charity and pity; with it we are a force fused with, and actively supporting the front line struggle.

What are the tasks of this new detachment? Where is it found and why is it new? Comrades, to contribute to this phase of our struggle for power, it is our task to work and produce tirelessly; we must develop our self-reliance to a level where we are producing not only for Somafco, Dakawa and Dar es Salaam but directly for the front. We should be able to

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supply other centres of the movement with e.g. maizemeal, beans etc. Our cobblery should produce on a large scale so as to enable it to give some of its bags to our comrades who are going inside the country. Comrades, by increasing our production and also by supplying other centres with some of our products here, we will be in a great way helping our treasury to focus most of its funds to the front, this will facilitate the process of the seizure of power. In this process we must produce our heroes of work, new cadres who will replenish the ranks at the front. We must build new leaders to replace those who are falling in battle. We must build a new type of worker, selfless and devoted, ready at any time to carry his skills closer to the front into new liberated territories and even right into the battle at home where his skills might be needed in the underground.

The workforce of the new detachment is found in every rear base of the ANC. It is found in Lusaka, London, Angola, Tanzania etc. and it is no coincidence that its bulk is found at projects like the ANC. Development Centre, Dakawa and at Somafco. These projects are born out of struggle and it is the sacrafices of our heroes at home , which have given impetus to projects like Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College. The very name signifies the physical link between the front and the rear.

The land of these new projects, pledged to us by the staunch solidarity of Tanzania and other front-line states must be treated with the respect we accord to liberated zones. Though not on South African soil, we are here free and duty-bound to our people, to the frontline states and to our supporters throughout the world to develop our policies along the lines of the Freedom Charter. In so doing our new detachment is a vanguard in the second phase of our struggle, the struggle to build the new society, the new worker and the new collective style of work. This is a great responsibility because our detachment is perhaps the only one facing this challenge. We must meet the challenge boldly and fearlessly. Our success is vital for the future free South Africa where our experience will be invaluable. But even more urgently, our success is vital to the struggle to seize power. For our people at home and all the heroic combatants of MK will be inspired by our deeds, by our efforts to implement some of the principles of the Freedom Charter. Our success will inspire them to fight harder than ever, and the support of the progressive peoples of the world will grow as they register these successes and gain increased confidence in our ability to be the future Government of South Africa. We must and will succeed!

How do we ensure success? In order to fulfil our mission and the tasks outlined above we need, above all, to develop a new conscious work discipline, a new worker, a new collective workstyle. Each worker, whether in supplies, teaching, catering, agriculture, etc., must be part of a collective and each collective must understand its role in our detachment. To build a concious, disciplined work collective we need new organs like the Works Committee and the Production Units.

In South Africa the organisation of labour relies on the discipline of hunger, arrest and brute force. In the new South

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Africa of the Freedom Charter and in our "liberated zones" like Somafco, our organisation of work must rest on the concious descipline of the revolutionary workforce - our new detachment. This new concious discipline is not automatic. It does not come because we snap our fingers. It is not even born out of a clear understanding of the principles of the Freedom Charter. It does not help us to be capable of all sorts of clever political sloganising. It is not enough to think that we are politically clear; because it is our task to put our policies into action and this means that we must be able as workers to translate our "political clarity" into simple practical deeds of everyday work! And these deeds must be heroic as befits our detachment. Our heroism at the rear must match, deed for deed, the heroism of the comrades at the front.

Building this new concious discipline is no easy task. It requires a clear political understanding of the man who joined our movement voluntarily and understands that the struggle demands sacrifice. We must overcome laziness, selfishness and poor attitudes to work inherited from the past, where we sweated for the profits of the white man. It is the task of the Works Committee and Production Units to build this new concious work discipline. The organisational and practical work of these organs must be directed at a single aim; they must be dtermined to transform our mass of volunteers, our workers and leaders, into a smooth running united collective - the new detachment! We want leaders to emerge from that detachment - and they are already beginning to emerge! We want to see our heroes of labour rise up - and we will see them!

In some ways our task is more difficult than at the front, because our tasks require the heroism of everyday work sustained day after day. We must learn to organise our work more efficiently, to pay more attention to the materials and equipment we are using and to raise our productivity to great levels worthy of a people at war!

We must learn to improve our individual skills through on-the-job training and adult education. Our adult education programme must be geared to the needs of creating all-round cadres, better able to contribute through their work to the battle facing our detachment and our struggle. We have not yet learned to do all this, but with the increased efforts of the Works Committee and Production Units we will do so.

By drawing the entire workforce into production units, we will make great strides in abolishing the gap between mental and manual labour; we will discover new initiatives by the man on the job and we must nurse and encourage these as the green shoots of our new society. In the long but glorious process of building this new society, we must never be afraid to try out new methods, with great patience.

In fulfilling the task of building the new work discipline the Works Committee and Production Units must make creative use of the methods and techniques at their disposal, like emulation, criticism and self criticism, publicity etc. But in the process of growth it would be wrong to imagine that we no longer need to enforce discipline. It is the duty of

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the revolutionary worker and the entire detachment to take the necessary steps to defend our goals and the process of growth. A revolutionary worker combats with great zeal dissident elements, who thieve or misuse the property of the organisation, who sell clothes donated to us or who hide their laziness or other weakness behind destructive critic- and rumour mongering which undermines our leadership. The activities of such elements undermines our capacity for action and is tantamount to treason. We will not be afraid to take strong disciplinary measures to deal with such elements who consistently hinder the progress of our struggle.

Comrades, it is the duty of the revolutionary worker to participate in all the activities of the established organs of our movement. We rely on the Youth, Womens Section and the RPC to pass on the aspirations and traditions of our movement, to instil in us a clear political understanding of our struggle and its development on all fronts. We also depend on these organs to assist the Works Committee and Production Units to fulfil the main mission which has been assigned to our front, and which we have dealt with above.

In conclusion, comrades, allow me to throw out a challenge to all of us here. Comrades, I am sure you will agree with me when I say that we are catered for by the movement for all our basic human needs, and this obviously does not come to us as easily as we see it during the distribution of all the articles we receive. All of us get three meals a day, are housed comfortably, we have no serious transport problems, we are all clothed from head to foot and above all we can still enjoy a few luxuries like attending film shows. It is therefore necessary for all of us to sit down and seriously consider this question: How much are we giving back to our own movement? Many of us will see that we gain a lot and will be ashamed that we give back very little. So let us put a stop to this exploitation of the movement. Let us find ways to double our efforts and let us aim at doing ten times more than we are doing at present. Let there be a correct balance between this give and take.

Let us be able to reply proudly to the question Comrade O.R. Tambo put in his Lanuary 8th address: "Are we organised enough, strong enough and dedicated enough to meet our obligations to our people?" Let us be able to answer -

YES, OUR DETACHMENT IS BATTLE-READY!

EVERYTHING FOR THE FRONT!

LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF THE SUBOTNIKS!

LONG LIVE THE UNITED ACTION OF ANC WORKERS!

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SUBMISSION TO THE WORKERS SEMINAR 27-28TH AUGUST, 1983

"WORKERS, THE FUTURE IS OURS- BUILD IT TODAY!"

THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE WORKS COMMITTEE AND PRODUCTION UNITS IN THE PRESENT PHASE OF THE STRUGGLE

Dear Comrade Leaders, dear Comrades,

Today we are witnessing the development of a new kind of construction with the development of this project. As it develops the organisation acquires more experience and gradually perceives the requirements of this historic mission. The comrades who are participating in the construction of SOMAFCO are an embryo of the detachment of workers, who in the future of South Africa will take part in transforming that abortive system.

Together with the workers at home they form a component part of the revolutionary process for National Liberation. As workers in the revolution we produce for the development of our struggle, we are jealously safeguarding the rear which should be kept strong as to be in a position of supplying the front with the necessary equipment. This detachment is in its infancy and will develop immensely as the complex is taking its proper shape.

In order to ensure the realisation of the factors stated above, the production units should be organised on a proper basis.

The role of the Production Units

The Production Units should have a Head of department and an active core which will assist him or her in tackling some of the vital issues. It would be composed of Head of department, Chairman, Secretary,representative to the Works Committee, if necessary the work-coordinator. The duty of the core should be planning work in a particular Unit and where possible form teams according to the abilities of the workers. The production Units help the workers to plan their work and productivity. The meetings which are held by these Units help to ensure maximum effort and to implement the directives passed by the management. The Anarcho-syndicalists said that workers should not engage in politics and that could get along very well with only the Trade Unions.

This is proved wrong because you cannot have an organised workforce which lacks political consciousness. For persecuting this task succesfully the active cell must know its members. The head and his or her immediate assistants ought to organise get-togethers and study trips. In these kind of trips comrades come to know each other's behaviour outside the working area. With this information the work-coordinator and the head of the department will be able to distribute work without facing grave problems.

It is also the task of the core to develop the consciousness of the workers. In order to achieve good results in production, workers should be trained politically and practically. The historical background of SOMAFCO should be related and comrades must be told that failing to accomplish this monument

will be giving the enemy a chance of spreading his malicious propaganda against us.
The head ought to educate his or her members so that they can distinguish between what is primary and secondary; to be specific - the interest of the collective from personal interest. Therefore it means the core should be exemplary.
Comrades, here in Mazimbu we are the owners of the means of production and this means we should not work slowly and reluctantly as if we are at home, where the boss will force a worker to do his or her job. At home the worker has to sell his labour power in order to survive,in our situtation.the output is meant for the development of our revolution.
For the Production Unit to reach such heights they must understand their role and the importance of the work they are performing. This can be attained by explaining the question of resources and how the donors are organising these materials. These objectives can be achieved through proper planning and working out work norms, which will facilitate the Unit with a comprehensive data, indicating deliberations of various members of the Unit.
In this manner the Production Units would be in a position of jedging and developing the comrades who are lagging behind in their work. This calls for the improvement and clear understanding of production relations which will enable us to function properly. It is a known fact that some Production Units tend to neglect the importance of crticising the fellow workers including other Departments.
A clear understanding of this factor will lay the basis for building new work discipline in Mazimbu.

Building new work discipline

Comrades while making efforts to set up structures which will facilitate the smooth running of work in our areas of work, we are encountering problems of misusing the property of our movement. Comrades,mishandle items donated to us by the peace loving people in the Western world and our friends in the socialist countries. In order to overcome these shortcomings in our planning we should have methods which will be useful in the distribution of goods. This include some of the components which should be received as part of our Emulation programme.

Incentive

While engaged in productive work the movement realized the need of giving the working force incentives.as a means of stimulating them. At the same time this question should be dealt with thoroughly for it tends to mould people's attitudes and create property instincts which could present problems as our Complex shapes up.
It also leads to a stage where comrades consider the question of money as primary and the movement work as secondary. In order to combat the tendency of individual gain the workers should work consciously with the aim of improving the conditions of the community. For us to build the spirit, moral incentives should be introduced.
Comrades, moral incentives involves the enrollment of a hard working and exemplary comrade in a course. His or her qualifications will be up-graded and in this manner will contr-

contribute effectively in the productive work around this Complex or in other centres of our movement. The other means could be Emulations.

Emulations

Let us view the present situation in South Africa where our people are suffering under the yoke of Apartheid. Perpetuating this ill system which leaves our people homeless, exposed to various diseases and unemployment like in all capitalist countries. The haves in South Africa have created conditions and introduced laws. These laws leave our people with no choice but to sell their labour power in order to obtain the means of subsistence.
In the different industries our people are working under difficult conditions and receiving meagre salaries which are far less than what a worker has produced. This process exposes the nature of capitalism and how parasitic is the whole structure. We are building up a new work discipline with the sole aim of eradicating the hangovers of that ill society of exploitation of man by man. Also with the aim of creating a new kind of a worker who will be capable of participating in the present phase of our struggle and in future South Africa.

Criticism and Selfcriticism

The works Committee and the Production Units as Politico-Administrative bodies help to protect the workers from abuse. The Production Units don't replace any of the base structures of our movement like the RPC and Youth. These organs are expected to help in our main task, the main task of course being the production. In realising all these tasks politics should play the major role.
Adult education is also important in improving our production. All workers need to be educated in order to understand the importance of self-reliance. As workers we should be exemplary and should see to it that our activities are directed to the development of the Complex. One other thing a worker should make a point of is that his or her shortcomings doesn't influence the community.

The Bulletin as an agitator

The Bulletin should help to facilitate communication between the workers. It should reflect political aspects and other events. In this manner the bulletin won't be concentrating on disseminating ideas but would assist in conscientising the workers. The bulletin should report on the progress made by Production Units and the performences of students at school for example at the end of the year.

Women in production

Back in South Africa women are generally accepted as good as domestic servants. In our case their contribution in all the Production Units is viewed as equally important as that of their male comrades. Women have proved to be capable in all the different work categories.

The role of the Representatives

D The work of the Chairman, Secretary and the representative in the Works Committee should be well coordinated. They should explain the role played by the Works Committee in their

respective Production Units. They should prepare papers for discussion and they should guide in all the meetings. Their work is very important and this calls for us to elect potential leaders as Chairs and Secretaries. The articles appearing in the Bulletin can be discussed in the Production Units and ideas can be exchanged for the benefit of all the workers in different Production Units.

Role of the Works Committee

Before talking of the cadres of a given structure, we should consider the structure itself. Without looking at the structure we shall be doing injustice to the objects of the organisation. The same applies to the Works Committee as the Politico-Administrative arganisation. The Works Committee should guide, assist and support the Production Units in their role to mobilise and plan their production.
Leading cadres in the organisation like the Works Committee should not be competent only; but they should also accept advice and have the ability to listen to those who are in the lower structures. The Works Committee should be very constructive in attending to the problems of workers. This will help to keep the principles of our movement. It should also show or educate the cadres in the Production Units on the way to improve their production and the style of work. Again the Works Committee should plan ways of involving the students in production.
The reports from the Production Units should be studied and analysed by the Works Committee in order to suggest ways of improving their work style. The Works Committee as a link between the workers and the management should encourage new initiatives and come out with constructive plans for our workforce.

Production for victory!

Workers of the world unite!

AMANDLA!

SUBMISSION TO THE WORKERS SEMINAR 27-28TH AUGUST, 1983

"WORKERS, THE FUTURE IS OURS - BUILD IT TODAY!"

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES, METHODS AND TECHNIQUES - THE TOOLS AT OUR DISPOSAL.

Dear Comrade Leaders, Dear Comrades,

Previous papers have indicated that our workforce must consist of workers of a new kind in order to make it a real force, a "detachment" in our struggle for liberation. A new kind of worker must be developed together with a new collective style of work. It is to ensure this development, which is the role of the Works Committee and the Production Units.
We, members of the Production Units and the Works Committee need to make use of all the tools at our disposal in order to make sure that we live up to this role. Comrades, how can we sharpen these tools? How can we improve on them so that they become like the AK's of our brothers and sisters in Umkhonto?

Firstly, it is the duty of the WC-representatives and the PU-chairpersons and Secretaries to lead by example and to be the defenders of our leadership and its organs like the Directorate. To do this we need a better understanding of the policies and actions of the leadership and this demands a closer link. For example, it would be useful if members of the Directorate would attend WC-meeting from time to time. At the same time our WC-representatives must also be in a position to raise questions and honest criticisms from the workforce.
The WC is rooted in the PU's. The stronger the PU's are, the stronger will be the WC and our entire detachment. It is therefore very important that the link between the WC and PU is strengthened. This requires honest, fearless reporting between the PU's and WC. Criticisms within the Production Unit (PU) should not be stifled when reporting to the WC. We must also praise each other more often than we do, and such praise should be carried to the higher organs and onto the pages of our Bulletin. Praise is a tool which we have not yet mastered. Not only must we criticize obvious wrongdoings like theft and misuse of property - but we must make it a point to always criticize laziness for what it is! Even when comrades find all sorts of excuses for their laziness and other faults, we must make it a point to expose them. For example, we have had the experience in nearly all production units, whereby comrades, who are often well trained in their professions, have been changing from one department to another with vague and unfounded reasons, such as misunderstandings between them and their foremen. This is definitely not in the interests of our struggle!
Another way of strengthening the direct link between WC and PU's is for WC members to pay visits now and then to different PU meetings, where they can advise and exchange problems and ways of solving them. This method would also help the WC to monitor the reporting and the approach of each WC-Representative.

We must forge our detachment by strengthening the ability of the chairpersons and secretaries to lead. Reports alone are not enough. There must be dynamic contact between the WC and PU chairpersons and secretaries at meetings where policy is discussed, ideas are shared, and seminars are held on matters affecting the work; and on controversial issues such as the

problem of workers having to go without lunch for a whole working day. This link should be revived and the WC must plan a programme of joint monthly meetings, where comrades are asked to prepare papers in advance. In these meetings the chairpersons and secretaries can be coached by giving them the responsibility to chair and record the meetings on a rotating basis. In this way the chairpersons will learn to guide and control the PU-meetings by being flexible in answering questions. They will become more consequent in matters of discipline. At the same time the secretaries can be coached in better reporting. In this way we will build new leaders.

Meetings between chairpersons and secretaries of two PU's, or between two full PU's should be arranged where these can assist in smoothing out working relations. Such meetings have taken place succesfully e.g. between Agriculture and Supplies.

Social and individual problems outside of work should be consequently ruled out of order in PU-meetings. Such matters should be referred to the relevant political or administrative organs of our region such as the RPC, etc.
However, when these organs have not acted, and the problems affect the workers capacity to fulfil his mission, they should be taken up vigorously by the PU's and the WC. This will help to overcome boring meetings which are reflected in the reports and which demoralise the collective.
The relationship between the Dept. Head and the WC-representative should be one of trust, like that of a commander and his commisar. They should brief each other constantly and in this way they will not be at loggerheads in PU-meetings. It is the job of the WC-representative to build this relationship in order to strengthen management in the interest of our success. However, in cases of real abuse by management, it is his duty and the duty of the PU and the WC to defend the interests of the workers. The Dept. Head should be able to rely on the PU for discepline and morale. In this case he will not need to abuse his authority and can instead be a teacher in our ranks. WC-representatives should report to the WC on cooperation with the Dept. Head.
With the help of the WC the PU's should set themselves definite production goals for periods of a week, a month, three months etc. and try to achieve these goals. This requires planning and the establishment of norms and would make our meetings more constructive, our reports more interesting and our programme of emulations more meaningful. If we can produce more than the norm, then we will know that we are succeeding in our mission as a PU. We can establish norms by simple measuring - though, of course, it may not be possible in every PU.
Our programme of emulation, i.e. the annual emulation is not sufficient. Emulation should be reflected in every PU-report, side by side with criticism, and awards should be made more often and even spontaneously. They need not always take a material form. There should be no awards made, which are not proclaimed publicly. We must publicly praise and promote our heroes of labour. Annual awards could carry names of our leaders and perhaps PU's could be named as well - but only after they have earned the right to carry the name with honour!
Emulation is a powerful weapon in improving an individual's and a group's attitude towards work. In developing cadres the PU's can be utilized more effectively if they review specifically the progress at work of each individual in every report to the

WC. The PU's can also play an active role in encouraging comrades and monitoring their progress in adult education. This too should be reported on.

Comrades, the Bulletin must promote every initiative and every activity, which furthers our struggle. It must also be an initiator of new ideas in support of the efforts of the PU's and the WC. We should extend its Editorial Committee and include members such as the members of the student WC who will actively campaign for contributions. It is time that we named our Bulletin!
To improve the content and conduct of regular meetings, it is necessary that all production units follow a standard agenda. The meetings should deal for example with:
- Production goals and achievements
- Criticism and emulation of each individual
- Upgrading of skills and adult education
- Report from WC
- Initiatives, suggestions, general

The reports to the WC should reflect these items.
Regular PU-meetings should be held once each fortnight with reports to the WC. This will mean that the WC will spend half its time hearing reports and will be able to concentrate the alternate weeks on the planning and other tasks mentioned. It is obvious that at least one full time member of the WC is needed as well as a desk in one of the offices.
WC-representatives should report back fully to their PU's. It would be helpful if the WC secretary could prepare a check list of headings to be duplicated for each WC representative.

Meetings of the chairpersons and secretaries with the WC should take place once each month and the secretaries should report back at a non-regular meeting of the PU's.
Finally, comrades, we must ensure that whatever changes take place in the management structures of the Directorate, these should never affect our work. It does not matter, who one is responsible to at HQ or elsewhere, all of us in every department must strive to improve our workdiscipline, and our collective. We all need PU's for this, and changes in management structures do not affect our political responsibility to the PU's and the WC. They are the brigades of our detachment.

LONG LIVE THE PRODUCTION UNITS!
LONG LIVE THE WORKS COMMITTEE!
LONG LIVE THE ANC WORKERS DETACHMENT!
FORWARD TO VICTORY!

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (S.A)

ADULT EDUCATION, CADRE DEVELOPMENT AND THE ROLE OF THE PRODUCTION UNITS IN THESE.

Comrade Chair
Comrade Secretary of Education and other members of the National Executive Committee present, Comrade Director, Comrade Principal, Members of the Leadership of the Works Committee, Comrades and Friends.

It is an honour for me to be invited to this important Seminar which comes at a very crucial time of our struggle. It comes at a time when the contribution of each member of the Movement is in great demand if we are to meet the demands imposed upon us by both the external and internal tasks of the revolution. Our leadership in recognition of these demands streamlined our structures to make sure that both tasks are given the full attention they deserve.

The question of cadre development has become so important and urgent in our struggle at this point in time that the Organisation has felt the need to create a department of Manpower development which in essence is concerned with the development of cadres.

Closely related to cadre development is Adult Education and education in general. The upgrading of the educational and political standard of members of the Movement is cadre development.

The projects of the Movement afford another avenue of cadre development in that some of the cadres who have acquired some skills from technical, vocational and universities are given the chance to apply their skills practically and in the service of the Movement and therefore of the struggle. } NB

The projects also act as places where some of our cadres acquire skills on the job and thus the projects in this manner act as institutions of cadre development and also as places where we can spot the technical inclinations of our cadres and therefore seek scholarships for them to develop further. } NB

For members of the Organisation who are engaged in work in the projects to develop a sense of duty, a political approach toward labour, there is need for them to be organised into some units which will inculcate the spirit of collective responsibility to the tasks of the projects and the above qualities. Such a unit would be a production unit.

According to the education policy of the African National Congress one of the most important aims is to bridge the gap between mental and physical labour. This is achieved in the first place by making sure that those students who are in the academic institution are made also to acquire some skills so that they may be balanced in their approach towards labour.

/An important...

An important aspect toward bridging the gap between mental and physical labour is to remove an attitude of contempt from the productive worker for those who study academic subjects or are involved in intellectual persuits. We need to remove a negative attitude towards theory by those engaged in practical work. This can be done by arranging academic classes for the workers. It is therefore crucial to have a serious and highly effective programme of Adult Education. } NB

Since at the base of cadre development is the development of political attitude and political understanding, the ability of the cadre to follow political discussions and also to read political texts, political documents of the Movement, and political novels, the value of adult education, cannot be over-emphasised.

The Production Unit being composed of those workers who have to fulfil a common task and is also responsible for the effective and efficient fulfilment of this task will find it to its interest to encourage its members to develop politically, technically and academically. Therefore it will rest on the shoulders of the Production Unit to encourage members to interest themselves in political meetings and discussions and also to interest themselves in Adult Education classes.

In conclusion it would appear that cadre development in a situation where members of the Movement are engaged in work in projects of the Movement requires an effective adult education programme and a system of active and properly organised Production Units. Since the whole project is a common task of the entire work force it becomes crucial that the work of the Production Units be coordinated. This then makes the existence of a Works Committee crucial.

This committe will then be responsible for developing the Production Units and act as a liaison between the Production Units and other structures of the Movement and also between the Production Units and Management to see to proper relationship between workers and managements.

It is therefore clear that the Production Units and Works Committee are some of the means of manpower development.

The slogan of the effective and active Production Unit should be:-

DO NOT ASK WHAT THE ANC CAN DO FOR YOU BUT WHAT YOU CAN DO FOR THE ANC.

UNITED ACTION!
ACTION TO VICTORY!
WORKERS OF MAZIMBU UNITE
TO PRODUCE, TO LEARN, TO SERVE THE ANC
AND THE STRUGGLE.

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
MAATLA KE A RONA!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Cde Andrew Masondo.
National Commissar

SUBMISSION TO THE WORKERS SEMINAR 27-28TH AUGUST, 1983

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN REVOLUTIONARY PRODUCTION

All women throughout the world have been oppressed and have had to fight for their rights - political, legal and in all other fields. However, in South Africa black women have been and are the most oppressed as they suffer a three-fold oppression. As women, because of their colour; and as workers they have been the most exploited group anywhere.
From the earliest times black women have struggled and fought against these discriminatory laws. With great-courage and fortitude they have fought against the imposition of pass laws and as early as 1913 were already burning their passes. They have joined with the men in all campaigns and demonstrations against apartheid and racism whether they were related to boycots, strikes, bantustanization, the break-up of family life, bantu education and rises in the cost of living; for higher wages and in the squatter movements. In many cases they were the leading force and have played a significant role in the Trade Union Movement.
In 1976 young women indicated that they too were capable of entering the struggle when they joined the student uprisings which have continued till today.
Throughout the life of the ANC-women have been active participants. The ANC Women's League took the vanguard role in the formation of the S.A. Women's Federation, a body that united women of all faces. The Federation demonstrated the tremendous will of women to organise themselves and fight as a unified force.
Their militancy and their successes earned them the right as equal partners in the Liberation Movement - where today our women are in MK and in all leading organs of the ANC from the NEC down. Their militancy also brought the wrath of the enemy against them by bannings, imprisonment, torture and death; Albertina Sisulu, newly elected as a chairperson of the United Democratic Front is again in detention in a Fascist goal, but like so many of our long long list of heroines remains fearless and steadfast.
We, women in exile, here in Mazimbu and Dakawa should compare our situation with the struggling women at home, and seriously examine whether we are supporting them in their daily battles with the enemy.
Our students at SOMAFCO no longer have to contend with Bantu Education which would keep them forever in an inferior situation. Here you have the opportunity for a proper education and to attain any skills or profession, whereas our brothers and sisters in South Africa have only very limited possibilities for further studies and are restricted in choice of professions.
Our mothers at home have to live far from their places of work, have to labour for starvation wages with no creches or nursery schools to care for their children. Here the ANC is doing everything to care for mothers by building a modern child care centre with facilities that should enable women to be released for education and other work as quickly as possible.
In South Africa millions of our infants and children die of hunger and malnutrition caused through unemployment, poverty and lack of proper medical treatment. Whereas here every effort is made to properly feed our people and care for them medically. A beautiful well equipped hospital is being erected and we

can soon expect a resident doctor to augment our other qualified health staff.
Women at home live in slum houses or backyard rooms at exorbitant rentals. Here accommodation to the best of our ability is being provided for all comrades - rent free.
Do we women in exile recognise our role in the Liberation Struggle? Do we realise our favourable circumstances compared to the struggling women in South Africa?
Each and everyone of us should try honestly to answer this question. We are here on a mission. Our job is to assist our organisation in furthering the political and armed struggle to liberate our country and to maintain a reliable rear base for our front. Here at Mazimbu great developments have taken place, which make it possible for mothers to join any Production Unit they want and emancipates them from the stultifying and improductive housework. This is a tremendous achievement and the RPC, Youth Womens Section, Production Unites and Works Committee should actively encourage female comrades to take advantage of them to liberate themselves from their traditional work places as secretaries, nurses, tailors and teachers. They must be urged to also take their place beside the male comrades.
We have factories at Mazimbu, where women can work and can learn sewing and factory management; they can learn carpentry, electricity, plumbing, photography, draftsmanship or bricklaying. We have beautiful kitchens where modern catering can be learned on up-to-date equipment. A child-care centre is being established where knowledge can be gained on how to bring up our children properly and scientifically. These factories are capable of both supplying our own needs and making money for our movement, which means everyone has to make their contribution.
It is encouraging to note that some women have taken up some of the above professions, but many have dropped out again.
However, comrades, the liberation of women is mainly the task of the women themselves as observed by Lenin when he said:
"Emancipation of workers must be effected by the workers themselves. The working women must themselves see to it that such institutions are developed, and their activity will bring about a complete change in their position..."
But in this respect men have a role to play in encouraging and assisting their women to liberate themselves.
In this respect the Directorate must be praised for the decision it took to appoint a female coordinator for Dakawa. This is living proof of equality in the ANC and will encourage our women to exert themselves more.
Appreciable steps have also been taken in the provision of adult education. But, in order to be relevant, adult education should relate to the work that the majority of adult students are doing, so that it can help to improve their skills. The two subjects taught presently are not enough and students are not at all satisfied.
Comrades, if we women participate and play a more leading role in the work of agriculture and production at Mazimbu, it releases others to take up their guns and perform the dangerous missions of armed struggle. Fellow female comrades, we call on you to join the new detachment and to give your labour. Join the struggle today for a free and democratic S.A. tomorrow. Let US ALL HELP TO DELIVER THAT BABY! THE FUTURE IS OURS;BUILD IT TODAY!
AMANDLA!