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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION & PUBLICITY  
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LUSAKA - Zambia.

REPORT ON PUBLICATIONS WORKSHOP HELD IN LUSAKA FROM 8 TO 13 JUNE 1983

The workshop began by reviewing our own internal publications, ie Mayibuye, Vow, Forward and Workers Unity. The various journals read their reports to the workshop and discussion then followed. The discussion began by asking the question of each of the journals: Who is our audience? Who are we addressing ourselves to in these journals?

We basically all agree that our intended audience is the masses. However, in practice we need to look at what the actual state of our propaganda is. Comrade Freddie explained that Mayibuye had always seen itself as a paper to organise those who organise the unorganised. MAYIBUYE WAS reaching those who were already conscious ie the organisers and activists. However after the recent consultation with Maputo they were informed that in fact Mayibuye was being distributed to a much wider audience eg was being pasted up on walls and bus stops. There had been suggestions for example that Mayibuye should be issued in various African languages, and Afrikaans. This was not possible up to the present moment because of staffing problems. It was then pointed out that simply because Mayibuye was being distributed to the masses, did not mean it was reaching the masses in terms of language and political approach.

The comrade from Maputo pointed out that there were specific regional and local issues which needed to be dealt with and this was why regional papers had been set up by the political machinery in conjunction with the Maputo DIP Unit. One example of such a paper was "Ayivivie" for the Natal area. Some comrades questioned the use of different names for the papers, and said that for Mayibuye to really be a mass paper maybe it needed Natal, Transvaal and Cape editions. It was explained that to reach people at this level, the language was very important and thus it had been decided to use the various languages spoken in the specific areas the paper was targeted for. At the same time however, there are attempts to clarify in the papers, what their relationship is with the national papers like Mayibuye, Vow and Forward. Besides having the masses as our intended audience, there is also different cadre we need to reach and this is the already developed cadres who is active on all fronts inside the country. It is very important that the ANC, and thus our propaganda, has a hand in the development of this cadre. This cadre's problems are seen for example in what happened in the anti-SAIC campaign. After the campaign, they were asking - where to now? There is a distinction between these aroused masses and those who are not yet involved. We have to be aware of this distinction as it determines our approach in our propaganda. It may not be possible to address both masses in one paper. Thus, we have to be more careful in saying that Mayibuye is a mass paper. While one view is that a mass paper aims for the widest possible audience in terms of both circulation and news geography, we should bear in mind that even so-called mass papers like the Sunday Times have found it necessary to put regional editions which are distributed together with the national edition. We should not confuse the terms "mass" and "national". It was in fact the more developed cadre who becomes interested in national issues, and therefore in Mayibuye in its present form. The mass of unorganised would be more drawn to the regional papers put out from the Forward Areas.

It is necessary for Mayibuye to be clear about its relationship with these regional papers. If Mayibuye is in fact reaching primarily the more developed cadre, then Mayibuye is occasionally too rhetorical and should strive to give more concrete directives. This is what the people who have finished with anti-SAIC want from Mayibuye. It was pointed out that by simplifying language, it was not meant that Mayibuye must simplify its political content.

On language, it was agreed that the ideal would be for Mayibuye to be produced in a number of editions of Sotho, Zulu, English and Afrikaans editions. However it was not possible to do this at the moment because of staffing problems. The size of Mayibuye also did not really allow for articles to be translated into different languages in the same issue.

#### Voice of Women

The comrade from Maputo explained that in the regional papers, they do try to speak specifically to women and do popularise VOW in these papers. It depends on available transport, whether VOW and Mayibuye go out with the regional papers or separately. With VOW we say again, that our intended audience is the masses of women. However, the masses of women are illiterate. No matter what language is used, we cannot reach these women with the written word. One comrade explained how VOW tries to reach the women in the bantustans - the approach in VOW is to reach them through the more literate urban women who are resettled in the bantustans. VOW points out to the resettled women that their task is not just to resist resettlement, but to organise women in the bantustans once they are removed to these areas. In reality then VOW is reaching a very narrow strata of women. VOW must therefore make a greater effort to produce illustrated articles and cartoon-type articles.

Does VOW then provide tools for these women who read with which to organise? Since Maputo meeting, VOW had tried some changes but very little feedback had been received so far. So it was difficult for VOW to know whether they are in fact providing tools for the organisers. The only feedback so far had been of a very general nature of a general improvement in VOW. It was suggested in language that VOW should watch out for terms like "basic health care" and "cell work" which had very little meaning for the majority of women at home.

VOW raised the problem they were facing in carrying articles eg on cell work and on giving women more concrete ideas on how they can help MK eg simple directives on how to hide weapons. VOW had so far received little positive response to this, and suggested that DIP as a whole had to resolve the question with the ICC. The point was made that VOW did not want to give away secrets but wanted, and needed, to give simple directives in relation to underground struggle. Mayibuye and Forward needed to do the same thing. The comrades from the forward areas are already doing this in their journals.

#### Forward.

Comrade Mongezi explained that Forward addresses itself to specific sections of the youth. Each article is directed to a section of the youth inside the country eg students, unemployed youth, rural youth, war resisters etc. The point was raised that Forward should try to develop a language that is specific to the youth. Maputo had raised the same question at the meeting earlier this year when it was said Forward needed to develop a more militant approach - not only in terms of content, but language as well. Forward needed to make an effort to study the language of the youth and use it effectively for real communication.

### Personnel

Personnel was urgently needed in all fields - journalists, graphic artists, printers, typesetters and administrators.

The journals set out their personnel needs as follows:

1. Dawn - Two journalists
2. Mayibuye 3 journalists
3. Vow - two persons, not necessarily journalists. Can be trained on the spot.
4. Forward - two journalists
5. Workers Unity - one for workers unity, one for general publicity work
6. Sechaba - one person
7. News briefings - one person

A librarian should be found almost immediately.

Graphic artists were needed urgently too. DIP should consider the possibility of sending one artist for training in newspaper design while one remained with the journals in Lusaka (the two artists mentioned here are comrade Dragon in Lusaka and Comrade Miles at the OAU Press in Dar Es Salaam).

The basic requirements for personnel are a sound political base, literate in English, interested in writing and possibly with matric or J.C. DIP must ensure that it receives priority from Manpower and Training.

### Development and Training

The Algerian Youth have offered to train DIP personnel in all fields. DIP should investigate this offer immediately. The Youth are requested to give all the necessary details to BIP.

DIP should work out a minimal training programme which all DIP staff should have.

DIP must approach the IOJ immediately to investigate the possibilities of training courses in journalism specifically geared towards the needs of liberation movements.

DIP should investigate the possibilities of running short part-time courses here in Lusaka for DIP staff.

The Youth should provide DIP with a list of student journalists, so that DIP can keep in touch with them. It is also necessary for Research to keep in touch with students to brief them on the needs of the movement in terms of research.

### IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF JOURNALS

1. General needs for Lusaka: Light table, drawing board, t-square, set squares, scalpels, cutting mats, rotting pens, rotting drawing sets, pencils (red and blue), erasers, ink, waxing machine, clear ner fluid, methane gas, waxing machine, red filmpaper, letreset, letraline, lettratone.

### Dawn

Basic library (reference Pallo)  
radio cassette player

It was noted that Comrade Jill's arrangement to supply Dawn with Paratus should be regularised through DIP.

Maputo

Typewriter  
Duplicating machine

VOW

Bookshelves

Mayibuye

Filing cabinets, suspension files and folders

Also included in immediate needs was subscriptions for all journals to newspapers from home, both the bourgeois and particularly the democratic press and enemy journals like Paratus and Uniform.

DISTRIBUTION

One of the major problems is the ~~stockpiling~~ at HQ. Theoretically, the internal political machinery is responsible for this task ie to ensure that material reaches the Forward Areas. There are ~~severe~~ problems with parcels for Botswana and Zimbabwe at the moment. Workshop was informed that the DIP interim HQ Committee had written to ICC requesting that they take responsibility and see to it that the material moves forward on a regular basis.

There was also a distribution problem with Lesotho. At present no material was being sent. It was suggested that the Forward Areas should continue trying to send through even one copy of each journal, and then have them reprinted at home or in Lesotho.

The Internal Publications Committee in London should be revived. International distribution for all journals should be handled from one point and Vow and Forward should second present distribution staff to Marcus' unit when possible. The RMC and RYC should also be approached to help in this aspect of distribution.

It was agreed in principle that ANC DIP should be responsible for distribution of Workers Unity because of the manpower problems that SACTU was faced with at the moment.

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INTRA-DEPARTMENTAL LIAISON

a) Political

For the first time this year DIP issued a set of directives to journals on what the major campaigns of the year should be. However there was no co-ordination on the separate programmes that each journal had then presumably drawn up. DIP need to adopt a much more co-ordinated approach towards propaganda of the movement. The initial set of directives needed to be followed up by regular meetings to be held throughout the year where all journals would discuss what approach each journal should be taking. The comrade from Maputo explained that their method of work was for comrades to prepare regional reports or alternatively, fact papers. These reports were then discussed and it was decided what approach should be taken, and where. These reports were sent to HQ but never reach DIP.



b) Administration

It was agreed that there was a need for ~~day-to-day co-ordination~~ on an administrative level between journals. This would be the task of the DIP representative on the ICC.

General

1. All requests for material from Defence and Aid to be channelled through the Sechaba staff.
2. Publications should seek more co-ordination with Radio Freedom. Tapes of interviews should be supplied to the journals to transcribe. Interviews could also be planned jointly.
3. There should be one budget for DIP - including the regional papers. Dawn should investigate their position and report back to DIP.
4. Publications needed to work out a system of listening to the daily news recorded by Radio Freedom.

Under this item of discussion, the question was also raised of the task of DIP to keep our general membership informed of events at home. This had already been raised in many meetings in the region. Members were compailing that they knew nothing of operations etc - DIP should ensure that this principle, although established, is recognised and should do all it can to ensure that our membership is kept informed of daily events in the struggle at home.

Printing

The Publications Workshop was not altogether happy with the arrangements of the printing workshop, which allocated various work to the different printing presses. A case in point was the decision that Voice of SOMAFCCO should be printed in Dar Es Salaam. This was not possible up to the present because of the lack of paper at this press. It was also suggested that serious attention needed to be paid to the conditions of the Lusaka press, if the decision to print Mayibuye and Forward here was to be at all feasible.

We need to train personnel in maintenance to overcome some of the problems that are being faced both in Lusaka and Luanda.

With regard to typesetting, which is still done commercially in Lusaka, it was suggested that instead of obtaining a typesetter which costs about \$ 11.000, we should consider buying a small micro-computer (ICC) which is about half the price. This machine does not have all the variety of a typesetter but can store information, can be used for sub-editing and can be used for subscriptions for the library.

INFORMATION GATHERING

a) The Library

The present library was set up in 1979. Before this every ANC office had been issued with a set of ten basic books - the three Benson Books, Peter Walshe's Rise of African Nationalism, the annual Race Relations survey, Fifty Fighting Years, Time Longer than Rope, three volumes of From Protest to Challenge and two volumes of Oxford History of South Africa. The library has expanded slowly but we do have a reasonable reference library today. The main weakness in the library is the periodicals section. Many subscriptions had run out and needed to be renewed. The library also has to take out subscriptions for the democratic press. Copies of these were being sent to Lusaka, but DIP had to ensure its own supply as these never reach DIP.

*do we have in Canada?*

The library also has to ensure a supply of enemy journals like Paratus. One of the main reasons for the lack of control within the library was the absence of a permanent librarian.

A proper card index system was to be set up. It was also suggested that regular acquisitions lists be sent out so that comrades know when new books have arrived. The rules of the library should be drawn up jointly with DIP. This would hopefully ensure that rules are adhered to. The library should make a special appeal to the RPC, RYC and RWC to ensure that library books are returned. Ultimately these who do not return books, will lose lending rights at the library.

#### b) Relations with Internal Political and Military machinery

DIP now officially has representation on the PMC. However there are many problems which need to be sorted out. One of the first, is the establishment of DIP units in the Forward Areas. At present only one is working - in Maputo. DIP should ensure that more units are set up, with the necessary co-operation from the PMC.

On the question of material reaching HQ but never reaching DIP. It was said this should be rectified. When DIP sees these reports, they are so summarised that they are useless for propaganda purposes. This problem is largely due to the fact that propaganda is not seen as an essential component of internal work.

The military should be encouraged to set up parallel propaganda units, or should give DIP the necessary assistance in setting up such units inside the country. The military should also attempt to give DIP much more information at the present moment, on the activities of MK. Our journals are usually even less informed than the bourgeois press at home is.

The security department also needs to give DIP much more assistance. They should help to ensure that the correct information reaches DIP. There is a problem at the moment with the enemy sending out agents to give out the wrong information in the Forward Areas. Recently security were in contact with someone who knew a lot about thebantustan armies - this person should have been available to the DIP for interviews, and for interviews on the Radio. Why was it not done?

Comrades in the Forward Areas needed to pay attention to the proper kind of debriefing. We need to train people for these units in the art of news gathering. There is very little information on women coming out of the country, and yet the information is there - are we asking the right questions? In internal reports, women's organisations are always dealt with very fleetingly. WHY?

The ultimate aim of the DIP is to set up units inside the country to gather information and then ensure the necessary co-ordination with the Forward Areas. This aim should be pursued with the ICC, but one of the most immediate needs is to staff the units in the Forward Areas, and to set up units where there are none. In particular, we need to revive the Lesotho unit.

#### Discression on Dawn

The following points were made in the Dawn report:

1. At the outset Dawn was aimed specifically at the MK cadre in the camps
2. Dawn is not officially accommodated in any budget
3. Most of Dawn's readership is now at home and Dawn now regards itself as an internal journal

4. Dawn constantly aims to discuss the notion of people's war.
5. Dawn still needs to pay much more attention to simplifying its language.

While very few comrades agreed that Dawn should not be an internal journal, it was felt that Dawn needed to be the journal of the army commissariat (commissar) who must be responsible for its political content, jointly with DIP.

Dawn still needed to improve its military content. The series "Learn with Dawn" was a good start but still needed to tackle much simpler things than weapons.

Dawn had similar problems here that other journals had faced, and should follow this question up again. If Dawn could carry articles on sophisticated weapons, why could Dawn not carry articles on simple petrol bombs?

It was felt that Dawn was aiming in the right direction. It's audience is not simply the camps. It's audience is the people at home.

Dawn needed much more information on operations to fulfill its role as an MK journal.

The lack of co-ordination between DIP and Dawn had led to serious mistakes eg in the handling of the Gatsha attack on the ANC. Although a common approach had been adopted by DIP after a meeting in Lusaka, the results of the meeting were not communicated to Dawn. Dawn came to know of them by chance.

All over, Dawn needed to simplify its language. Even the series on "Learn with Dawn" needed to be less technical. Even the illustrations were too complex for the layman. The crossword puzzle needed to be made more simpler and more politically educative.

#### SECHABA

What does the term "official organ of the ANC" mean in terms of content and style? When Sechaba came out in 1967 it was intended to be the official organ of the ANC for the international community. Being an official organ it must be the authoritative voice of the movement, in the same way that Pravda is the voice of the CPSU.

Sechaba still falls far short in this regard. The leadership is reflected only in statements and conferences - The leadership must be made to feel that Sechaba is their responsibility and must contribute in the form of articles. Sechaba needs to do more interviews with the leadership, and thus should seek a permanent representative in Africa.

Sechaba has a role to play in both the international and internal communities. ~~For both audiences~~ it must be the policy organ of the movement. Policy does not emanate simply from statements though. Policy is the result of the internal dynamic of the movement. Sechaba should reflect this internal dynamic by encouraging discussion articles. Sechaba had to play a leadership role in these discussions by providing the leadership point of view in the editorial. Sechaba must reflect a wide selection of viewpoints but at the same time had to present a coherent viewpoint as a whole.

With regard to statements, Sechaba should not simply reproduce these as they come but should look to their news worthiness and give them freshness. Sechaba should pay much more attention to the anti-apartheid movement in Africa. Although still small, it is growing and needs attention. Sechaba should also try to play a better role in communicating between the various anti-apartheid movements in Europe.

Sechaba stressed the need for information from the military on the death of cadres, other than leadership. Sechaba received complaints in the past that such obituaries were never carried.

Sechaba also pointed out that the comrades from the internal journals should help out Sechaba in certain areas eg information on bantustans.

#### THE RESISTER

This report was read to the workshop by Comrade Thabo Mbeki. Very little discussion followed except general agreement that the Resister should continue in its present form. It was pointed out to the workshop that Resister had specifically requested feedback from H.Q.

#### DISCUSSION OF AFRICAN COMMUNIST

This report was read to the workshop by Comrade Victor Moche. The comrade from the Foward areas said the only feedback they had had, had been from university students, who themselves had complained that they were interested in A.C. but the language and approach was beyond them. It was suggested that the Party needed to address itself to providing a much simpler form of propoganda, either in the form of another journal or using more pamphlets.

The A.C. needed to be more hard-hitting at times. One example when a more hard hitting approach was needed was in article recently on Joe Foster's speech at the 1982 Fosatu congress. This article should have been much more vigorous in its defence of the principle of Marxism Leninism.

The AC also need to put the official Party position more clearly in the debates in its pages. It was good that a lot of controvesial views were aired but through the editorial the Party had to provide some guidance on the cofical view of the matter under discussion.



It was generally felt that ANC journals needed to do a lot more to project our Alliance with the Party, and Sactu. We should be regularly sprinkling mention of the Party and Sactu in our articles, in relation to their role in worker organisation.

Yes!

#### DISCUSSION ON WORKERS UNITY

Workers Unity should clearly reflect the position of SACTU as a Federation of Unions. The role of SACTU is to try and organise unions particularly in those areas where this unions do not exist. The important thing is the creation of democratic, non - racial and industrial unions enshrining the principles of SACTU. This role must be clearly visible in Workers Unity, it must strive to reach the organised and the unorganised. The workshop also reviewed the reactionary ideological intervention which is intended to divide union inside the country. This must be fought and unity be emphasised.

#### Language.

In reaching the mass of our people, a problem encountered is the use of language, particularly the use of African Languages. This is caused by the fact that the Zulu used in Natal is different from the Zulu used in the Transvaal for instance, it is a similar case with all the other language. The workshop encourage the use of the new orthography and translations were discouraged. Fanakaloo was completely rejected as it represent the language of command used by the employers and cannot be accepted by our people if <sup>used</sup> in a political publication.

#### OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS.

W/U should strive to organise workers in the bantustans.

+ On the printing of leaflets intended for different areas, the language problem there will be solved by the predominant language used there.

+ W/U should strive to work closer with other publications of the ANC. There should be closer cooperation in the exchange of views. Comrade Janett also requested that ANC should help in the ferrying of Workers Unity to the front areas until SACTU has been able to settle proms in relation to the ferrying of their materials.

## DISCUSSION OF BOURGEOIS PRESS

Following the presentation of a short fact by Comrade Pallo Jordan the main points emanating from this report were:

1. It is clear that our main ideological adversary inside the country is the bourgeois press, in particular the English language bourgeois press.
2. Does the present crisis in white politics have any effect on the bourgeois press?

The crisis is <sup>definitely</sup> reflected in the bourgeois press, particularly if one looks at the way in which the content of the English language press has changed. We should look more closely at the reasons for the firing of Alistair Sparks, editor of the Rand Daily Mail in 1981. There were clearly political moves behind this, especially when one looks at who has now taken over -- the conservative editor of the Sunday Times, Tertius Myburgh. Myburgh is now overall editor of both the Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Times. The Sunday Times was one of the first, and only, English language papers to give Botha the green light for "reform". It has castigated him a number of times but always in terms of "you let us down". It is in the Sunday Times that we can see the coming together of the English and Afrikaners bourgeoisie with P.W. Botha as leader.

Some discussion followed on the black press, pointing out the difference that a change of editorship can make eg Qoboza's influence on the Sowetan. We should study who is in effective control of all newspapers, and exploit the possibilities open to us. On the black press, we need to counter the strong black consciousness influence. This influence is also present in the English language press and needs to be countered there too -- particularly in the SAAN newspapers.

The bourgeois press certainly do offer us possibilities of working with particular journalists. We need to single out particular journalists who consistently undermine the democratic trade unions for example and cultivate new "experts" to overtake them. We must cultivate sympathetic journalists and feed them with the necessary information.

Much of our success in this field will depend on the individual determination of journalists to get their stories published. We need to recognise this.

We must consistently undermine official sources so that the ANC eventually becomes the only credible source of information. We should think also of developing contacts for information of our own. Journalists have much information which we can make use of in our propaganda. We need to work with all journalists to get hold of this information - particularly work out ways of getting to defence and police correspondents.

With statements to the press, we need to make much more use of the value of scoops to journalists. We must also shorten and simplify our statements.

Readers letters to newspapers must continue to be encouraged. We should note that there is a particular need to develop links with the black press, most of whom do not have foreign correspondents and thus we must contact them inside the country.

#### International Fraternal and Bourgeois Press

Comrade Meli briefly outlined the British bourgeois press to the workshop, making the point that this press only usually contacts the ANC after events like the Pretoria bombing. However we need to develop more contact with individual journalists. As our struggle sharpens, they will become less sympathetic to our cause. We need to work out ways and means of keeping contact, and getting ~~our~~ point of view across in a manner that will be acceptable to them.

We needed to make much more use of the fraternal press, especially trade union journals, Tri-continental, and Soviet Weekly. We need to develop much closer contact with African magazines and African journalists. We do not have enough personnel for press attaches, but should brief our Chief Representatives on the need for propaganda work in their regions.

Workshop was also reminded of our commitment to Pana. When this agency is in full operation they will require 700 words a day from ANC. Comrade Thabo also informed us of the impending conference of the Information Ministers of the Front Line States. A motion was going to be put forward at this meeting that all correspondents accredited to Southern Africa,

*Yes: media want  
information: ANC  
can't be identified  
with such use  
into mediocrity.*

who ended up spending most of their time in South Africa, would be barred from the Front Line States. This could have implications for us, for our contact with correspondents. After some discussion it was agreed that ANC should suggest to the Ministers that they discuss the matter with the Foreign Press Association in SA first, and state their position. If there was no improvement after some time, then such action should be taken.

#### THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

Comrade Janet Love presented a fact paper on the democratic press dividing them up into community, student, trade union, research documentation and others. The two main aims of this press was to:

1) Build organisational structures and 2) generate alternative news sources. In analysing the various journals, Comrade Love posed the following questions:

1. To what extent do they make a correct analysis of South Africa?
2. What is the relationship between them and the organisations in their areas?
3. Do they examine broader political issues?
4. What is the tone of the journal - analytical, agitative?

In the discussion that followed it was noted that Grassroots was one of the most successful community newspapers, which had played a real organisational role in its area, building community organisations. Many of the newer publications like Speak and The Eye needed to learn from Grassroots experience.

Grassroots was talking of the need to establish a second newspaper to cater for more political issues. There were varying opinions on this. One was that a national newspaper should emerge from the different regional papers, and not simply from Grassroots. Another was that we should think of beginning a national newspaper, similar to the Guardian and New Age, linked to no specific organisation.

It was stressed that much of Grassroots success was due to the fact that it was building concrete organisations. To which organisation would the new paper be linked? Another suggestion was that the UDF should launch its own newspaper. The fact that UDF had been formed showed the need to national mobilisation, away from, strictly grassroots campaigning at



local level. This is where we also need to step in with our propaganda. We cannot distance ourselves from the democratic press and need to respond to it in our own journals. The democratic press can only go so far. We need to take them one step further.

The ANC should generally canvas opinion inside the country on the possibility of setting up a national newspaper.

It was noted that Cosas and Azaso did not have newspapers. They regarded SASPU National as their mouthpiece and this accounted for the mobilising role that SN played on some black campus' and schools.

#### The South African Journalists Circle

Comrade Meli gave a very brief account of this organisation, which in fact is no organisation and consists entirely of Sechaba staff.

The SAJC had played an important role in IOJ. Conference would need to look more closely at the SAJC. Some of the questions which needed to be answered are: Who should be its members, and does it need its own journal or bulletin?

Comrade Meli also gave a very brief account of the IOJ. The main task of the IOJ was the defence of the democratic rights of all journalists. The ANC and other liberation movements had much to gain from the IOJ just as the IOJ had much to gain from us. As yet, the ANC had little contact with the IOJ but this was not by design. Mwasa is affiliated to this body.

#### Voice of Somafoo (Left out of original report)

Voice of Somafoo requests material from DIP in the form of newspapers, government material on education etc. It was suggested that subscriptions be taken out for bourgeois press at home. SNA Telexes from Botswana could be sent to Dar and then taken to Mazimbu for Voice of SOMAFOO. On the question of who the audience should be for Voice of Somafoo, the final decision was left to joint consultation with the Somafoo authorities. It was felt however that Somafoo should be a school journal and not a journal for home. The responsibility for the journal should lie with the DIP section of the Youth Secretariat. In its present form Voice of Somafoo can play an important role in the school and in the international community who support the project.

SUMMARY OF MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

1. DIP units must be set up in all the Forward Areas
2. Reports sent to HQ from the Forward Areas must reach DIP.
3. We need to train people for the Forward Areas in the art of newsgathering.
4. The military security and internal political machineries need to be made aware of the importance of propaganda in the overall struggle, and need to give much more priority to the work of propaganda. Our propaganda falls far short of the present enemy offensive.
5. The library needs to renew subscriptions, to obtain a librarian, and have much stricter control over material lent out.
6. The ANC DIP should take on the task of distributing Workers Unity
7. The ICC should see to it that no stockpiling takes place in Lusaka
8. Forward Areas need to brief DIP regularly so that no stockpiling takes place in the Forward Areas.
9. The Internal Publications Committee in London should be revived
10. International distribution in Lusaka should be handled from one point.
11. All offers for DIP training should be centralised in DIP.
12. The Youth Secretariat should provide DIP with a list of students who are studying journalism.
13. DIP should work out a minimum training programme which all our staff should undergo
14. DIP should run workshops and part-time courses for DIP staff.
15. DIP must approach IOJ for journalism courses for liberation Movements
16. DIP should be included in the Somafo programme to develop student interest
17. There should be one budget for DIP - including the regional papers  
Dawn is to investigate its position and report back to DIP
18. The task of administrative co-ordination within DIP will be the responsibility of the DIP representative on ICC.
19. Regular meetings of journals must be held to discuss a common political approach in our propaganda.
20. All requests for material can "Defence and Aid" to be channelled through Sechaba.
21. Publications must work out greater co-operation with Radio Freedom in planning interviews and obtaining taped interviews.
22. We must think consciously of making more use of the bourgeois press and bourgeois journalists at home,

23. We should simplify and shorten our press statements
24. Must seek also to make greater use of international bourgeois and fraternal press.
25. Need to develop closer ties with African journalists
26. Chief representatives in all areas must be made aware of the propaganda needs in their areas