

areas where civil servants have been transformed into "concrete
they must function as organs of
people's power - we must be able
to go through them. challenge the
government's claim to power, its
legitimacy and right to rule over
us.'

Mutamadi cites the example of
teachers taking to the streets and
that what we are witnessing
is the dueling of power relations.
Teachers, who were in the past
at the forefront of the education prob-
lem, are now marching in protest
against the authorities and are say-
ing 'the education crisis is also out-
standing'

Mufamadi says there is a new
unifying perspective emerging and
how we transform these unifying
perspectives into something that
could weld students' passions and
teachers' into unified structures to
challenge the power of the authori-
ties. needs to be urgently exam-
ined.

taken to the streets. must also be
addressed in the same way.

"But we must go further than just
saying that we do not want to be
ruled in a particular way. We must
seize on the changing power rela-
tions and be able to say 'beware',
you have no right to unilaterally
preside over the process of nor-
malising the political situation.
'The question of power should
not just be left to our diplomats in
the democratic movement, and
what they can and cannot say to De
Klerk. It must be taken down to
our people on the ground and the
type of formations that are formed
on the ground must be informed
by the perception of how we want
to change the existing power rela-
tions."

In this regard the support for the
ANC and the SACP, reflected in
the spontaneous jubilation at the
unbannings of the organisations
structures on the ground. struc-
tures that can challenge De Klerk's
authority' Mufamadi stresses
'Any serious liberation move-
ment cannot just be satisfied with
the support that it enjoys - it has to
transform that support into active
participation,' Mufamadi adds
This perspective will certainly have
a bearing on where the emphasis
will lie when the work of the econ-
struction of the ANC is undertaken.
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Mufamadi Wits that be Klerk.
by meeting some of the precondi-
tions. hoped to unleash a wave of
excitement and euphoria among the
people, which would overshadow
the substance of the Harare Declara-
tion - which, he points out, is the

question of power. 'Thisf he
says. "must not be allowed."
Just how dependent is the recon-
struction of the ANC on the
strength of the MDM on the
Similar developments in the ntal and the release of its leadersmust
WHILE no blueptint for the recon-
struction of the ASC has yet been
worked Out. the M- Plan which
fanned the bass of the move-
ment' 5 organisational work in the
19505 will no doubt play an im-
ponant role.

It has found emssion at van-
ous stages in the rhistorical devel-
opmetu of mass amisation in the
country. .

The spate of bannings attests
and a genetall intensxl'ication of
state repression in the 1950's.
made it emetoely diffnilt to con-
tinue agmising in the overtly
Bringing about 'mnss action
through public mass meetings.
press statements and leaflets'had
become extremely moons.

Nelson Mandela. who was prest-
dmtofthe'l'tansvaal ANC during
that pedod. cleaned the M-Plan in
his presidential address in Septem-
ber 1953.

He told the meeting that the
"underlying principle of the plan is
the understanding that it is no
longer possible to wage struggle
mainly on theoldmethodsofpub-
lie meetings and m".

Mamiela told the meeting that the
aim of the M-Plan. which was for-
mulated by the ANCs National
Executive tn mutation with the
SA Indian Ce. gress,was detailed
:n P ' . .nr

ANC lender: Welter Sisulu and
.wseden '9
. - , . '

a rug.- w:

ANC supporters anxiously await the totem 01 Nelson Mandela outside the Vlctor Vnrster pri-
son in Penn.

DEMOCRACY

yet have
ground and is it necessary to first
begin sn'engthening formations of
the MDM before recmstmchung the
prinwy lihetan'on mphisatim?
Mufantadi argues that the pro-
eess of building the ANC and
strengthening the MDM stmtructures
must be initiated simultaneously.
Existing stmtructures will tmdoubt-
edly have a emcial bearing on the
reconstruction process. he be-
lieves.

'lhere ate already thousands. it
not millions of our people. who
2:: pm of one or another demo-
cratic t'on'nation. be it a trade un-
ion, a student organisation or ci-
VIC.

"These are ready pools of sup-
port from which the ANC can re-

cruit its membetsl'up."

Mutamadi believes that the reconstruction of the ANC will also strengthen the foundations of the ANC to consolidate the Congress national front (China):

"to enable the transition of important decisions taken on a national level to every member of the organisation without calling public meetings. issuing press statements and printing circulars;

to build up in the local branches themselves local Committees which will effectively represent the strength and will of the people"; I'm extend and strengthen the ties between Congress and the people and to consolidate Congress leadership

The immediate

plan was. therefore to build a mass membership and to organise it through I summit of accepted leaders. who could discuss policy and decisions from national to grassroots level

There was also an emphasis on efficient and effective organisation requiring detailed membership and financial records as well as weekly meetings of 'cell-stewards. chief stewards and prime stewards'.

In terms of the plan, cell-stewards were to be in charge of a SWL Each cell would therefore be divided up into blocks of about seven houses with each block 37H): T-istsh 2 - Klsrch S. but it will surely focus on building a visible presence in all corners of the country.

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2999 P.-:

As the ANC starts with its reconstruction it does not have a clear programme,

But the intention is that this does not mean that all MDM structures should be collapsed into the ANC.

'I think that there are still things that we must continue

doing, not necessarily as part of the ANC. but as civic. student organisations etc.

'I think. if we are serious about the notion of people's power. we cannot straight-jacket that into one organisation- even if it is a political organisation

"But obviously we must recognise the ANC as the overall leader in this regard. The masses of our people have long said that they see the ANC as the embodiment of their aspirations. Therefore through their membership of the ANC and their continued participation in other organs of people's power they will ensure that an

ANC government mainly responsible to their aspirations." Mufama-M-plan and its effectiveness a zone of about seven streets. Each zone would also have a leader in charge of political education so that ANC policy could be explained and understood by every member.

Prime-stewards were placed in charge of each zone. Prime-stewards, together with the branch secretary, would elect a branch secretary.

Officers of the branch were to be elected at cell meetings after an elaborate nomination process.

But implementation of the M-plan was not without problems. Some of the reasons put forward for this was that the M-Plan was not fully explained and that money was not available to pay organisers.

Where the plan was implemented, it proved to be a huge success. Mandela was quoted as saying that the large numbers who attended the ANC's regional congresses on the Witwatersrand, was a 'striking demonstration of the effectiveness of this plan'.

While conditions have changed since the fifties, the need for mass organisation can not be emphasised any less. Aspects of the plan will therefore still find relevance. In: