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TO : _MK 3: mee - C#nnmmJ ZZA/c aborm (geforl

FROM : T B MNGUNI

DATE ; 25/04/1991

ASSESSMENT OF POLITICAL SITUATION WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE'TU THE A N C

I wish to raise several concerns about the political
situation and how the organisation looks in the light of it
all.

IDENTITY : The party has neither identity nor a clear
policy of its own on crucial issues e.g political policy and
economic policy.

EDEMOCRATIC OR COMMUNISTIC? While we understand that the
organisation must continue working hand in hand with sister
liberation movements it does not follow that its own members
like to be confused with those organisations as they may not
be sharing the same political ideologies.

There is a saying that either the A N C is controlled by the
communist party or it is a recruiting agency for the
communist party.

It is imperative that a clear distinction is drawn between
the A N C and its allies.

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SANCTIONS : Sanctions were a strategy, a means to bringing changes about and to force the regime to the negotiations table. Changes are afoot and negotiations are not held up by the possibility of lifting sanctions before negotiations thus allowing the regime to change direction.

We don't have to fight tooth and nail for the retention of sanctions. They are crumbling anyway and each time we try to dam the flood we put ourselves in a tactical disadvantage which makes us look more and more inept.

Negotiations are held back by our inability to mobilise paid up membership. It is good to mobilise mass action for specific events but governing is not a special event it is a continuous process and parties don't govern through the mandate of an amorphous body of people but that of people who share the same beliefs and ideology on the business of governing.

Our leaders must embark on recruitment rallies and campaigns rather than the sanctions issue. We are missing the political initiative.

LIBERATION MOVEMENT OR POLITICAL PARTY

Is the A N C a liberation movement or a political party?

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How we see ourselves is very important. There are patterns of behaviour which come naturally to each of the above.

While it was right to fight by all means either to topple the regime or to force it to share power with all)

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Now that it is no longer a question of whether we shall govern or not but how soon, is it not time to start thinking and acting like a government? what does a government which purports to be democratic as we say we are going to be need? It needs a stable social order.
It needs a peaceful and orderly political atmosphere.
It needs a vibrant economy.
It needs law and order.
It needs distributive justice.

Above all it needs a people who value democratic beliefs for no law can guarantee democracy except a well informed community.

All these things do not come about at the waving of wand. They come about because there is a party which believes in them, plans, organizes, leads and controls them and turns them into a deep culture for the people.

If we do not regard ourselves as an eternal opposition party to future governments, we should and need to concern ourselves with these ideals.

If we believe that we qualify to form a government and we are certain that we are going to be the government then we shall right now put up a board in front of our office with the words "UNDER NEW MANAGEMENT" and so change our whole attitude and project an image of a party that is in touch with reality, that is sensitive to the sensitivities of the majority of South Africans, Africans and the world community and most importantly that is businesslike and politically polished.

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Up to now we have been countering in a knee-jerk reaction like manner everything that De Klerk has been saying and in the process we have boosted his image as an astute and principled politician and tarnished our own as inept and disoriented.

Let us not concentrate on reaction let us proact by organizing ourselves thoroughly at all levels. Let us crystalize our political and economic policies with wisdom and foresight and sell them to our constituents.

VIOLENCE: If we believe we are the future government we must really look at ourselves first. Have we contributed to violence?

While we concede that the armed struggle brought about the present prospect of solving the political problems we must realize that the culture of violence has now turned on our communities.

should we not now rechannel the energies of our people into ' political activity? should we still call our youths "Young Lions" a name which conjures up a picture of marauding lions hence the violence.

Shouldn't we have old men of wisdom addressing our rallies rather than old men who think it is better to talk like children, who are always sabre-rattling.

Governing is very difficult and if we are to govern shouldn't we be reacclimitising our youth in the principles of discipline, civic duty, political tolerance and democracy.

Liberty is expensive and demanding on the free.

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If we are to be politically free should we not now be preparing our people for the high prices of liberty they have to pay. Shouldn't we be preparing them to be ready to work thrice as much as they do now as life will be doubly demanding?

Truly it is frightening to see us expending our energies on short-term issues when we should be showing creative imagination and clear vision.

Instead of our leaders discussing peace initiatives in English with people whose people are not dying they should go to the people where it is happening and solve it there. Our people should not be mortar which holds together the frail egos of our leaders.

History will judge these leaders who are busy politicking while our people die.

No police force will bring peace to our country, only leaders who are good shepherds.

Our leaders must address us in the media in our own languages. They must go where the trouble is and show their leadership for us all to see in a practical situation.

A N C A XHOSA ORGANISATION?

There is a propaganda which is being spread that the A N C is a Xhosa organisation, the Zulus who belong to it are dupes. Examples of this are given. People are beginning to believe this and it is not good for the A N C.

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Zulus are poorly represented in the A N C right up to the N E C.

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Is the A N C a Xhosa organization? Does it have a policy of appointing Xhosas to key positions.

These may be only perceptions not facts. All the same if the allegations are true they must be redressed.

If its wrong perceptions still they must be corrected because it can prove to be a cancerous growth in the not so long run.

POLITICS IS THE ART OF THE POSSIBLE

Our policy is non-racialism and it can be argued that the N E C positions were not filled racially.

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The fact that the situation is that (i) Zulus form a large block.

(ii) Natal and Zululand is a key to future stability.

Distabilisation we see elsewhere in the country is a spill-over from the carnage which started in Natal.

It is of strategic importance that the A N C gains a very firm grip of Natal and Zululand if its going to govern.

(iii) The large body of Zulus are conservative and proud of being Zulus. Only a Zulu leader has any hope of countering the influence of the already established Zulu leader of the other party in the region. A Zulu, from Natal and Zululand must hold a key position in the N E C.

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A N C VS INKATHA

The question of Inkatha being an A N C rival is unfortunate. Even the newsmedia refer to Inkatha as a rival organisation. This is both misleading and an insult to our intelligence and it is sad that we fell for the trick. Neither organisation is or should view itself as a rival of the other.

Our enemy has been and still is the regime and its policy of apartheid. We have allowed ourselves to be played off against each other.

Direct kind words forwards Inkatha and its leader and see the magic it will do.

He has made mistakes just as some of us have made serious mistakes. Our organisation must not be seen to be prosecuting others in a holier than thou attitude because people sympathise with the other person and they start scrutinising our actions critically and we become the moral losers.

A N C and Inkatha approaches have in reality complemented each other.

The Inkatha stance is the original A N C stance and the A N C armed struggle was forced on the A N C; was started because political wisdom, just as Dr Verwoerd at some stage said, dictated that we shall gain our freedom only through armed struggle.

whilst the A N C approach inflicted pain on the apartheid body politic the Inkatha approach worked on the conscience, thus weakening the regime's resolve to wage war.

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In a way Inkatha in the old A N C tradition was saying to the regime talk and the A N C will stop inflicting damage on you through arms and sanctions.

The Inkatha bogey must be laid to rest. There are many A N C supporters within Inkatha for whom the A N C has made returning into the fold I difficult through wholesale condemnation of Inkatha members.

Our speakers must go out there and recognize Inkatha's role in its proper perspective and invite our people back where they belong.

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

The mentality of being a movement must come to an end. The mentality of being strugglers must come to an end.

'If we do not do that we shall be a movement to nowhere, instead of beginning to live we shall be struggling for ever. We cannot be anything but what we act and believe we are .

I have attached a chart which I hope may help you to marshall your thoughts and to visualise a workshop of some 'kind for the purpose of equipping our constituents with political and economic skills.

iMy contention is that we should create an atmosphere of political peace, economic stability and vibrancy and industrial strength so that we can vigorously unshackle political dynamics by embarking with all strength on the activities of item 8 on the chart.

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The activities in item 8 are more crucial to us now than protest marches and campaigns against lifting sanctions. If we do not believe that, we shall suffer a rude awakening. Elections are won through having more paid-up members than your competitors. Paid-up members are not anybody but those who understand, those who can and are willing to pay. The party that wins elections is the party that knows what the people want.

The people want peace, they want jobs, they want security. They are not concerned about what you call your economic system and political system. They simple want peace of mind and security.

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