

FINAL DRAFT

ORGANISATIONAL REPORT: 20 JUNE 1990

INTRODUCTION

We are building a legal ANC in the context of:

- * a tremendous upsurge in every part of the country, i.e. in the context on on-going struggle
- * insufficient time to properly anticipate the legal space that has opened up and thus insufficient time to properly plan how to occupy that space
- * high expectations of us as the leader of the national democratic struggle
- * a host of criticisms about the way in which we have acted since

February 2nd

We need to take into account all these factors and prioritise the key areas needing attention. Our solutions must be such that we leave space for correcting the problems that arise as we proceed with the tasks that face us.

In addition, our solutions and plans for development must allow for different specific features of each of the regions.

STRUCTURING HEADQUARTERS

Introduction

Criticism regarding headquarters lie in the fact that we have basically been responding to pressures (reactive). This has impacted on our ability to be pro-active. It is therefore vital that we address the question of structuring the Headquarters.

What are the key components that would constitute the engine for the establishment and functioning of the ANC?

We need to avoid creating an extremely huge structure which will imprint a style and set of structures which would make it difficult to implement a future restructuring process.

A ILC

a. Role of the ILC

By decision of the NEC, the ILC constitutes the central political authority within the country operating under and in consultation with the NEC.

b. Structure of the ILC

The ILC core, regional convenors, heads of departments and the General Secretaries and Presidents of Cosatu and UDF would make up the ILC.

c. Operation/dynamics

Whilst the ILC meets periodically, we need certain key substructures that will enable this leadership body to function in terms of:

- * implementation of decisions
- * day to day problems that arise in all areas of Headquarters work
- * solving political problems that need immediate answers
- * etc.

We propose that two key sub-structures be formed: a political committee and an organisational committee.

B, POLITICAL COMMITTEE

a. Role

This committee would

- i. address the host of political problems that need immediate answers within the context of our political perspectives.
- ii. function on a daily basis monitoring developments, assessing the situation and serving as a key reference point to which both the NEC/ILC and the regions feed into
- iii. provide political answers to day to day developments

b. Structure

We suggest that the political committee should:

- i. exist as a headquarters subcommittee under the direct authority of the internal head of the ANC, namely Comrade Walter Sisulu.

ii. be composed of a stable core of 6-7 people with full-timers from whom should be drawn the chairperson and the secretary of the political committee

iii. include the chairperson of the organisational committee (see below)

c. Operation/dynamics

The leadership of the ILC will have direct access to this body and will be completely free to participate in its work.

Once such a body begins to gel together it should be able to meet each morning for, say 30 minutes to an hour, to rapidly take stock of developments, anticipate problems and provide all the key arms of the movement with a reference point from which they derive their positions. Our emphasis at this stage is that it should rapidly evolve as a stable political clearing house. It is

positions will be subject to the ratification, modification, etc. of the periodic

reports that it will present to the ILC.

ORGANISATIONAL COMMITTEE

a. Role

The role of the Organisational Committee would be to:

i. strategise, plan and oversee the task of setting up the organisation throughout the country

ii. continually measure the progress being made by each region

iii. ensure that current developments become irreversible by building a

mass disciplined and cohesive force organised as the ANC and surrounded by an even larger mass of our people who are drawn

increasingly into active struggle with a national emphasis on state power

and a fundamental re-ordering of the South African socio-economic realities

iv. continually re-assessing and adapting strategy and planning according

to the general and specific problems that flow from the regions

v. provide regions with a source of inspiration, direction and guidance which unites them closely into a single organism

vi. gather within our ranks the best cadreship and activists, give them a sense of purpose and mould them into a single force which will not only be at the spearhead of the struggle but will help to strengthen the mass formations

vii. keep alive and expand the possibilities of the growth of the mass formations by helping them resolve their problems and draw in ever wider circles of people into the struggle

viii. ensure adequate consultation and involvement of the mass formations in

the establishment of the ANC

ix. act as the channel of communication between Headquarters and the regional interim committees.

b. Structure

We recommend that the organisational committee should:

i. be composed of 10-12 people based at HQ and functioning on a full-time basis

ii. the chairperson of the Organisational Committee shall also serve on the Political Committee so that there is an interlocking of these two structures

iii. have very carefully selected chairperson and secretary who fall under the direct authority of the internal national head of the ANC

iv. have a proper mix of leaders from inside and those coming from outside, so that there is a perceptible merging of our forces

c. Dynamics

Our day to day political positions must be informed by the organisational problems that we face in each of the regions and nationally. Visa versa, the way in which we solve our organisational problems must be influenced by the political positions that the movement takes. The Organisational Committee would ensure that:

each region develops with a sense of identity that arises from the concrete conditions of the specific regions, but at the same time flows out of a single national identity

our entire membership derives its positions and has its actions guided by what we learn from each other directly, so that the course of our information and authority does not become dependent on what we learn from the media

the interpretations, distortions, etc. that emerge from the media are corrected and put to our people directly by the organisation at every level

the weaknesses which developed from the long years of operation in exile, conditions of illegality, limited legal space, severe repression, are not allowed to become permanent weaknesses whilst organising the ANC
C
at a mass level

the mass democratic movement (which is an immense constituency from which to derive membership for the ANC) is not treated as synonymous with the ANC - if we don't do this we will be restricting the creativity that emerges from the masses in motion

the ANC is built in a harmonious relationship with the mass formations, by winning their active assistance and co-operation

the establishment of the ANC is not simply a mechanical approach to recruitment, but is rather linked to ongoing struggle thus ensuring a sense of unity of purpose

every recruit and every branch of the ANC is perceived by the people as a structure that guides them to struggle better and to understand their localised struggles as part of a national struggle

cad reship returning from outside and emerging from the prisons become active reinforcements in the midst of a growing and active ANC

D MEDIA LIAISON OFFICER

Whilst dealing with the political committee we stated that the movement needs
a media liaison officer who is in contact with the political committee.

The media liaison officer will not only be available to the media for comment

on a host of routine matters but will also be in a position to be sensitised to
the political complexities that we are grappling with.

Leaders such as the deputy president, the internal head of the ANC, etc. need
to be freed of responding to the host of issues that arise from day to day and moment to moment. The media officer needs to exploit the breadth and
depth embedded in our collective leadership so as to guide the media to different people at different times. Our NEC positions and basic statements
can guide us in our response to specific issues that arise on a day to day basis. Our policy is not static and is being constantly developed with many

issue still remaining open issues. The media officer needs not only to be

in

touch with the day to day thinking of the political committee but also draw the entire leadership into the process of utilising the media. S/he needs to turn the media into an agency of advancing the movement and the struggle.

The media liaison officer would be situated within the Department of Information and Publicity.

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E PROPAGANDA SUB COMMITTEE

Another key task is to ensure that our propaganda, defined as an agitational and organisational instrument of the ANC, derives not only from our basic positions and decision, but is also sensitised by the organisational needs as reflected in the course of building the ANC.

This task needs to be attended to by a specific sub-structure whose head is

intimately related to the organisational committee. Thus the propaganda sub-committee can derive its positions, what it says and how it says it, in terms of

propagating the movement's positions as well as assisting in the task of organising the movement.

This specialised task needs to be distinguished from the task of the media liaison officer, because it needs to be more fundamentally linked to the organisational process of our movement.

F DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

The head of political education shall be a member of the organisational committee.

DIAGRAMATIC SCHEME

NEC

ILC

ADMIN

POLITICAL COMMITTEE

ORGANISATIONAL COMMITTEE

Press Liaison
Officer

Propaganda Political
Education

G ADMINISTRATION

It will be noticed from this, that the overlap between the ILC, the Political Committee and the Organisational Committee therefore provides the point at which to locate the administration, headed by a secretary. It shall be the task of the secretary to create an adequate administrative structure which shall ensure the smooth running of headquarters.

G OTHER DEPARTMENTS

On the basis of this core schema, the administrative secretary shall, in consultation determine how other departments shall develop and relate to each other.

H REGIONAL INTERIM CONVENING COMMITTEES

The above approach to HQ should not be mechanically translated to the regional level. Regional specificities should be taken into account. At the same time, the basic thrust should be for the regional committees to develop as collectives.