

Lum/052/0002/21

THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

Introduction

1. This period in our history, into which we are now entering, could well prove to be decisive in the struggle for power. Events in South Africa show beyond any doubt, that the collapse of the apartheid system is imminent. Internationally, humanity has committed itself and is acting decisively to ensure that this system perishes sooner rather than later.
2. Yet apartheid colonialism will not crumble of its own. The actions of the mass of the people will not amount to anything tangible if they are not mustered into a mighty movement for the seizure of power; if they are not channelled into an organised force. This task falls on us. History has placed on the shoulders of the African National Congress and its allies, and indeed the entire mass democratic movement within South Africa, the challenge to lead the people to victory. We need to weave a mighty web, composed of all elements opposed to the regime, to stifle the regime from every possible angle.
3. It is in recognition of this mammoth responsibility that we need to acquire significant increases in funding in order to measure up to the increasing requirements of our movement for the rapid advancement of the popular offensive.

In this regard our deliberations will have, of necessity, to be infused with the correct appraisal of the situation that obtains in our country today. For it is on this front that everything else hinges.

How then do we characterise the situation today?

THE GENERAL CRISIS OF APARTHEID COLONIALISM

1. The system of apartheid colonialism is experiencing an enormous general crisis. Like all archaic systems at the point of their decline, the factors which have always made it a colossus with inherent energies for self-destruction, have been unleashed.
2. The mass of the oppressed and democratic forces have risen in the most consistent, most resolute and decisive revolt ever to be witnessed in our

country. This revolt combines all forms of action, in which the ANC and its allies are playing a leading role. It is reinforced by the growing anti-apartheid movement all over the globe. On the other hand, the apartheid economy is experiencing a crisis that is structural in essence, affecting its very marrow. These factors are precipitating a crisis of the ruling class, including the further worsening of divisions wrecking this bloc.

3. The regime has therefore lost the strategic initiative. As President O.R. Tambo stated on January 8, "strategically the enemy is on the defensive. The critical point is that any counter-offensive the oppressors may launch to gain some tactical advances will, at the same time, only result in further worsening their strategic position." The historic initiative is in our hands.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

1. Volumes have been written on the current economic crisis which is the worst in over half a century. It is a crisis afflicting the entire structure of the South African economy, leading to the criminal under-utilisation of the country's human and material resources, and above all to the further worsening of the terrible conditions of the working people. The effects of this devastating crisis are now also being felt increasingly among white workers as well. Production has fallen; whole industries and regions are on the decline; unemployment has reached alarming proportions. And, in the same measure as the wretched conditions of the poor deteriorate, the rich continue to amass more property in their hands.

There are certain issues pertaining to this crisis which we need to identify, affecting both our strategy and our tactics. For the sake of emphasis we shall isolate only a few.

2. The decline of the Rand and other woes are linked primarily to the fall in gold prices. Despite declarations to the contrary by spokesmen of apartheid, the South African economy depends, to a decisive extent, on the mining industry. Their history is an epitome of struggle, their revolutionary examples lofty.

The outflow of capital has further weakened the economy. Our resolute struggle on all fronts and the disinvestment campaign in particular have contributed to this development.

A lot could be said about the question of loans. What has become obvious is the fact that, in a situation of serious crisis, they could make or break the system. Though the creditors are interested in bailing out the régime, the hard facts of the politico-economic equation in South Africa today forces them to consider the broader question of political change.

3. The albatross of spending by the government weighs down heavily on the economy: the war machine, the bureaucracy, influx control, bantustans, etc. This emphasises in a very direct manner the link between the political and economic developments, our oppression and our exploitation, as the democratic movement has always emphasised, the economic and political struggle cannot be separated.

In the overall, the crisis can be traced to the specifics under apartheid colonialism. The challenge confronting the people is a politico-economic one and the goal is a free and democratic South Africa. The cornerstone of such freedom and democracy is, in the words of the Freedom Charter, "The people shall govern", "The people shall share in the country's wealth."

THE RULING CLASS

1. Botha and his clique are experiencing a very serious crisis of policy. Total Strategy has, in the broad sense, collapsed. A profound expression of this is the admission by all and sundry that apartheid is a failure. Each of the ruling class camps has its own perception of what apartheid is, of the reasons for its failure and the way out of the quagmire. But the ruling class in its totality admits that it can no more rule in the old way. The serious contradictions within this bloc have come out into the open.
2. Within Afrikanerdom, the parting of ways expresses itself in three basic directions:
 - a) The forces to the right of the Nationalist Party continue to consolidate their positions. Driven to panic by the decisiveness of the revolt and Botha's floundering, these forces are dutifully seeking solace in the past.
 - b) Despite attempts to paper over the cracks, it has become an open secret that all is not well within the Nationalist Party, including even at cabinet level. The differences are on how to extricate the system out of all round crisis - how far and how fast!

- c) The voice of dissent to the 'left' of the Nationalist Party - the few youth, academics and the clergy who openly acknowledge the legitimacy of the liberation struggle and favour a just resolution of the crisis - has become louder. Their defiant self expression shows that there is growing dissent beneath the surface.
3. In the place of the 'politics of consensus' that characterised ruling class politics for a number of years, 1985 witnessed the deepest divisions ever between monopoly capital and the ruling junta. They criticise Botha more openly and more scathingly. They have gone ahead to initiate the Convention Alliance, held consultations with the ANC, formulated the Business Charter, etc. The resignation of two leaders of the Progressive Federal Party from parliament has had a profound effect in that, among other things, complete rejection of "reform" came from quarters which can hardly be called revolutionary, and it has shifted attention away from the racist parliament in the most dramatic manner.
 4. Unlike Botha who believes repression, like in the early sixties, will quell the revolt, big business fears the outbreak of revolution. They are demanding far reaching decisions including negotiations with the ANC in order to avert revolutionary change, and protect the system. Also they seek to maintain their position as representatives of whites who are becoming disillusioned with the vicious system, to ease international pressure, and achieve political and economic stability. These aims are inter-related; some are short term and some are long term; and they will entail many gambles on their part. For them, a "peaceful solution" - couched in such terms as "confederalism" and consociationalism" - means that the regime should negotiate now so that it can determine the final outcome, that the basic economic system should not be tampered with and that the privileges of the white minority and the ethnic divisions fostered by apartheid should be maintained, though in a slightly modified form.
 5. The fact that these forces elected to confer with the ANC is an acknowledgement on their part that the ANC is central to the solution of the crisis in South Africa. These discussions were a mere exchange of views, not negotiations. The ANC position on the latter is quite clear: we cannot negotiate behind the backs of our people, when our leaders and other patriots are behind bars, when there is no intention on the part of Pretoria to dismantle apartheid colonialism, etc.

6. Naturally, there are differences of opinion on such fundamental questions as armed struggle, "reforms", our concept of a free and democratic South Africa, etc. For our part, nothing in South Africa warrants even a consideration of change of strategy; rather we are called upon to intensify our offensive, including against those who exploit and harass workers and bolster the political, military and other programmes of the regime. At the same time, without compromising our basic policy positions, we encourage all trends that move in the direction of weakening the regime, and all those who sincerely seek a just settlement of the crisis. It must be recognised that as far as we are concerned, there is no acceptable middle course. The apartheid system must be completely dismantled.

7. While dealing with the difficulties imposed by the regime's repressive actions, we should also work towards defeating in action the regime's counter offensive of 'reform': cooption and divide-and-rule, in particular the latest "package" in the form of Regional Service Councils, National Statutory Council, regulations on 'urban' Africans, the deception of repealing the pass laws and introducing a so-called universal identity card system.

THE FORCES OF CHANGE

1. It is on the motive forces of challenge that the strategic initiative now lies. What then is the level of development of struggle; which are the strategic and tactical considerations which necessitated our Programme of Action for this year and the near future?
2. For many months now our country has witnessed an uninterrupted revolt by the oppressed and democratic forces. While there is the normal ebb and flow, the offensive has been sustained and it is escalating. The regime's only battle weapons 'reform' and repression only fan the fires of revolt. Despite the state of siege, the revolt continues to mature into a situation pregnant with revolutionary challenge.
3. a) The determination and resolution of the people has never been more solid. Openly and in large numbers they defy death, display mass heroism on an unheard of scale. United Action is the order of the day.
 b) The people are not only refusing to be ruled in the old way; they are refusing to be governed by anybody but themselves. The legitimacy of the regime has collapsed.

- c) In addressing the fundamental question of the transfer of power, they have gone ahead to smash the regime's institutions and created in many areas rudimentary organs of power; democratic organs which represent their aspirations and effect popular legality.
 - d) Elements from among the people, especially the youth, have gone ahead to create defence groups which are essentially an important layer of the People's Army. The mass of the people continue to develop mass battle tactics of defence against the army of occupation.
 - e) At appropriate moments, the weapon of the general strike has been put to good use. Also, the experience of the consumer boycott has shown that a mighty weapon we wield in our hands.
 - f) Steadily the struggle is spreading to the white areas. This entails workers' mass and armed action, greater involvement of white democrats, actions against enemy personnel and institutions in these areas and so on.
 - g) Having built their democratic organisations, the people continue to evolve organisational formations suitable for the harsh repression which continues despite the lifting of the State of Emergency.
 - h) The overwhelming majority identify with the ANC and its revolutionary perspective as enshrined in the Freedom Charter.
4. Linked to all these developments is the uninterrupted escalation of the armed struggle. Despite Pretoria's attempts to emasculate the movement and Umlhonto We Sizwe within South Africa and abroad, armed actions have increased tremendously in scope and quality. Gradually, armed struggle is involving the mass of the people at different levels - assuming the form of People's War. We can say today that Umlhonto We Sizwe has irreversibly rooted itself among the people and, with them, possess the potential for a rapid intensification of the armed struggle.
5. The ANC holds the view that the working class, in particular black workers, are the vanguard of the national democratic revolution. In this regard, the following questions emerge: Are black workers sufficiently engaged in mass action around their day-to-day demands? Do they link these struggles to the broad political issues? Are they sufficiently organised and united in their trade unions? Are they, as individuals and in their organised contingents participating in community struggles? Are they to be found in the forefront of these struggles? To most of these questions

we can confidently reply in the affirmative. Yet we constantly have to find ways of ensuring that this role manifests itself in word and in fact. For only in this way can victory of a genuine people's democracy be assured. It is for this reason that the ANC views the formation of COSATU as one of the most significant developments in the history of our struggle. COSATU, which represents about 500 000 workers, promises to become an important weapon in the hands of all the democratic forces to achieve maximum organisation, unity and mass action by workers - as part of, and hand in hand with, the oppressed people as a whole.

6. a) The extent of the education crisis is well known to all of us. Despite all odds the students have sustained a steady offensive against gutter education. Credit also goes to the teachers, parents and the rest of the community. In this respect note must be made of the growing spirit of defiance among the teachers reflected in recent actions, the formation of progressive teachers' unions and the 54th Annual Conference of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA).
- b) The crisis of apartheid is a result also of the actions of the people in the rural areas, youth, women, democratic religious leaders, black business people and democratic whites. The same can be said about community struggles around such issues as rents, high prices and fares. Suffice to note that the Rent Strike (which involves non-payment) so steadfastly sustained in such areas as the Vaal Triangle has been taken up in the Cape African townships, Dundee in Northern Natal, and other areas too numerous to mention.

CONCLUSION

1. These are some of the major land marks of political developments within South Africa. We could go on and on describing the epic battles fought by various sections of our people, singly and collectively, and the heroic actions of the soldiers of the people's army Umkhonto We Sizwe. We believe these facts are known to you. But let us hasten to add that that remarkable achievements would not have come without thorough and systematic organisation. Similarly, it is not possible to advance any step further without such organisation.
2. As President O.R. Tambo stated on January 8, "our strategic goal must be to shift the balance of strength decisively in favour of our struggle, through the further ripening of the revolutionary situation beyond the point where the regime is not able to rule in the old way to a stage where

it is in fact unable to govern.

"....we must build our forces into an ever more formidable united mass army of liberation, an army that must grow in strength continuously, able to deliver and actually delivering bigger blows at every stage and fighting as a conscious force with its eyes firmly fixed on the goal of the destruction of the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people."

3. Through organisation we have to further develop the people's identification with the ANC to the level of well-built and functional units through the length and breadth of our country.

Through organisation, the mass democratic movement has to be defended, and further spread the spirit of resistance and defiance to all corners of the land. At the same time, the legal and semi-legal movements have to find ways and means of functioning effectively under the conditions of what amounts to martial law.

4. Through organisation we plan to move forward to implement with even better results the popular programme for the year 1986 - the education campaign the May Day commemoration, June 16, the anti-pass campaign, for the unconditional release of political prisoners, and the centenary of the founding of Johannesburg, to quote but a few examples.
5. Our plans will involve the unleashing of full-time and part-time organisers on the ground; the production and distribution of propaganda; organisation of rallies and demonstrations; transport and other facilities. These programmes cannot be carried out without funds.

In South Africa, where the battles are raging, is where our hearts and minds are as we pursue our goal with the purposefulness it deserves.

.../OUR FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

OUR FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Introduction

1. To understand the demands of the internal situation in respect of resources, let us briefly look at the internal strategic tasks of the movement, as outlined by the President:
 - a) The extension and consolidation, throughout the country of an ANC underground machinery, capable of leading the majority of the people of our country.
 - b) The political organisation and mobilisation of the mass of the people for the perspective of seizure of power.
 - c) The intensification of armed struggle and its escalation to the level of people's war.
2. Central among these pillars is the task of building the underground structures. Without a network of revolutionary cadres none of the tasks of the struggle within the country can be carried out. It should be a network that spread its tentacles to wherever our people are to be found - in cities, the rural areas, the legal democratic organisations, in reactionary institutions and movements, at the workplaces and in the residential areas, etc. To meet the demands such a network should develop and expand far ahead of the dynamic political situation.
3. The difficulties encountered by the neighbouring countries due to the regime's pressure, oblige us to survive, both inside and outside South Africa, in a clandestine manner. Therefore, in addition to the complications caused, the severity of repression at home, which meant further huge expenditures for the survival of operatives, we have had to shoulder an increasing burden outside of South Africa as well.

UNDERGROUND POLITICAL WORK

1. In all the areas in which the underground operates, its efficiency depends, to a large measure, on the presence of full-time operatives, professional revolutionaries whose sole occupation is struggle. Such operatives have to be maintained by the movement; their families depend on us for their daily subsistence. They have to set up viable projects for their cover and for their underground work. To be in constant touch with the people,

they have to have adequate means of transportation, a vast network of accomadation and other facilities to service trained cadres and other operatives, fall-backs to ensure mobility and so on.

2. During the State of Emergency and the systematic repression against the leadership of the mass democratic movement, many of our functionaries had to resort to the underground so as to carry on with their noble work. As we all know, many of them were, and still are able to survive; to emerge and disappear when they deem it appropriate, thanks to the resourcefulness of our people and the relative strength of the underground network. Occasionally some operatives have been uncovered due to some slip of lack of resources. Also, the underground structures are drawing in the multitude of youth who have participated and continue to participate in combat defence groups and other revolutionary actions. It should be emphasised that where we have failed to meet the demands of the situation, we have lost, even if only temporarily, the cream thrown up by the mass revolt - an important reservoir of the underground.
3. We are all at one, that the dynamic situation within our country needs day-to-day, if not hour-by-hour, guidance. One of the most important vehicles to ensure this is propaganda, which articulates the aspirations of the people without fear of enemy legality - to organise, educate and agitate. You can well imagine the expenses that have gone into the establishment of printing facilities outside the country, the production and ferrying of our material into the country, the maintenance of fully equipped Radio Freedom units. But this is only part of the picture. Day-to-day guidance means that we have to establish and maintain functional propaganda units inside the country, many of whom have to be self sufficient in drafting, editing, production and distribution of propaganda material. In all the major centres we should have regular newsletters. To give a general idea: to run one such newsletter, in one small locality, would require an annual budget of approximately R20 000. If we were to have regular newsletters in the major regions with production units with the capacity to produce leaflets in all areas of the country, have Radio Freedom units producing cassette-recorded messages and leaflets, the budget would run into hundreds of thousands.
4. We have already made mention of the major political campaigns for the year as reflected in the President's January 8 statement. For such campaigns to take off the ground, our activists have to undertake many organisational

tasks. In addition to propaganda work, they have to work around the clock to ensure that mass organisations take up these campaigns; they have, themselves, to rally the people in various ways. Taking into account the number of these campaigns and the mass actions they are to generate, the work of the structures has to increase many-fold. The resources to be expended will also multiply.

OTHER TASKS OF THE UNDERGROUND

1. We resolved at the National Consultative Conference that our effectiveness on the ground has to be enhanced by injecting into the country cadres with the capacity to give leadership to our people. These cadres have to be maintained by the movement: there should be a network of reception facilities for them; they have to be transported over long distances; they have to be fed and clothed. If we have to implement this decision with the seriousness it deserves and with the urgency that the political situation demands, we have to also work much harder, provide our cadres with greater resources, modernise our machineries and place much improved facilities at the disposal of our activists.
2. The task of systematic recruitment has become more urgent than ever before. For it to be fulfilled, we need to have the proper structures and facilities. At the same time, the underground machinery has to shoulder the responsibility of establishing training facilities and extending as rapidly as possible. Practical experience has taught us that we cannot rely solely on facilities outside the country, as this will suffice only as centres for the education of the core of the activists. Our main complement for liberation has to be trained in the terrain of struggle.
3. Without a machinery that monitors the politico-military and economic situation, the underground movement would not be able to carry out its tasks. This is a field that more than any other area of work, requires both resourcefulness and resources.
4. These are some of the activities that have to be carried out by the Area Political Committees. This list is inexhaustible. For one such committee to function in a relatively small town, it requires a budget well in excess of R100 000 per annum. And they have to exist in all the cities, the towns and in the villages and farms.

CONCLUSION

These are some of the challenges we face as we move forward to the final offensive. The demands on all of us wherever we are, are not going to diminish but will increase dramatically with each step forward. We need to facilitate this process so that no single campaign will fail and no single organ compromised because of the lack of funds and other resources.

Victory is within our grasp!

Long live international solidarity!

20 April 1986

LIST OF OTHER DONORS

Governments1. Africa

Government of the People's Republic of Angola
Government of the People's Republic of Algeria
Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique
Government of the United Republic of Tanzania
Government of Zambia
Government of Nigeria
Government of Lesotho
Government of Botswana

These Governments assist the ANC in various ways by providing places to stay and land for ANC projects.

2. Europe

Government of Austria
Government of Denmark
Government of Finland
Government of Netherlands
Government of Norway
Government of France
Government of Italy

These Governments assist the ANC in many ways e.g. providing humanitarian assistance, funds for SOMAFCO and various projects. They also provide experts in different fields.

3. Middle East

Government of Saudi Arabia

4. Asia

Government of China
Government of India

5. Socialist Countries

Soviet Union
German Democratic Republic
Bulgaria
Czechoslovakia
Hungary
Yugoslavia
Cuba

These countries also provide humanitarian support and scholarships.

Organisation of African Unity

The ANC receives funds, food and assistance for the airlifting of food to Angola.

Support Organisations

Oxfam, CUSO, SUCO, Anti-Apartheid - Holland, Holland Committee on Southern Africa, Roddel Society, MOLISV, Swedish Save the Children Fund, Africa Groups in Sweden, IDAF, ICCF, etc.

These support groups provide material assistance and scholarships and help ANC projects.

Government Organisations

NOVIB, Otto Beneke Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

These organisations give assistance for SOMAFCO e.g. scholarships and construction.

Church Organisations

World Council of Churches, Development and Peace, Algerian Churches, Lutheran World Federation.

These organisations give small annual donations - humanitarian assistance.

Fraternal Organisations

Development Aid from People to People.

They provide technical material assistance as well as expertise at Dakawa.

UN Agencies

UNDP, UNHCR, UNESCO, ILO

These organisations give material assistance in the form of scholarships, airlifts (UNHCR) etc.

Budget 1986-87

SEK

1. Daily Necessities

Angola	8.500.000
Botswana	1.750.000
Lesotho	700.000
Mozambique	800.000
Swaziland	850.000
Tanzania	6.500.000
Zambia	1.500.000
Zimbabwe	200.000
	<hr/> 20.800.000

2. Administration and Information

Administration in Zambia	1.400.000
Transport	1.500.000
ANC Stockholm office	900.000
Information & Publicity	1.650.000
SACTU	350.000
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5.800.000

3. Home Activities

Publicity	2.200.000
Printing equipment	1.300.000
Support for Legal Organisations	3.200.000
Transport	1.500.000
Assistance to Dependants	2.600.000
Organisational Activities	1.800.000
Legal Aid	3.100.000
Bulletins in Local Languages	2.300.000
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18.000.000

4. Project

Alpha Farm	2.000.000
Mechanical Workshop	400.000
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2.400.000

5. Training

Agricultural Training	2.000.000
Education	3.000.000
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5.000.000

Summary

1. Daily Necessities	20.800.000
2. Administration etc	5.800.000
3. Homes Activities	18.000.000

4. Projects	2.400.000	
5. Training	5.000.000	
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	52.000.000	

Tentative distribution of estimated balance from 1985/86

1. <u>Daily Necessities</u>		50.000
2. <u>Administration and Information</u>		
Transport	500.000	500.000
3. <u>Home Activities</u>		
4. <u>Project</u>		
Dakawa/Mazimbu	1.450.000	
Mechanical Workshop	300.000	1.750.000
5. <u>Training</u>		
Agricultural Training	800.000	
Education	1.800.000	2.600.000
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		4.900.000

LIST OF ORGANISATION

1. South African Black Social Workers Association
2. Free State Youth Congress
3. South African Long Distance Tax Association
4. Trans Orange Free State Advice Centres
5. Pretoria Civic
6. Altridgeville - Saulsville Residents Organisation
7. Educational Opportunities Council
8. South African Council of Churches
9. South African Black Social Workers Association
10. African Teachers Organisation
11. Black Management Forum
12. Pretoria Civic Association
13. Education Sector - NECC
14. South African Health Congress
15. South African Youth Congress
16. Federation of Transvaal Women
17. Border - United Democratic Front
18. Career Research and Information Centre
19. National African Federated Chamber of Commerce
20. Careers Centre
21. National Unemployed Workers Coordinating Council
22. Department of Manpower Development
23. Civic Association - Kroonstad
24. Soweto Student Committee
25. Youth - Soweto
26. Women's structure

27. Education Group

28. Cordinating marketing and management

29. National Medical and Dental Association.