

Cmb/009/2058/5

SECOND NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (SOUTH AFRICA)
ZAMBIA, 16 - 23 JUNE, -1985

On Department of Political Education

Main tasks of the Department, main content and direction
of training programme.

Conference directed the NEC to set up the Department of Political Education. Its main functions are:

- (a) the preparation of materials as may be useful for conducting political lessons;
- (b) the drafting and implementation of a syllabus with reading lists. Particular attention to be given to materials coming from inside the country;
- (c) the appointment and monitoring of political instructors in every region.

The main content of the envisaged syllabus as decided by Conference should cover the following:

- (1) History of our country with focus on the wars of resistance (against the colonisers);
- (2) History of our liberation struggle and the development of our policy programme, the Freedom Charter, seizure of political and economic power, armed struggle, the role of the working class;
- (3) The resistance movement today, embracing workers, women, youth and students;
- (4) The history and role of trade union movement;
- (5) Theory of revolution;
- (6) National liberation and class struggle;
- (7) The emancipation of women;
- (8) Political economy of South Africa;
- (9) The liberation alliance - ANC, SACP, SACTU.

(noted) Additionally the Conference report recommends that 'mobile' libraries be organised with literature relevant to our political training.

Further it stresses that our cadres should also be exposed to progressive literature and experiences of revolutionary movements in other parts of the world. In order to give variety to the political training and make the course more attractive, it is also recommended that we should diversify our teaching methods by such means as documentary films, videos and tape recordings.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (S.A.)

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

Introduction: This syllabus is circulated to all departments and sections for discussion and comment. The Department will begin classes as soon as arrangements have been made for students to attend. Classes will be conducted from Monday to Friday between 09-12 hours.

Syllabus: A COURSE ON LECTURES ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION.

Week 1

1. Socio-economic formations

- Primitive communal society
- Slavery (a) property relations
- Feudalism (b) means of production
- Capitalism (c) productive forces
- Socialism/Communism

2. Capitalism

- Commodity production
- Private ownership
- Competitive market
- Monopolies and financial oligarchy
- State capitalism

3. Capitalism under Apartheid

- Essence and phenomenon of Apartheid
 - * national oppression
 - * economic exploitation
 - * racism
- Class structure of the white minority regime
 - * "dismantling" Apartheid?

4. Imperialism - Stages of Monopoly Capitalism

- Main economic features of imperialism
- The colonial system of imperialism
 - * colonialism of a special type (South Africa)
 - * class, race and nations in colonies
- The general crisis of capitalism
 - * neo-colonialism

Week 2

5. Transition period to Socialism

- The essence of the transition period from capitalism to socialism
- The general laws of the transition period
- The non-capitalist path of development (former colonies)
- The experiences of PR Mozambique, PR Angola and Socialist Ethiopia in the building of socialism

6. Socialism/Communism

- Public ownership of means of production
- Planning economy
- The economic laws of growth of socialism to communism
- The world socialist economic system

7. History of the struggle

- Wars of resistance (anti-colonial)
- Formation of the ANC (to counter colonial-imperialist domination)
- The role of the CPSA/SACP in the national liberation struggle
- * The Road to South African Freedom (1962)
- * Strategy and Tactics of the ANC (1969)

8. Trade Unionism

- Historical background
- Labour aristocracy - 1922 Rand Revolt
- The role of trade unions under the conditions of the fourth stage of general crisis of capitalism in South Africa

9. The role of women in the struggle for national and social emancipation

- Historical approach (internationally)
- The three disabilities: national oppression, economic exploitation and position of women in traditional society
- (note) - The role of ANC - Women's Section
- A study of other women's organisations inside the country
- (note) - Struggle for emancipation in South Africa

10. The role of the Youth in the national democratic revolution

- Historical assessment
- The role of youth today
 - * as workers
 - * as students, professionals
 - * as trained combatants (MK)

11. Congress Alliance

- The validity and importance of the Freedom Charter in the struggle for national liberation. The national democratic content of the Freedom Charter
- Strategy and Tactics of the ANC (in broad outline)
 - * Morogoro Conference (1969)
 - * 2nd Consultative Conference (1985)

12. Other ideological streams within the national liberation

movement in South Africa

- Unity Movement, National Forum
- Pan Africanism
- Black Consciousness Movement
- Workerist, Class Struggle, National Liberation

13. International Situation

- Danger of a nuclear war
- US intervention in Southern Africa
- * Memorandum 39 (Nixon Administration)
- * Policy of Constructive Engagement (Reagan Administration)

14. Strategy and Tactics of the ANC - The South African Revolution

- Morogoro Conference (1969)
- 2nd Consultative Conference (1985)
 - * the driving forces of the revolution
 - * people's war
 - * people's power
 - * revolutionary situation
- National liberation and class struggle

Lusaka, May 1986.

CIRCULAR - ON THE TRAINING OF POLITICAL CADRES

TO: DEPARTMENTS AND SECTIONS OF THE MOVEMENT

FROM: DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL EDUCATION

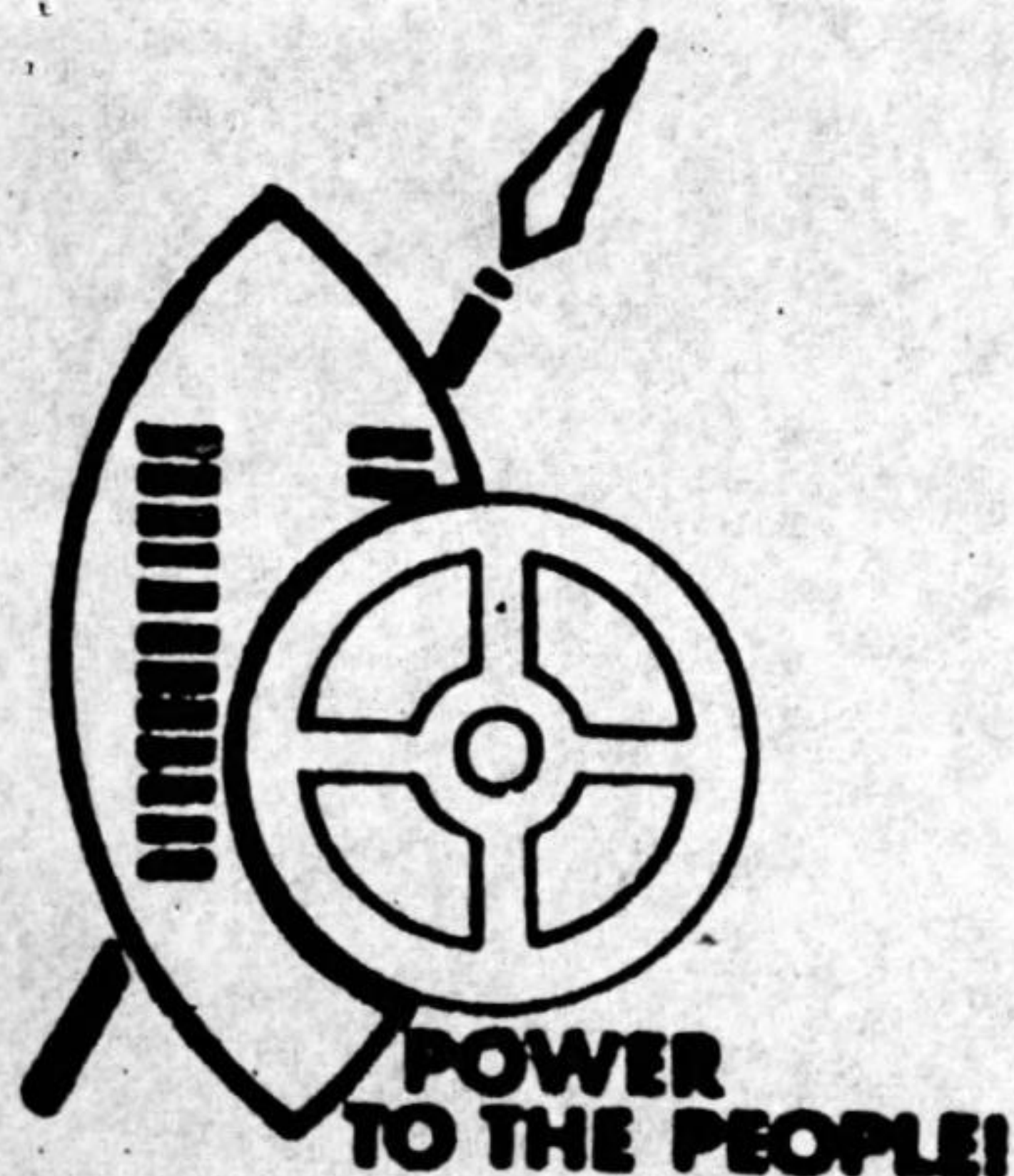
- I. There is an urgent need to train cadres in political science and related subjects for service at home, now and after the transition to people's power in a liberated and democratic South Africa.
- A revolution involves more than a seizure of power. The most difficult revolutionary aim is the transformation of society. In our case, this is a hard and protracted process requiring the mobilisation of all institutions that shape the thinking and conduct of people of the different national and social groups.
- II. The oppressed black sections of our population including the white community must learn to discard habits and attitudes derived from the prevailing system of apartheid colonialism. It is a pernicious institution that sinks its roots deep into our minds and patterns of behaviour. To eradicate this legacy, an intensive process of re-education is necessary.
- III. We must prepare ourselves for this process now. We need cadres with a high level of training in political and other social sciences, who will be able to take our message to the people as educators, propagandists and agitators. They will be deployed as and when their training is completed. The DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL EDUCATION will consider applications from suitably qualified cadres for training overseas.
- IV. In the interest of efficiency, arrangements for political studies abroad will be centralised with the DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL EDUCATION. The main role to be fulfilled by the various Departments and Sections of the Movement is to identify potential candidates in their own ranks in good time. Preferably these should be comrades who are permanently deployed in the Departments/Sections - who are not therefore "in transit". In other words, they should be comrades that do not have any other secret plans either than the given assignments. They should be committed members of our Movement, who want to serve our revolution.
- It has been brought to our notice that some of the comrades sent abroad are poorly prepared for the courses in which they enrol. We think it will be useful if cadres going on such studies are put through a course of basic political training including history of our struggle by our Department.

Amandla! Maatla!

Simon S. Makana
Simon S. Makana

Secretary

Lusaka, December 4, 1986.



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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL EDUCATION
P.O. Box 31791, Lusaka, Zambia. Telephone 216263

CIRCULAR - ON THE RAISING OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN A FREE, DEMOCRATIC, NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA

To: Department of Education
Department of Information & Publicity
Department of Arts & Culture
External Coordinating Council

Considering the low level of political consciousness among the white community in South Africa as demonstrated in the recent May 6 election, we consider that the major task facing us is the development of a massive countrywide education programme to transform the outlook of all sections of the population, especially of the white community, to promote a better understanding of the aims and content of our revolution. Special attention should be given to the Afrikaans speaking section which appears to be the most backward in relation to social change.

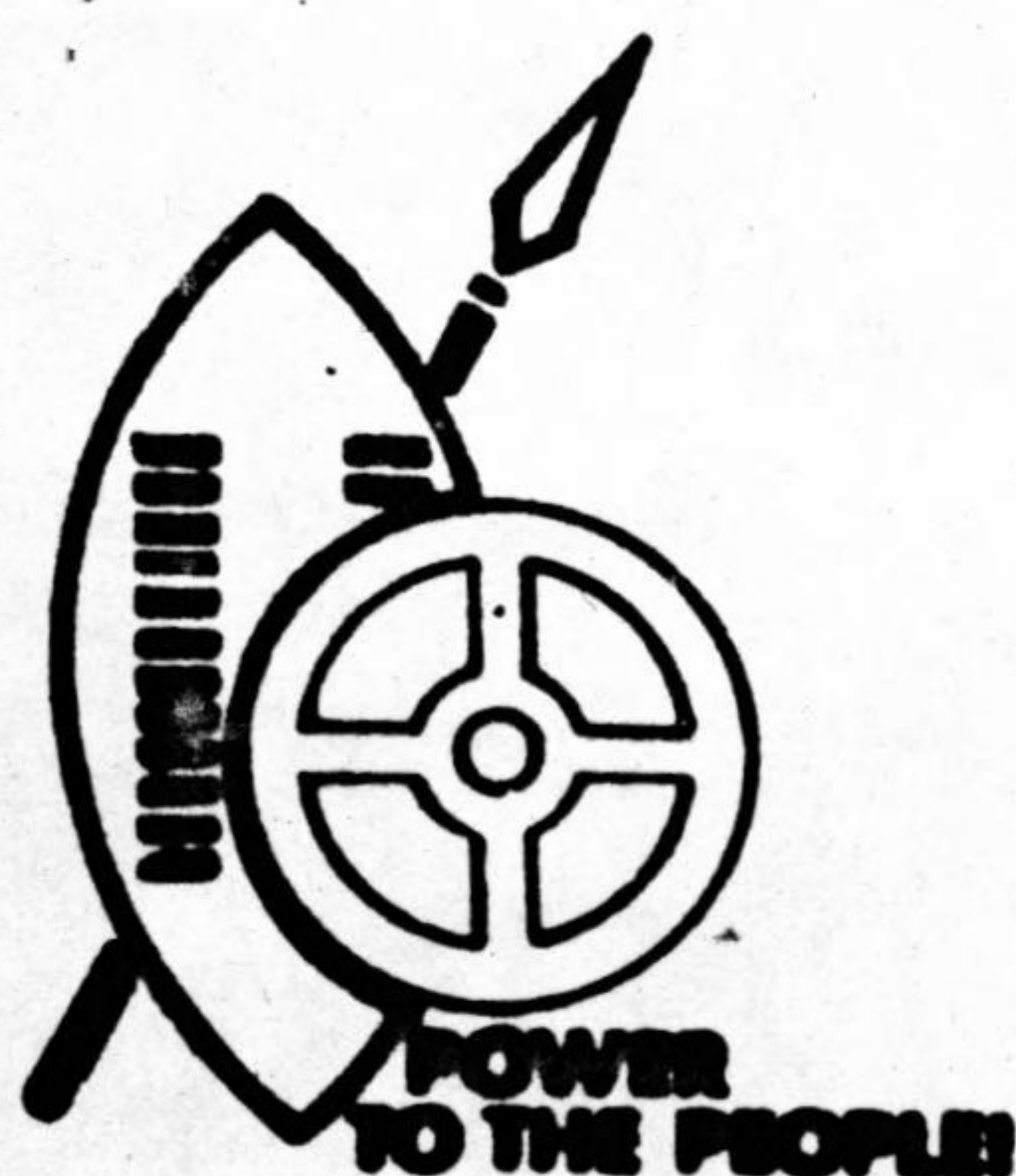
To carry out this task, thousands of young people must be recruited to study the language and culture of the Afrikaans speaking whites, so as to carry out the essential task of changing their outlook.

A special committee should be set up, which will be entrusted with the function of translating important documents of the liberation alliance (ANC-SACP-SACTU) into all languages spoken in South Africa.

Amandla! Matla!

SIMON S. MAKANA
Secretary

Lusaka, July 13, 1987.



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PROGRAMME FOR POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS - SEPTEMBER 1987

UNIT A - 09 hrs

- * Tuesday, September 1, 1987
Topic: United Front - Phase 2: cde Zeph
- * Tuesday, September 8, 1987
Topic: 2nd Youth Conference: cde Reggie Mpongo
- * Tuesday, September 15, 1987
Topic: Socialism and national liberation: cde Rufus
- * Tuesday, September 22, 1987
Topic: NUM and the bosses: cde Jack

UNIT B - 09 hrs

- * Wednesday, September 2, 1987
Topic: United Front - phase 2: cde Ivan
- * Wednesday, September 9, 1987
Topic: 2nd Youth Conference: cde Jackie Sedibe
- * Wednesday, September 16, 1987
Topic: Socialism and national liberation: cde Fikile
- * Wednesday, September 23, 1987
Topic: NUM and the bosses: cde Rufus

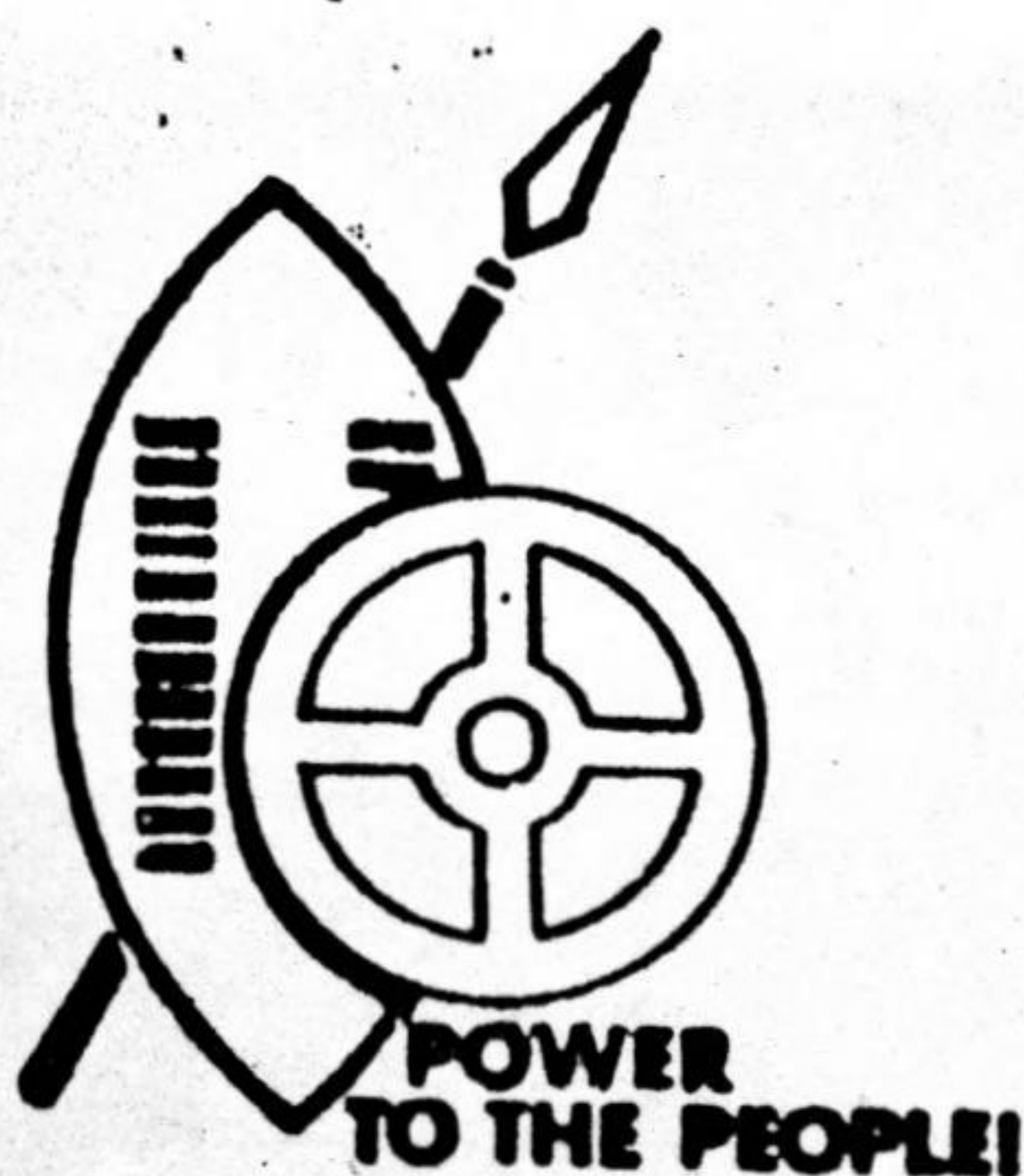
UNIT C - 09 hrs

- * Thursday, September 3, 1987
Topic: United Front - Phase 2 : cde Jack
- * Thursday, September 10, 1987
Topic: 2nd Youth Conference: cde Reggie Mpongo
- * Thursday, September 17, 1987
Topic: Socialism and national liberation : cde Zeph
- * Thursday, September 24, 1987
Topic: NUM and the bosses: cde Fikile

UNIT D - 09 hrs

- * Friday, September 4, 1987
Topic: United Front - Phase 2: cde Rufus
- * Friday, September 11, 1987
Topic: 2nd Youth Conference: cde Jackie Sedibe
- * Friday, September 18, 1987
Topic: Socialism and national liberation: cde Ivan
- * Friday, September 25, 1987
Topic: NUM and the bosses: cde Zeph

c.c. cdes Mgabela, Mkhosi, Reggie, Jackie, Rufus, Jack, Ivan, Fikile & Zeph.



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PROGRAMME FOR POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS - JULY 1987

UNIT A - 09 hrs

- * Tuesday, July 14, 1987
Topic: The Communist Manifesto - its content and relevance: cde Jack Simons
- * Tuesday, July 21, 1987
Topic: Current political situation at home: cde Steve Tshwete
- * Tuesday, July 28, 1987
Topic: The religious community as part of the political army & the national democratic revolution: cde Mzwandile

UNIT B - 09 hrs

- * Wednesday, July 15, 1987
Topic: The Communist Manifesto - its content and relevance: cde Jack Simons
- * Wednesday, July 22, 1987
Topic: Current political situation at home: cde Steve Tshwete
- * Wednesday, July 29, 1987
Topic: The religious community as part of the political army & the national democratic revolution: cde Mzwandile

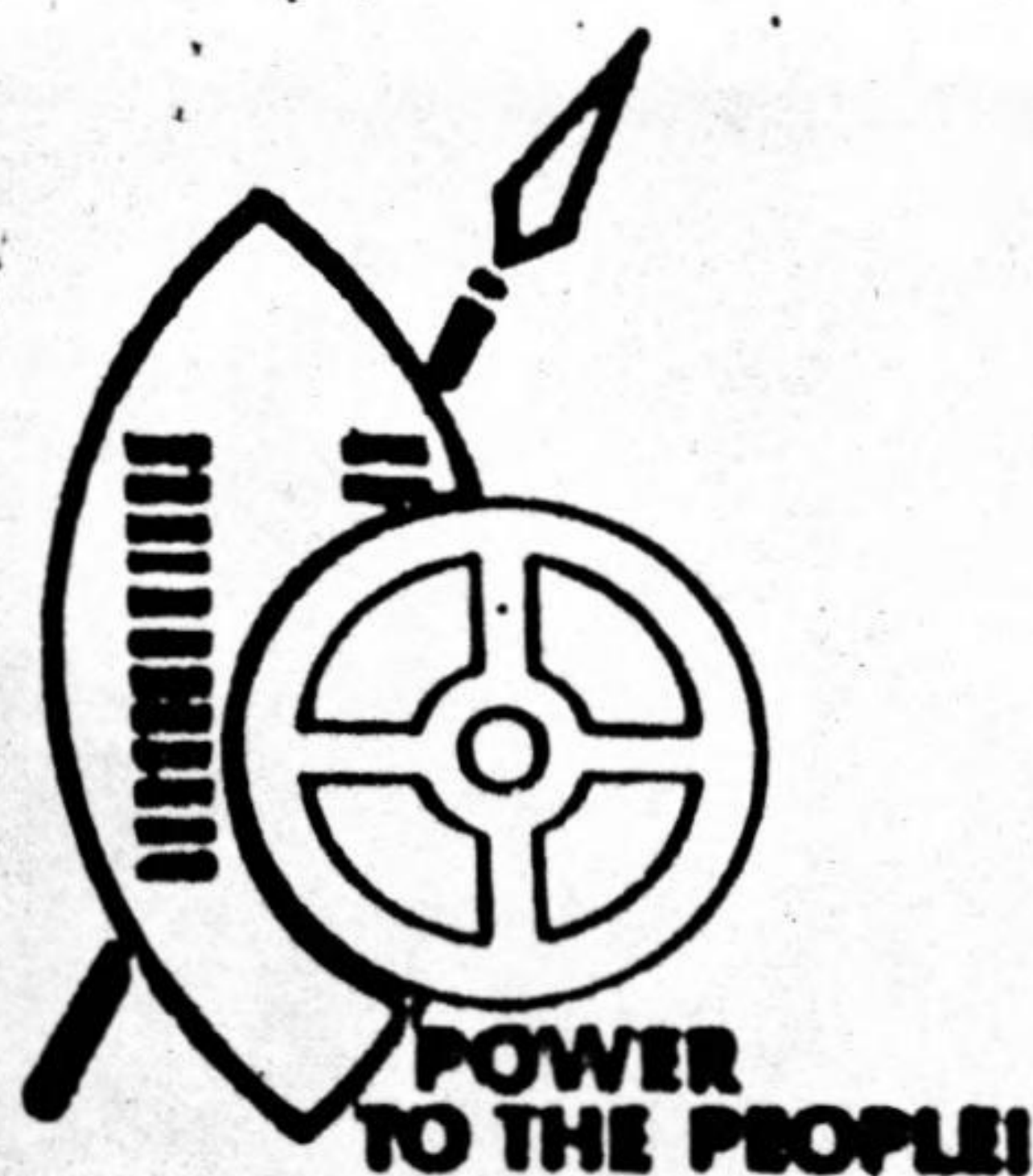
UNIT C - 09 hrs

- * Thursday, July 16, 1987
Topic: Current political situation at home: Cde Steve Tshwete
- * Thursday, July 23, 1987
Topic: The Communist Manifesto - its content and relevance: cde Jack Simons
- * Thursday, July 30, 1987
Topic: What do we understand by arming the masses: cde Bobby Pillay

UNIT D - 09 hrs

- * Friday, July 10, 1987
Topic: The Communist Manifesto - its content and relevance: cde Jack Simons
- * Friday, July 17, 1987
Topic: Current political situation at home: cde Steve Tshwete
- * Friday, July 24, 1987
Topic: The religious community as part of the political army & the national democratic revolution: cde Mzwandile
- * Friday, July 31, 1987
Topic: What do we understand by arming the masses: cde Bobby Pillay

c.c. cdes Jack, Steve, Mzwandile, Bobby, Keith, Mgabela & Mkhosi



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PROGRAMME FOR POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS - JUNE 1987

UNIT A - 09 hrs

- * Tuesday, June 2, 1987
Topic: Code of conduct of a revolutionary cadre: cde Douglas Sparks
- * Tuesday, June 9, 1987
Topic: Nationalisation, Socialisation & the Freedom Charter(Robert Davies)
: cde Patrick Magapatona
- * Tuesday, June 16, 1987
Topic: The religious community as part of the political army and the
national democratic revolution: cde Mzwandile
- * Tuesday, June 23, 1987
Topic: The role of ARMSCOR in maintaining the system: cde Vivian Stratmann

UNIT B - 09 hrs

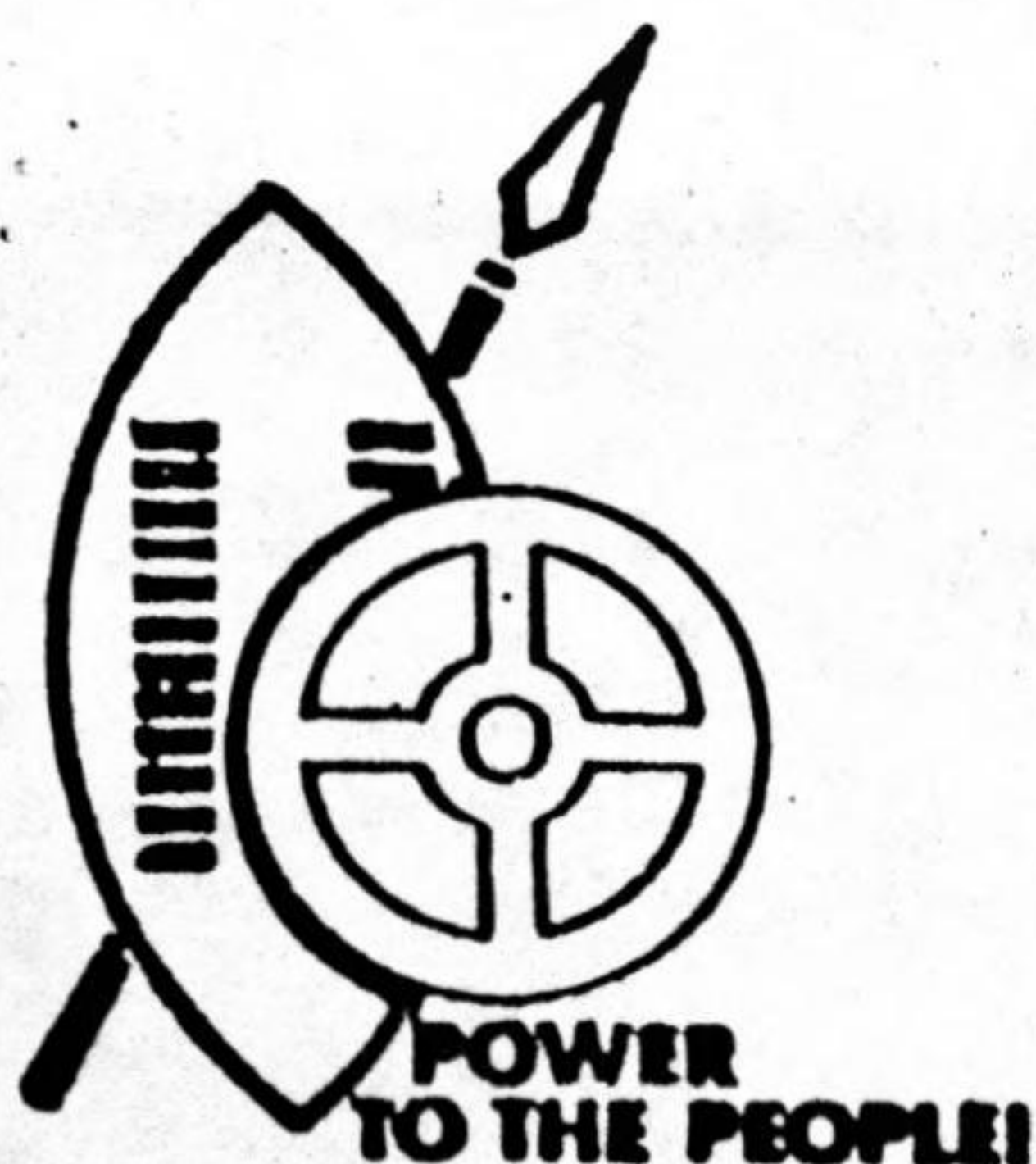
- * Wednesday, June 3, 1987
Topic: Code of conduct of a revolutionary cadre: cde Douglas Sparks
- * Wednesday, June 10, 1987
Topic: Nationalisation, Socialisation & the Freedom Charter(Robert Davies)
: cde Patrick Magapatona
- * Wednesday, June 17, 1987
Topic: The religious community as part of the political army and the
national democratic revolution: cde Mzwandile
- * Wednesday, June 24, 1987
Topic: The role of ARMSCOR in maintaining the system: cde Vivian Stratmann

UNIT C - 09 hrs

- * Thursday, June 4, 1987
Topic: Nationalisation, Socialisation & the Freedom Charter(Robert Davies)
: cde Patrick Magapatona
- * Thursday, June 11, 1987
Topic: Code of conduct of a revolutionary cadre: cde Douglas Sparks
- * Thursday, June 18, 1987
Topic: The role of ARMSCOR in maintaining the system: cde Vivian Stratmann
- * Thursday, June 25, 1987
Topic: The religious community as part of the political army and the
national democratic revolution: cde Mzwandile

UNIT D - 09 hrs

- * Friday, June 5, 1987
Topic: Nationalisation, Socialisation & the Freedom Charter(Robert Davies)
: cde Patrick Magapatona
- * Friday, June 12, 1987
Topic: Code of conduct of a revolutionary cadre: cde Douglas Sparks
- * Friday, June 19, 1987
Topic: The role of ARMSCOR in maintaining the system: cde Vivian Stratmann
- * Friday, June 26, 1987
Topic: The religious community as part of the political army and the
national democratic revolution: cde Mzwandile



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PROGRAMME FOR POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS - MAY 1987

UNIT A - 09 hrs

- * Tuesday, May 5, 1987
Topic: Enemy strategems to thwart our national democratic revolution: cde Vivian
 - * Tuesday, May 12, 1987
Topic: Enemy strategems to thwart our national democratic revolution - II: cde Vivian
 - * Tuesday, May 19, 1987
Topic: A post-mortem of the all white election in South Africa: cde Jack Simons
 - * Tuesday, May 26, 1987
Topic: South African Women for Peace and the Soviet Peace Initiative: cde Ray Simons
-

UNIT B - 09 hrs

- * Wednesday, May 6, 1987
Topic: Enemy strategems to thwart our national democratic revolution: cde Vivian
 - * Wednesday, May 13, 1987
Topic: Enemy strategems to thwart our national democratic revolution - II: cde Vivian
 - * Wednesday, May 20, 1987
Topic: A post-mortem of the all white election in South Africa: cde Jack Simons
 - * Wednesday, May 27, 1987
Topic: South African Women for Peace and the Soviet Peace Initiative: cde Ray Simons
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UNIT C - 09 hrs

- * Thursday, May 7, 1987
Topic: A post-mortem of the all white election in South Africa: cde Jack Simons
 - * Thursday, May 14, 1987
Topic: Enemy strategems to thwart our national democratic revolution: cde Vivian
 - * Thursday, May 21, 1987
Topic: Enemy strategems to thwart our national democratic revolution - II: cde Vivian
 - * Thursday, May 28, 1987
Topic: South African Women for Peace and the Soviet Peace Initiative: cde Ray Simons
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UNIT D - 09 hrs

- * Friday, May 8, 1987
Topic: A post-mortem of the all white election in South Africa: cde Jack Simons
- * Friday, May 15, 1987
Topic: Enemy strategems to thwart our national democratic revolution: cde Vivian
- * Friday, May 22, 1987
Topic: Enemy strategems to thwart our national democratic revolution - II: cde Vivian
- * Friday, May 29, 1987
Topic: South African Women for Peace and the Soviet Peace Initiative: cde Ray Simons



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PROGRAMME FOR POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS - APRIL 1987

UNIT A - 09 hrs

- * Tuesday, March 31, 1987
Topic: A critical appreciation of the video version of The Africans - A triple heritage by Ali A. Mazrui: cde Khosi
 - * Tuesday, April 7, 1987
Topic: LECTURE on the formation of the revolutionary army and the political army: cde Vivian
 - * Tuesday, April 14, 1987
Topic: Splits in Afrikanerdom and the all white elections: cde Ace Mekingwe
 - * Tuesday, April 21, 1987
Topic: Congress Alliance and the United Front: cde Jack Simons
 - * Tuesday, April 28, 1987
Topic: On the significance and relevance of May Day to our struggle: cde Mark Shope
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UNIT B - 09 hrs

- * Wednesday, April 1, 1987
Topic: A critical appreciation of the video version of The Africans - A triple heritage by Ali A. Mazrui; cde Khosi
 - * Wednesday, April 8, 1987
Topic: LECTURE on the formation of the revolutionary army and the political army: cde Vivian
 - * Wednesday, April 15, 1987
Topic: Splits in Afrikanerdom and the all white elections: cde Ace Mekingwe
 - * Wednesday, April 22, 1987
Topic: Congress Alliance and the United Front: cde Jack Simons
 - * Wednesday, April 29, 1987
Topic: On the significance and the relevance of May Day to our struggle: cde Mark Shope
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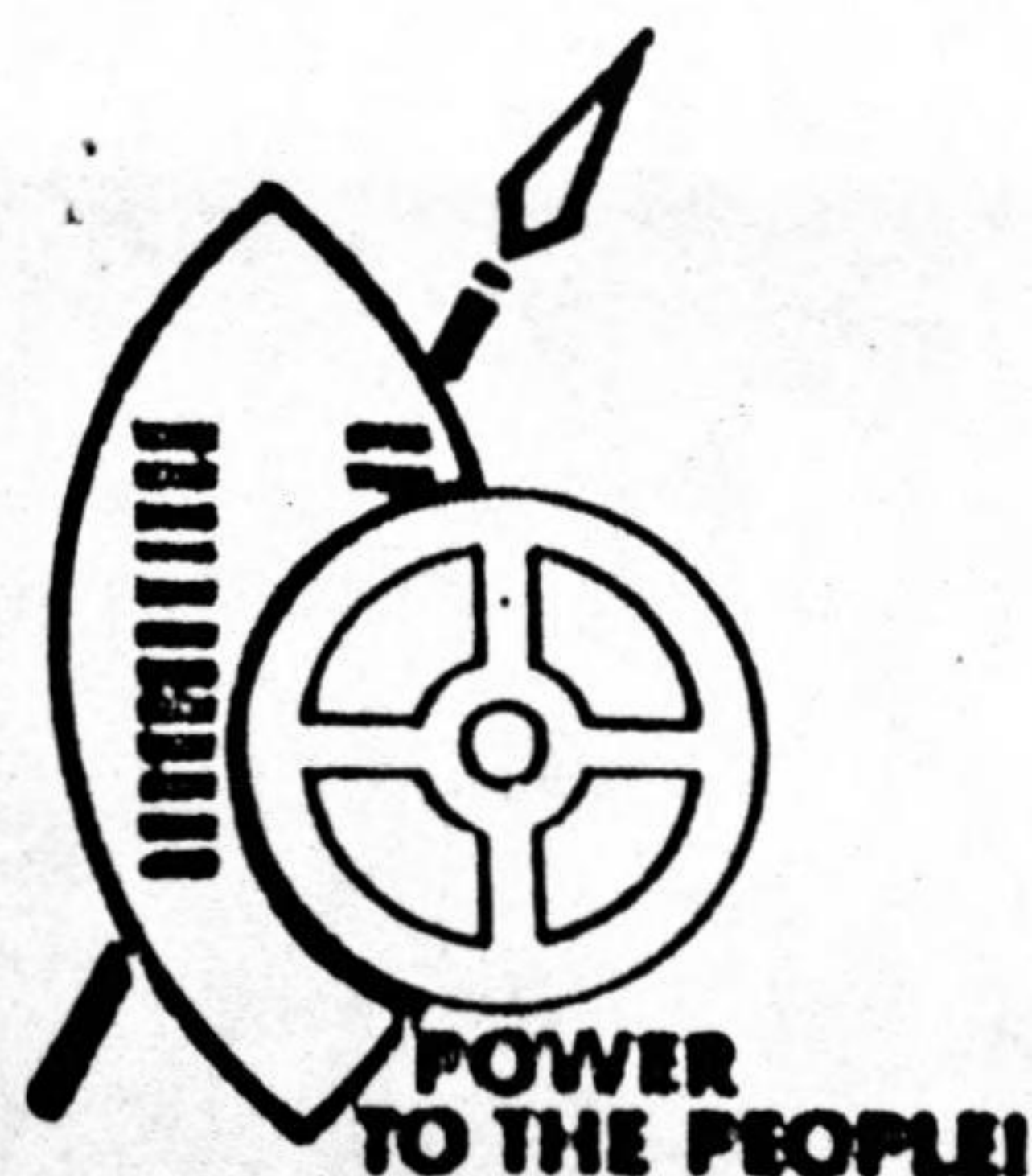
UNIT C - 09 hrs

- * Thursday, April 2, 1987
Topic: A critical appreciation of the video version of The Africans - A triple heritage by Ali A. Mazrui: cde Khosi
 - * Thursday, April 9, 1987
Topic: Splits in Afrikanerdom and the all white elections: cde Ace Mekingwe
 - * Thursday, April 16, 1987
Topic: LECTURE on the formation of the revolutionary army and the political army: cde Vivian
 - * Thursday, April 23, 1987
Topic: Congress Alliance and the United Front: cde Jack Simons
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- * Thursday, April 30, 1987
Topic: On the significance and relevance of May Day to our struggle: cde Mark Shope
-

UNIT D - 09 hrs

- * Friday, April 3, 1987
Topic: A critical appreciation of the video version of The Africans - A triple heritage by Ali A. Mazrui: cde Khosi
 - * Friday, April 10, 1987
Topic: Splits in Afrikanerdom and the all white elections: cde Ace Mekingwe
 - * Friday, April 17, 1987
Topic: LECTURE on the formation of the revolutionary army and the political army: cde Vivian
 - * Friday, April 24, 1987
Topic: On the significance and relevance of May Day to our struggle: cde Mark Shope
 - * Friday, May 8, 1987
Topic: Congress Alliance and the United Front: cde Jack Simons
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PROGRAMME FOR POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS - MARCH 1987

UNIT A - 09 hrs

- * Tuesday, March 3, 1987
Topic: Current constitutional developments in South Africa: cde Zola Bona
 - * Tuesday, March 10, 1987
Topic: The struggle for people's education at home: cde Pascal Ludidi
 - * Tuesday, March 17, 1987
Topic: Present trends in the trade union movement at home: cde Gazi
 - * Tuesday, March 24, 1987
Topic: US Foreign Policy towards Southern Africa: cde James Stuart
-

UNIT B - 09 hrs

- * Wednesday, March 4, 1987
Topic: Current constitutional developments in South Africa: cde Zola Bona
 - * Wednesday, March 11, 1987
Topic: The struggle for people's education at home: cde Pascal Ludidi
 - * Wednesday, March 18, 1987
Topic: Present trends in the trade union movement at home: cde Gazi
 - * Wednesday, March 25, 1987
Topic: US Foreign Policy towards Southern Africa: cde James Stuart
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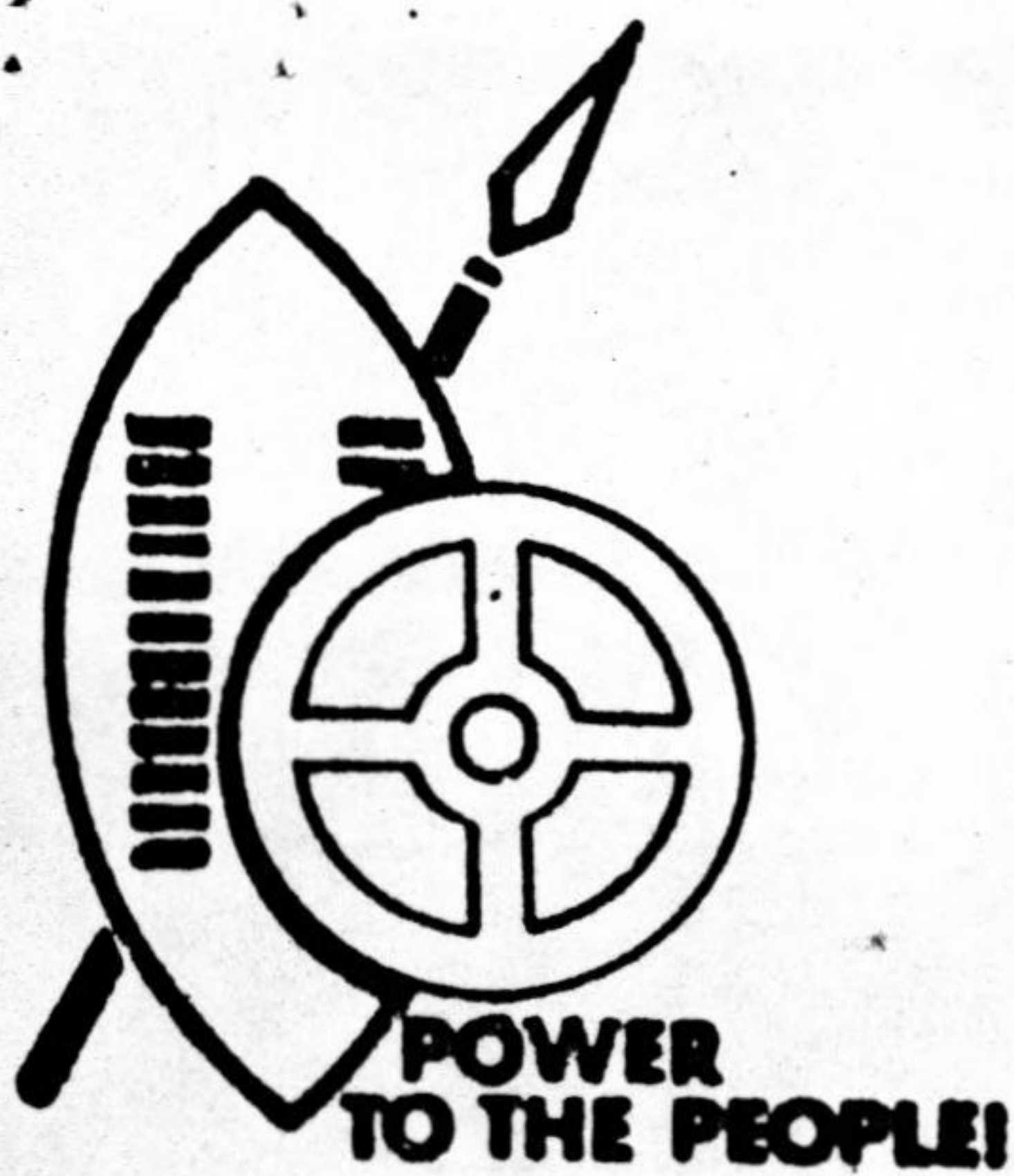
UNIT C - 09 hrs

- * Thursday, March 5, 1987
Topic: Present trends in the trade union movement at home: cde Gazi
 - * Thursday, March 12, 1987
Topic: Current constitutional developments in South Africa: cde Zola Bona
 - * Thursday, March 19, 1987
Topic: US Foreign Policy towards Southern Africa: cde James Stuart
 - * Thursday, March 26, 1987
Topic: The struggle for people's education at home: cde Pascal Ludidi
-

UNIT D - 09 hrs

- * Friday, March 6, 1987
Topic: Present trends in the trade union movement at home: cde Gazi
- * Friday, March 13, 1987
Topic: Current constitutional developments in South Africa: cde Zola Bona
- * Friday, March 20, 1987
Topic: US Foreign Policy towards Southern Africa: cde James Stuart
- * Friday, March 27, 1987
Topic: The struggle for people's education at home: cde Pascal Ludidi

c.c. cde Zola Bona
c.c. cde Pascal Ludidi
c.c. cde Gazi
c.c. cde James Stuart
c.c. cde Mkhosi x5
c.c. cde Ngabela x15



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Our Ref:

Your Ref:

PROGRAMME FOR POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS - FEBRUARY 1987

UNIT A

* Tuesday, February 10, 1987

Topic: Current youth and students organisations at home: cde Reggie Mpongo

* Tuesday, February 17, 1987

Topic: An analysis of the January 8 Statement: Cde Jack Simons

* Tuesday, February 24, 1987

Topic: ANC meetings with the West, other groups from home & elsewhere:
Cde Simon Makana

UNIT B

* Wednesday, February 11, 1987

Topic: An analysis of present state of street committees: Cde Steve Tshwete

* Wednesday, February 18, 1987

Topic: Current youth and students organisations at home: Cde Reggie Mpongo

* Wednesday, February 25, 1987

Topic: US Foreign Policy towards Southern Africa: Cde James Stuart

UNIT B

* Thursday, February 12, 1987

Topic: Current youth and students organisations at home: Cde Reggie Mpongo

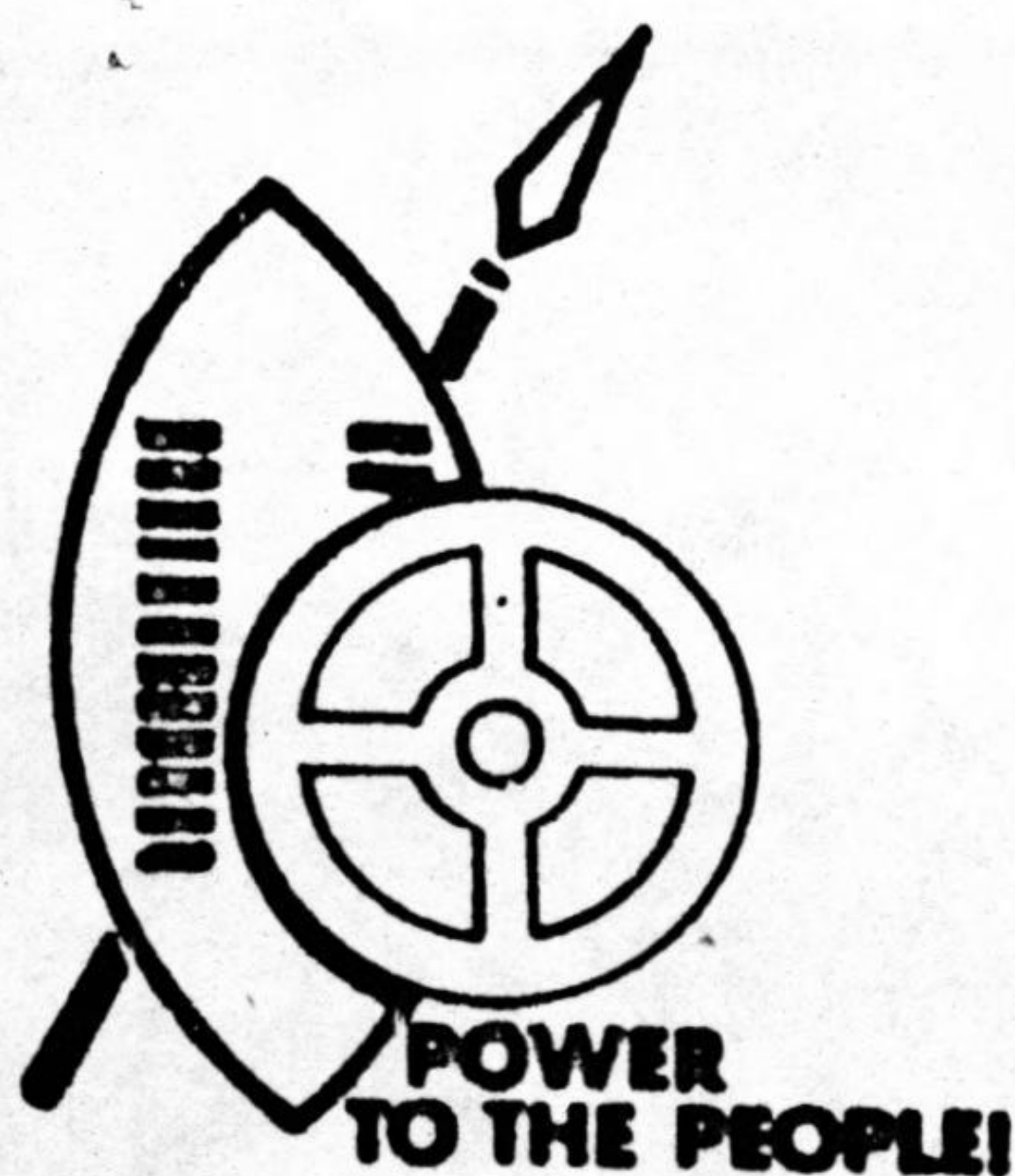
* Thursday, February 19, 1987

Topic: The role of the Church in the national democratic revolution:
Cde Jane Ngubane

* Thursday, February 26, 1987

Topic: US Foreign Policy towards Southern Africa: Cde James Stuart

c.c. Cde Reggie Mpongo
c.c. Cde Jack Simons
c.c. Cde Simon Makana
c.c. Cde Steve Tshwete
c.c. Cde James Stuart
c.c. Cde Jane Ngubane
c.c. Cde Mgabela x 20



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Our Ref:

Your Ref:

PROGRAMME FOR POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS - JANUARY 1987

Unit A

Time: 09 hrs

* Wednesday, January 14, 1987

Topic: Trade unionism in South Africa from the 50's and current trends
(periods 1965-1979; 1980-1986): cde Ray Simons

* Wednesday, January 21, 1987

Topic: What is history?: cde Ace Mekingwe

* Wednesday, January 28, 1987

Topic: Role of South African women in the struggle for national liberation
and social emancipation: cde Mpumie Motaung

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Unit B

Time: 09 hrs

* Thursday, January 15, 1987

Topic: Trade unionism in South Africa from the 50's and current trends
(periods 1965-1979; 1980-1986): cde Ray Simons

* Thursday, January 22, 1987

Topic: What is history?: cde Ace Mekingwe

* Thursday, January 29, 1987

Topic: Role of South African women in the struggle for national liberation
and social emancipation: cde Mpumie Motaung

c.c. cde Ray Simons

c.c. cde Ace Mekingwe

c.c. cde Mpumie Motaung

c.c. cde Skara Zola

PROGRAMME FOR POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS: NOVEMBER - DECEMBER 1986

Unit A

Time: 09 hrs

Wednesday, November 26, 1986

Topic: The US Bill on comprehensive sanctions
against South Africa - cde James Stuart

Wednesday, December 3, 1986

Topic: On the significance of the 65th anniversary
of the SACP - cde Jack Simons

Wednesday, December 10, 1986

Topic: The role of the Church in the national
democratic struggle in South Africa -
cde Jane Dlamini

Wednesday, December 17, 1986

Topic: The role of the armed forces in maintaining
the system - cde

Unit B

Time: 09 hrs

Thursday, November 27, 1986

Topic: On the significance of the 65th anniversary
of the SACP - cde Jack Simons

Thursday, December 4, 1986

Topic: ANC meetings with the West, other groups
from home & elsewhere - cde Simon Makana

Thursday, December 11, 1986

Topic: The US Bill on comprehensive sanctions
against South Africa - cde James Stuart

Thursday, December 18, 1986

Topic: The role of the armed forces in maintaining
the system - cde

c.c. Cde James Stuart

c.c. Cde Joe Nhlanhla

c.c. Cde Skara Zola (3x)