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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
SECOND WOMEN'S CONFERENCE  
NATIONAL PREPARATORY COMMITTEE COMPOSITE REPORT

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PAPER NO 11

Preparations:

Preparations of the Second National Women's Conference of the ANC started in October 1986. Three comrades, viz Mavis Nhlapo, Suzan Mnumzane and Sikose Mji were assigned the task of working on the theme and sub-themes of the conference, and to set up a preparatory committee. By February these were finally approved and on February 19th, 1987, the National Preparatory Committee (NPC) was launched by the ECC.

On March 5th the first circular of the Women's Section on the Conference was issued, announcing the conference and requesting regions to begin preparations for conference by looking into resolutions and recommendations of our 1981 conference, Lusaka Council meeting of 1983 and those of the National Women's Executive Committee meeting held in April 1984, and to send number and names of women (if possible) in their regions. Documents of the past conference, council and NWECA were to be looked into with objective of facilitating a critical look at them to facilitate future plans and to make sure we do not repeat the same recommendations. Letters were sent to some regions, requesting them to send representatives to sit on the NPC. The first meeting of the NPC took place in April and began with the commissioning of papers from different authors, which were to be submitted on or before 15th June.

Responses to the first circular from regions came only in June from a few regions, informing us that they were not in possession of the documents mentioned in their circular. We thus set out to reproduce these documents and a lot of hurdles, such as paper, duplicating machines, technical staff etc impeded our progress. Nonetheless, by mid-June all these documents were sent out.

As the deadline for the submission of papers came near, it was clear that these papers would not be available for consideration and be sent to regions in time for preparations of the regional conferences, which we urged in circular two to be held by the end of July. Guidelines for the conference were prepared by the Women's Secretariat to assist in preparations for regional conferences. Our regions by this time, were set in full motion for conference preparations, and 1st August regional conferences were held, with the last being the one held in Lusaka on 15th August.

Regional conferences were held in the USA, United Kingdom, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Angola and Zambia. In places like Canada and Botswana units held discussions as it was not possible to hold regional conferences. Up to the time of compiling this report (23rd August), we had reports from Canada (two units), Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Angola, Botswana only.

Conference papers based on the sub-themes started coming in July and the majority came three weeks before the conference, some reached us last week, and we have not yet received others. The processing of the commissioned papers proved to be very difficult in view of the fact that we received them very late. Thus we were only able to send a few to the regions before conference.

Regions:

Regional conferences and unit meetings held were characterised by very serious preparations which culminated in lively, open, mature, healthy, constructive and educative discussions. Some of them were attended by members of the NPC and Women's Secretariat, eg East Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lusaka and Angola. The USSR women were also met during the Moscow Congress and those of the USA and UK around August 9th. Regional Reports and regional conference reports are being prepared for circulation to conference.



From the regions and units the following recommendations were made:

\* Internal Mobilisation and MK:

1. In view of the fact that women are participating in the training in our army and do undergo the same treatment as men, our commission recommends that commanding structures in the front areas should involve women. Women should not end up in the camps to be commanders and commissars.
2. As the enemy is continuing with the entire militarisation of white women in the country by creating Pistol Clubs and Army Camps for white women, our commission recommends that these women should be mobilised on to our side and the movement should also create ways and means to have our people infiltrated in these clubs and camps.
3. Our struggle has entered a new era, and we are experiencing a mass uprising of our women against the enemy. In this view our commission recommends that women inside the country, especially in rural areas, should be trained militarily and avoid many of our women leaving the country – and open underground cells that will facilitate this work and enable us to effectively advance our struggle.
4. Our commission noted that white organisations like the Black Sash, End Conscription Campaign have been involved in anti-apartheid campaigns – and are a threat to the enemy. We therefore recommend that such organisations should be used to mobilise white women against the Pistol Clubs and Army Camps.
5. Our commission has noted that there exists Printing Information Units inside the country doing movement work and capable of forwarding information about the enemy's activities. We recommend that the units should be strengthened. Also that women inside the country should be placed in the enemy's information units.
6. The ANC has managed to popularise the call for the release of all political prisoners, including children in South African gaols. Our commission recommends that these should be intensified and strengthened.
7. Our commission noted that one of the things which the movement has failed to accomplish or, if it did, in a very limited way, is sending our trained MK women inside the country. We therefore recommend that capable women in MK should be trained in specialised military fields to be able to go inside the country and fulfil the army's duties like men.
8. The commission realised the need for rural workers to be organised into trade unions and therefore recommends that Cosatu should redouble its efforts in organising rural workers, especially farm workers. The white workers also need to be mobilised.
9. In the present phase of our struggle, we need to mobilise support for Cosatu's demands.
10. A word of support should be communicated to Cosatu for its stand of non-affiliation to international trade unions.
11. That some women belonging to the middle class at home are ignoring the fact of the existing situation inside the country, and must put an end to women's organisations constituting such women. We recommend that women at home should strengthen the spreading of mobilisation to form one national organisation that will embrace all these organisations at home.
12. The conference should seriously look into the contradictions which exist between black and white women and draw up a programme aimed at bringing the two together in the struggle.
13. Conference must sharply address the question of removals which mostly affect women by giving constant and concrete guidelines.
14. We should encourage women's forums in trade unions, which will serve as a platform where women workers address their problems and thus take them to the entire union. This will ensure the participation of women workers in the national women's body and in the general national liberation struggle.
15. Unions must be encouraged to take up education programmes where they do not exist and strengthen the existing ones.



16. Whilst the democratic trade union movement is making efforts to organise the unemployed workers into their own union, former union members must maintain contact with their former unions to contribute in the union's activities and counter any reactionary moves against the democratic unions.
17. Conference should address itself to the organisations which are not aligned with the democratic women's movement and evolve strategies of drawing them into the anti-apartheid fold.
18. The movement should draw up guidelines to ensure a common approach among comrades, to resolve the conflicting and different approaches between stalwarts at home which in turn hampers the organisational work inside the country. Conference should look into ways and means of re-establishing contact with the stalwarts and also reactivate old members and supporters.
19. The conference should address itself to drawing up a systematic programme seriously addressing the question of rural women.
20. Basic teaching of Marxism-Leninism amongst women, even at home, is needed.
21. Women can play an important role in bringing an end to the vigilante menace, as these are their relations.
22. Use of domestic workers as cadres of MK must be fully exploited – and the old women, who can hardly be suspected.
23. That issues affecting women in rural areas be made a priority of our mobilising tasks.
24. That the organisations women belong to be analysed – self-help groups, church organisations etc, and these be used as a starting point to further politicise the women.
25. Campaigns be mounted around the following issues: forced removals, confiscation of land, water, payment of taxes for cattle, high rents, etc.
26. Necessary to note the increasing isolation of women due to where they live and the type of job they perform – eg farm and domestic workers.
27. That women and youth conferences be organised to discuss issues that affect them specifically, especially the older and younger women.
28. A programme of literacy be undertaken to facilitate the urgent need for this skill. Necessary to also look at our medium of propaganda and the languages used. The general demand for women's education should be taken up by the movement as a whole.
29. Matters relating to the awareness of health and nutrition, and specifically matters relating to women's health, is a way of making contact with women.
30. Women organised in trade unions should also mobilise the unorganised and the women in the bantustans and rural areas.
31. Organisations should be created in such a way that they can sustain themselves despite the harsh repression currently experienced.
32. It was noted that women in KwaZulu and other areas are being organised and politicised. We must always be conscious of the regime's counter-revolutionary strategy. It is urgent that we analyse organisations such as Inkatha Women's Brigade and others, so that we have a strategy to deal with the effects of these organisations on our work.
33. It was noted that there were many more white women than white men participating in democratic organisations, and that this is an area that should be considered and worked on.
34. Political and ideological work should be done at grassroots level, utilising organs of people's power for the realisation of a national women's body.
35. Political draft guidelines should be drawn up by the ANC Women's Section laying the basis for greater unity and mobilisation.
36. Women should work with the domestic workers' union to politicise their white women employers to know and understand the economic relations connecting them and further influence them to participate fully in the national democratic revolution.



37. White women participating in democratic organisations like the Five Freedoms Forum, Nusas, Jodac etc must intensify the mobilisation of the white community in joining and working with them. We should strengthen the people's organs of power and strengthen their underground structures in white areas.

38. We should 'infiltrate' our people into multi-racial institutions by way of conducting political work as part of the struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

39. Members of the Women's Section should be involved in RPMC work in all regions where they exist to articulate women's issues.

#### Propaganda:

1. More women should be encouraged to take up journalism so as to facilitate both internal and international propaganda on the South African women's struggle.

2. Women's programmes should be encouraged on Radio Freedom. A committee should be formed to look into what sort of women's programmes should be broadcast over Radio Freedom, and how to organise these.

3. Our propaganda should depict the fighting women of our country in posters, badges, stickers, etc, not apologetic women at the expense of shunning the armed struggle.

4. Our VOW should take the format of a journal like Speak (Durban) to include issues which will attract a broad readership like educational political crosswords, fighting photos, cartoons, African languages, etc.

5. Major campaigns like the one to save Theresa Ramashamola's life should be properly planned and highlighted in our work.

6. Urgent attention must be paid to propaganda. VOW must not be allowed to be an unclear, irregular whisper from afar but it must be an authoritative, agitational, clear clarion call from the midst of the women which implies that it must take up topical burning issues; it must give clear direction; it must urge women to battle. The same applies to our radio programmes, which must chart the way forward. We have to work on sophisticated means of distribution inside the country.

7. The existing printing information units inside the country doing our work must be fully utilised.

8. VOW should receive special attention. It is felt that it is very weak, and has failed to meet the expectations of many comrades, especially insofar as addressing the issues and developments inside the country about women in particular.

#### Women in MK

All regions noted the low participation of women in MK and in combat work. They have an important role to play in this aspect of our work which the whole movement must seriously address, and came up with the following recommendations:

1. It was noted that at present no women's units or sub-committees on internal mobilisation of women exist in forward areas despite the recommendations of the NCC to have internal mobilisation structures existing at headquarters duplicated or set up in these areas to function within and under RPMC's. It was also noted that our work as regards internal mobilisation only ends with mass

political work as we are only represented in the political committee. This means we have little to say in the prosecution of the armed struggle. Following the observation it was recommended that the Women's Section should have representation in MHQ too, in order to enable it to be involved in decisions like recruitment, training and deployment of women cadres in all aspects of our struggle, especially those who have been actively involved in the women's movement at home, or are to be deployed in this field. This means an additional woman is needed in our PMC structures. The two representatives in the PC and MC will form part of the internal women's sub-committee of the Women's Section.



2. That a representative of the Women's unit sits on the RPMC in all forward areas to take care of politico-military work as regards women.
3. That the Women's Section and its personnel should be injected with the fighting attitudes in order to be home oriented.
4. That senior and elderly women be based in forward areas and regular visits and discussion be held with our women in the West, Forward Areas and Mazimbu by our Women's Secretariat and in particular the internal sub-committee.
5. The social base of our women in MK should be addressed which presently is from the young and student population. We need to recruit more working women from both rural and urban areas, young and old, into our army.
6. Politico-military trained women should be sent inside the country and into the forward areas to root MK among the women.
7. Women from MK going to give birth must not be treated as the demobilised lot. After the necessary period in Mazimbu they must be flung back into the actively fighting ranks so that child-birth does not become the devastating route to demobilisation.
8. A political-military training is a prerequisite for all of us in the Women's Section to be better equipped and disciplined to deal with the problems of the day.
9. There should be no discrimination against the training of women in intelligence and security work.
10. Women should master the art of people's war.
11. All-round involvement of women should be realised on the basis of the principle of positive discrimination in our army.
12. Our women should involve white women in facilitating armed propaganda by attacking targets which are deeply situated inside white areas, eg enemy personnel and installations.
13. That the transformation of the political army into a revolutionary army be accelerated in all parts of the country, especially in rural areas.

#### Education and Culture:

##### \* Education – Political and Academic

1. A career guidance committee should be formed wherein women will be considered and guided for courses they should take for their development. There must be trained personnel in career guidance which will be part of the scholarship committee.
2. Women should be represented in the National Scholarship Committee by an active person as the present representative is unable to do her duties due to ill health. The women's representative should be elected at the National Conference.
3. There must be flexibility when it comes to the two-year period of serving. Comrades who are qualified in fields which are not available in Mazimbu must immediately upon completion of their studies, be deployed in friendly countries to gain experience. While on these practicals, those comrades will fall under and be guided by the ANC and will have to report back after a specified period as agreed between the ANC and the place where the practicals are carried out.
4. All qualified personnel should come back and report to Mazimbu. Political maturity should be the guiding factor for the qualified cadres to work for the movement. Departments which have problems with manpower should consider the issue of incentives.
5. Adult education should be strengthened among women to develop them, and women in the Kate Molale Centre should be given special attention. Central Administration should immediately remove the comrades who do not qualify to be at the Kate Molale Centre.
6. Women inside the country should be encouraged to join adult education.
7. Women at home should be at the forefront to demand an alternative education for their children. More and more campaigns should be organised for better education.
8. Women should increase their participation in the organs of people's power and people's education.



9 Training among young and old women must be intensified. It is not enough to have women who are loyal and dedicated to the movement but have no qualifications. For the future South Africa more women should be trained in specialised fields.

10. Women who have completed their courses should be deployed for the benefit of the movement. Women's Section should have a close relationship with DMD and the Education Department with women being represented.

11. That the Women's Section develops a programme of education and participation which recognises that the women come into the movement disadvantaged.

12. Educational programmes of our women should be established to combat illiteracy.

13. ANC party schools should be established in places like the West and Mazimbu

14. Cadres sent to the FMC (Cuban Women's School) should be with a specific purpose and level of cadres must be checked and not just sent to fill up space.

15. Properly laundered scholarships for cadres from home whom we want to study in specific areas, eg Roma, University of Botswana, etc should be sought and must be clean and not traceable to us.

16. We recommend a consistent political programme for the education of women with regularised evaluation.

17. Training of women in specialised fields such as child psychology, clinical psychology, social work, logistics etc is of major importance for a future South Africa.

18. The movement should train women drivers, especially for them to accomplish their political work and that of the movement in general.

19. Projects committees of the NWS should be able to arrange that regional treasurers be sent for short courses concerning the drawing up of projects and bookkeeping.

#### \* Culture:

1. Cultural organisations at home should be encouraged to spread the ANC policy and bring more women to participate in the struggle.

2. Cultural groups should be encouraged to depict the conditions of women under apartheid.

3. Women should be encouraged to participate in cultural activities. They should also be given scholarships to study the expressive arts and be encouraged to broaden their knowledge of other cultures.

4. There should be a policy in the ANC that the beating of women should be forbidden and steps should be taken by the movement against anyone violating it.

5. Constant contact with local government women's organisations should be maintained and meetings, debates, seminars and conferences and political gatherings should be held to develop our women. Cultural activities should be strengthened for the sake of exchanging cultural experiences.

6. Organisations like Fedsaw, UDF Women's Alliance should be encouraged to form cultural organisations and bring more women to participate in the struggle.

7. It was stated that we should not confine our culture to the performing arts only but to broaden it to areas such as the upbringing of our children to give them as broad an experience as possible while ensuring that they also acquire the distinctive South African culture.

8. Units of people's culture established in urban areas should be extended to the countryside.

#### \* Women's Emancipation:

Several regions discussed this and felt that the movement should seriously address this question, based on the belief that the emancipation of women is closely linked to the struggle for national liberation. Thus they came with the following recommendations:

1. The movement must implement the Kabwe resolutions on women.

2. The Bill of Rights of Women must be drawn.



3. That the movement have a programme addressing contradictions existing between traditions and progress — which largely affects women in the rural areas — as a way of fighting against negative attitudes towards women.
4. We must seriously take concrete steps to destroy complexes between the sexes by giving women challenging tasks and responsibilities with the aim of developing leadership qualities among them.
5. Conference should assist in devising ways and means of assisting women to be able to handle both their revolutionary obligations and social responsibilities.
6. Women should examine themselves on whether they also help perpetuate attitudes among men.
7. Lobola should be scrapped.
8. To conduct women's political seminars.
9. Women should be encouraged to attend party and trade union schools.
10. Women should be encouraged to educate themselves and follow current events at home and internationally.

### Women, Children and Health

#### \* Children

The situation of children in South Africa was discussed in most regions centring on their education, the presence of the SADF in schools, their health, detentions and torture. From these discussions the following recommendations were made:

1. To campaign for the immediate withdrawal of the police, SADF and their puppets from schools.
2. To call for the introduction of compulsory education up to matric, and science subjects should be compulsory.
3. Women should take part in establishing people's schools.
4. To fight against child labour.
5. To join democratic forces in the fight against the age limit, call for the free and compulsory education and other demands.
6. More young women must join forces like Sayco and women should encourage their children to participate in political activities.
7. More women should be involved in the campaign to free the children.
8. More women and men to take up Child Care courses, and people who do so should really have love for the children.
9. All children's institutions in Mazimbu and Dakawa, including the Primary Boarding Section, should be manned by qualified personnel.
10. The Health policy makers should see to it that children's institutions have social workers, psychiatric nurses, paediatric nurses and public health nurses.
11. We call upon the community to take part in caring for the children in the Boarding Sections. This should not be seen as the work solely for the teachers and matrons. Parents should show exemplary behaviour to their children.
12. People who are arriving from home and are sent to Dakawa for orientation must be politically matured before they are sent to Somafco or abroad for studies. In this regard the Orientation Centre in Dakawa should be staffed with qualified political instructors.
13. The state of affairs at the Primary School of the division between teachers, boarding staff and students should be looked into by the higher structures of the organisation.
14. A child policy should be proposed and adopted.
15. A children's journal that spreads revolutionary ideas should be established.
16. There should be a Masupatsela programme on Radio Freedom.
17. Recreational centres under the auspices of progressive women's organisations should be established for cultural development of children.
18. Pioneer organisations inside and outside should be formed.
19. Since children are a sub-system of a family unit system, they should not only be identified with women but also with men for their upbringing and care.



### Health for Women and Children

This topic was thoroughly discussed by most regions in relation to the apartheid health policy, its strategy of family planning and the position of health within the movement. The following recommendations were made:

1. Mass organisations to be encouraged to create people's health centres.
  2. More health workers, especially nurses, must be mobilised into the struggle for the seizure of power.
  3. Campaign against the use of dangerous contraceptives and the whole regime's strategy of family planning must be intensified.
  4. All comrades upon joining the organisation must be medically examined and periodically the general membership must be examined.
  5. In cases where the medical status of the patient requires emergency treatment abroad, the Health Department at all levels should make every effort to make arrangements as quickly as possible, and the Women's Section should intervene.
  6. Family life education should be emphasised and taught in the community.
  7. Contraceptives/condoms – due to the world alert to combat the AIDS disease, it was felt that these should be supplied adequately to our communities, and also to prevent unplanned pregnancies.
- Since we do not get enough from donors, the Health Secretariat should be contacted to assist.
8. Elderly men/women are victims of TB, hypertension, diabetes etc. Even though these can be treated locally, it was felt that for psychological reasons these comrades should be sent on rest and cure to have a change of environment once once a year or in two years. It was felt that as these have been contributing to the struggle for a long time, they become victims of these diseases which are a result of the stress they suffered. The Women's Section, together with the NEC, should look into this matter. Not only places offered to ANC should be considered, for they are very few, but contacts be made with other women's organisations to organise such places in other countries.
  9. Young mothers should be encouraged to attend the Under Five Clinic. This appeal is to be made through the Zonal Women's Section.
  10. AIDS: It was suggested that suspected victims should be screened.
  11. More comrades should be sent to school for radiography, since the ANC Holland Hospital has the equipment.
  12. Movement to consider legalising abortion to avoid 'bush' abortions.
  13. That the two years 'punishment' be abolished for Somafo. Instead we should have mothers given six months to remain with the child, after which the child may be sent to the child care centre and the mother goes back to school. During this period the father should not go abroad to study. He must remain with the family. In case he is Somafo, he should be allowed to continue at school.
  14. Health Department should send information on Aids and other sexually transmitted diseases to all regions or even hold seminars to educate both male and female comrades.
  15. The Health Department can also be of great help in emphasising the question of families staying together to prevent/avoid extra-marital relations, which spreads sexually transmitted diseases and Aids.
  16. Psychological help to be sought for those children who have been victims of the detention camps and torture.



### International Mobilisation

This topic was discussed by our regions based on the present upsurges of the masses of our people and the growing isolation of the regime by the international community, which we need to intensify. The following recommendations came up:

1. The regime should further be exposed to and condemned by the international community for its brutality against our people.
2. We should escalate the campaign for the total isolation of the regime politically, economically and in all spheres.
3. That we escalate and broaden our presence especially in areas where little or no work has been done.
4. We should increase our mobilisation of the Front Line States, especially with migrant workers.
5. The Women's Section should strengthen its relations with existing Women's Peace movements despite their ideological outlook with the sole purpose of the isolation of the regime.
6. Due to the demands and growth of the women's movement, all regions should have ANC Women's Section full-time representatives.
7. To keep members fully informed of decisions, strategy and tactics, conference papers should be compiled, edited and distributed as standard procedure following every important conference.
8. To obviate serious delays and ensure greater efficiency, it was essential that the regional women's committee appoint a representative to the logistics/fund raising committee. It is important that the Women's Secretariat discuss how to improve communication, requests and responses to regional needs. Very often speedy responses are required in order not to miss out on donations.
9. In the context of a declining membership in the UK of traditional working class organisations, and the parallel growth of loosely organised groups of various strands of the 'women's movement' and 'networking', we need to pay attention to the changing nature of women's organisations. Agreed that the regional committee finds new ways of approaching women in their various formations. It is necessary to identify suitable organisations and use the directories produced by many of the international networks. While it is necessary to be selective due to our person-power circumstances, we need to concentrate on communication and systematic contact through publicity, appeals etc and better use of our publicity material. We need to have a working knowledge of the organisations we are dealing with.
10. To do the above it was recommended that we identify the issues around which women can be mobilised eg reproductive rights, forced removals, water, health etc, produce the relevant material and then use such material to effectively broaden and develop our contacts.
11. Participation in international conferences: Essential that delegates to conferences be fully briefed on the nature of the conference, its participation and what results we can expect to achieve. This includes material aid, as it can be embarrassing to ask for aid for a project already being funded by the host/organisers. Information must be effectively channeled. This is the responsibility of both the Women's Secretariat and the Regional Committee.
12. We need publicity material about our achievements as well as about the problems of women and children, eg. our day care centres. This can be key to fundraising in such areas as the UK. Lusaka should let us know of urgent requirements. Publicity material as outlined is urgently required to be produced.
13. Conference strongly recommended that the proposed International Conference on Genocide be urgently convened.
14. To meet the demands placed upon the regional women's section, it is necessary for all women to make themselves available for tasks assigned by the Women's Committee.
15. In view of the move to dilute and actually bring to an end our armed struggle, our women should, at all times, raise the need for revolutionary violence at international platforms and the involvement of our women in this aspect should be highlighted. We should call for more assistance for women in MK.



16. Constant briefing from the Women's Secretariat should be encouraged. Feedback should be a priority.
17. All regions that will not have Secretariat members should be visited frequently by Secretariat members for constant briefing and implementation of resolutions taken at the Women's Conference.
18. We recommend that regions be considered whenever there are international conferences.
19. Where possible, the general membership as well as the Women's Secretariat should be involved in choosing representatives to conferences and all other international events.
20. We call for the formation of support groups such as anti-apartheid organisations in Africa in general and in Southern Africa in particular.
21. We should maintain constant contact with women's organisations in all our host countries.
22. More women should be encouraged to take up journalism so as to facilitate both internal and international propaganda on the South African women's struggle.
23. Women's programmes should be encouraged in Radio Freedom.
24. Women should be encouraged to attend party and trade union schools.
25. Women should be encouraged to educate themselves and follow current events at home and internationally.
26. The movement should train women drivers, especially so that they may accomplish political work.
27. There is an urgent need for the international community to know about the new South African holocaust, which is designed for our children. More detailed information needs to be made available to all units as soon as possible so that immediate action can be taken.
28. There is need for information, reports, photographs or videos about ANC Women's projects in Tanzania, Zambia and Angola. Fund raising is much for effective when people can 'see' evidence of the actual project.
29. We need a range of different types of projects and campaigns that appeal to different constituencies of supporters.
30. Guidance should be given to regions on how to respond to those organisations who would like to fund projects inside the country.

#### Structures:

The structure of the Women's Section was thoroughly discussed by our regions. It should be noted that some regional discussions were based on two documents, namely the structure document presented at the Council, and the structure document prepared by the Women's Secretariat after Council. Some regions considered both while others only the one. It was felt that without a thorough and well-defined structure no organisation can function well and the question of accountability suffers most. The following observations, recommendations and amendments were made:

#### (A) Council Meeting, National Executive Committee and National Women's Secretariat

1. It was felt that the functions of the National Women's Executive Committee (NWEK) and the National Women's Secretariat were not clearly separated and were often intermingled. The NWS should be the implementing body of the NWEK, which is the policy-making body between councils.
2. The composition and tasks of the council is not dealt with in the document, but was discussed at Luanda.
3. It was suggested that instead of a representative from each region attending the council, it should be specified that council should include the chairperson or secretary of the Regional Women's Committees. This would prevent selection of persons who may not be fully involved in the work of the RWC, and allow for better representation and reporting back. It would also ensure that the chairperson and secretary between them accept the responsibility of representing the region at Council meetings.



4. That conference elect the National Women's Committee, from which the Secretariat, the implementing body, will come.
5. Minutes of the Council/Extended meeting of the secretariat be submitted to all regions.

#### Tasks of the Women's Section

1. It was felt that the tasks of educating the entire movement, both men and women, on the nature of oppression should be incorporated as a specific task of the Women's Section.
2. It is recommended that insofar as care of children is concerned, male comrades should also be involved as this is not necessarily a task of women only.

#### Tasks of the National Women's Secretariat

1. In clause three thereunder delete all words after 'recommend new initiatives ...'
2. Add new clause: Council shall determine the work of the secretariat, the implementing body of the NWECC.
3. It is recommended that the Secretariat should consider adopting a system of making every member of the Secretariat responsible to a specific region or regions. In this way members will be able to brief the secretariat about developments in their specific regions as well as being in constant touch with these regions through regular visits.
4. There should be more delegation of tasks by the secretariat, especially insofar as international speaking tours are concerned.

#### Duties of Education Officer and Logistics Officer

On the council structure add the words, 'where applicable' in each case.

#### Composition of the National Women's Secretariat

1. It is recommended that a health desk be created.
2. It is recommended that the secretary for education and culture be retained.

#### Tasks of the Head of the Women's Section

1. It is recommended that the head should try to visit all regions at least twice a year.

#### Tasks of the Administrative Secretary

1. It is strongly recommended that the administrative secretary should try by all means to be always in the office unless there is an emergency mission, and that there should be a deputy administrative secretary who will be a member of the National Women's Secretariat.

#### Sub-Committees

1. It is recommended that a sub-committee for education and culture be created.
2. It is recommended that a sub-committee for health be created.

#### Tasks of the Sub-Committee on Political Education

1. Add the following as clause 1 and 2 and renumber the rest.  
Shall assist in raising the political consciousness of all ANC members, through political education of men and women cadres on the three-fold oppression of black women.  
Shall ensure the political development of women cadres from unit to regional women's committees to end of sentence.



12/11

#### Tasks of the Internal Sub-Committee

It is recommended that the political, publicity and internal should work together especially on disseminating information that in turn would be passed downwards to the general membership. This committee has so far failed to do this task and thus needs to be reorganised.

It was noted that at present no women's units or sub-committees on internal mobilisation exist in some forward areas, despite the recommendations of the Kabwe Conference to have internal mobilisation structures existing at headquarters duplicated or also set up in these areas and even at home to function within and under RPMCs or APCs. It was also noted that at present, even at HQ, our work as regards internal mobilisation only ends with mass political work as we are only represented in the political committee. This means we have little to contribute in the prosecution of the armed struggle, one of the pillars of our struggle which women can play a major role as ours is a guerrilla war, a people's war which has to involve everybody and women constitute 50% of our population, and cannot be overlooked. Following this observation the following recommendations were made:

1. That the Women's Section should have representation in both the MC and the PC, in order to enable it to be involved in decisions like recruitment, training and deployment of women cadres in all aspects of our struggle, especially those who have been or are actively involved in the women's movement at home. This means an additional woman is needed in our PMC structures. The two representatives in the PC and MHQ will form part of the internal women's sub-committee for the Women's Section.
2. That a representative of the Women's unit sits on the RPMC in all forward areas to deal with the co-ordination of politco-military work as regards women.

#### Tasks of the Publicity Sub-Committee

It is recommended that the research units should be revived and that comrades in other regions could be made use of by this unit.

#### Tasks of the Projects and Finance Sub-Committee

It is recommended that:

1. The sub-committee should be revived and reinforced and that it must visit the regions to look at projects and assess them.
2. The problem encountered by the Women Section projects and finance committee with our national treasury insofar as release of funds and goods; knowing what funds have been raised by the women, and what information on what funds or goods have been donated for the Women's Section projects and finance committee must be raised strongly and a solution found, as these funds/goods were requested for specific reasons from the donors and the Women's Section is expected to acknowledge receipt and to account for the use of the funds to the donors.

#### Tasks of the Logistics Sub-Committee

It is recommended that clothing that is distributed in the Front Line areas should be more or less the same kind that is distributed in other areas, as the allowances that the comrades receive in the front areas is not enough.

#### Tasks of the Sub-Committee on International Affairs

1. In Clause 1 add words 'delegating where appropriate to the regional women's committee' to end of sentence.

#### Education and Culture

1. Secretary for Education and Culture should be maintained together.



### Tasks of the Children's Sub-Committee

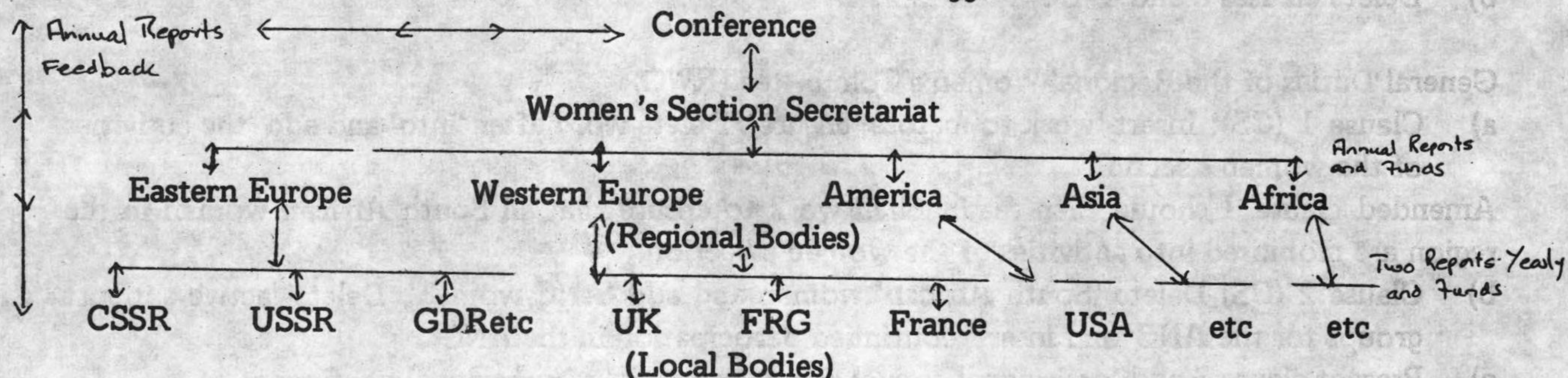
It is the general feeling of comrades that the committee is not functioning, to the detriment of the children. The committee is further requested to prepare material and embark on projects related to babies and expectant mothers.

### Regional Structures

This was thoroughly discussed and regions came with suggestions that:

General:

1. The RWC in Africa, where there are a large number of cadres for whom the organisation has total responsibility, require the type of composition recommended in the original document. But the sections in Western countries do not deal with the educational (academic) and material (supplies) needs of members in the region, but do international solidarity work. Thus a suggestion was made that the structure should allow for flexibility.
2. It was felt that there should be a structure allowing a free flow of information from the different regions to the Head Office and vice versa.
3. It was proposed that our people in different parts of the world should be organised at local and regional levels, and have a systematic and clear line of communication with the higher body. Here it was visualised that for example where all our students in Eastern Europe form women's sections in their respective host countries, these would serve as local bodies. In turn these local bodies would elect representatives to the regional body. This body would be responsible to the women's secretariat. The following diagram illustrates what is suggested:



We came to the conclusion that these regional bodies are necessary for the co-ordination of work abroad. Local structures may have two reports annually to the region. In turn, the region should report to the Women's Secretariat once a year about all the countries falling under the region. This also applies to funds. Each local body should contribute half its collections to regional secretariat, which in turn will find ways of channeling these funds to the Women's Section — it may be in a form of material bought locally and sent to the Women's Section. Furthermore, we feel that in order to have our structures functioning in a way which would meet the demands of this period of our struggle, a control committee should be created outside the executive of every structure, ie. local, regional or national. This committee's duty would be to see to it that all assignments are fulfilled and failing which the responsible person would be expected to give account for this and record be kept of the good contributions of the comrades as well as their bad activities. This is the way we would do away with all bureaucratic tendencies and this would also help us to know our members' way of life, or at least they would be known to the structures to which they belong, and this would help us in giving responsibilities to the people according to their abilities as reflected in their activities in their respective regions or structures. In short, we would bury nepotism and favouritism in our ranks.

### Section Headed Regional ANC Women's Section Structure (CCS)

- a) Clause 1: add words 'or the regional annual general meeting' at the end of the sentence.;
- b) Add new clause 2 and renumber the rest. Clause 2: The regional women's conference or the



regional AGM ammended clause 2 should then read: 'Shall organise all ANC women who, by virtue of their marriage, have assumed the nationality of their spouses, into continued active participation in the ANC'.

c) Clause 3 (CS) insert work toll before ensure.

d) Clause 4 (CS) delete 'supervise the implementation of' and insert 'implement'. Insert after 'recommendation of' the words 'the National Women's Executive Committee and'

Amended clause 4 would then read: 'Shall implement the decisions and recommendations of the National Women's Executive Committee and the National Women's Secretariat in the region'

e) Add new clause 5 and 6 and renumber the rest: (CS)

5. Shall mobilise the women on a regional basis to support the ANC.

6. Shall mobilise support on a regional basis for women participating in the liberation struggle.

7. It is recommended that the ANC must be requested to spell out its policy clearly insofar as the incorporation of comrades wives (who are not South African) into structures of the movement depending upon the prevailing political climate in each region, since these comrades can be involved in other structures like logistics, welfare, health projects, etc if they cannot become active members of the ANC. Otherwise these 'wives' only participate at the times of funerals and weddings in cooking, yet they can make a better contribution.

8. A woman who is a full-time member of the office staff, but who is in the office specifically to take care of Women's affairs, be introduced.

#### Duties of the RWC Chairperson

a) Clause 2 (CS) after 'assigned by' insert the words 'NWECA and'

b) Delete clauses 3 and 4 (CS)

#### General Duties of the Regional Women's Committee (RWC)

a) Clause 1 (CS): Insert 'work to' before 'ensure'. Delete word after 'into' and add 'the activities of the women's section'

Amended clause 1 should then read: 'Shall work to ensure that all South African women in the region are mobilised into activities of the Women's Section.

b) Clause 2 (CS) Delete 'South African' women and add 'ANC women'. Delete 'active support groups for the ANC' and insert 'continued participation in the ANC'

c) Present clause 3 add 'or regional annual general meeting' after regional conference.

#### Composition of Regional Women's Committee

From CS - Suggested amendment as follows:

'The composition of the regional women's committee shall be the chairperson, secretary, treasurer and any other personnel as are required by the region. In any region where an RPC and and ANC office exist, the RWC shall immediately fall under them, having one of its members seconded to the RPC, and the secretary where possible, and necessary, operating from the ANC or RPC office'.

2. Different regions discussed a structure applicable to their areas and came up with very detailed recommendations. The structures are different, e.g. in some areas they speak of zones, while in others of units, branches etc. In all each region has adapted the structure to its own peculiarities.

#### Women in the ANC

The position of women within the ANC was discussed by some regions. It was felt that women have a pivotal role within the movement. They are, by and large, responsible for holding home and family



together in the face of apartheid destruction. Yet we must ask if we are satisfied with the level of participation of women in the ANC. What is to be done, by women and the ANC as a whole, to improve the status of women? It is necessary for both men and women to be prepared for equality and while the onus finally rests on the women within our ranks to fight for women's liberation, the ANC must provide facilities to enable women's full participation. And this participation is meaningful only within the context of the overall struggle

South Africa as a whole has a very conservative approach to women. However, the ANC's policy has not been static over the years, and by the Fifties the ANC was clearly calling for greater participation of women by emancipating them from the home. But this stage there was a recognition of the responsibility of men and women in the struggle for women's emancipation. August 9, Women's Day, has kept this flame burning over the decades. During the height of the Sixties repression the women's struggle was severely affected. Internationally, the ANC women constantly organised international solidarity. It was in the Seventies that reorganisation really started again.

The 1981 Luanda Conference and the subsequent Year of Women are milestones in our history of women's struggle. The women's question also received a lot of attention at Kabwe, including the proposal to draw up a Women's Bill of Rights. How far have these recommendations been implemented?

The paper on structure of the Women's Section (from the Secretariat) proposes that it is the National Women's Council that should be elected, as the secretariat is the implementing body. There should be greater delegation of international work to regions, which should assume greater responsibility for their areas. It is essential to look at how to make women's participation real, and find out the processes involved to do this.

The discussions noted that the ANC has in fact been saying much the same thing about women's emancipation and participation for over 30 years. It is time to make this participation meaningful. It is necessary to look at views expressed at home, to look at our traditions, and, possibly through workshops, educate our women and men. Boys should be taught to do their share of the housework and men should be made more aware of the fact that women's emancipation requires changes in men's attitudes and behaviour as well.

It was strongly pointed out that the issue of women's liberation is not, of itself, divisive. What is important is the way in which issues are raised. It is essential that women's emancipation is dealt with within the overall strategy of national liberation, but it cannot be 'left' until afterwards. Both women and men's conditioning is very strong and must be combatted. Women should also help each other. Men should be an integral part of the discussion and process, so that they can also become aware that women are not only 50% of the population, but constitute 50% of the struggle. It is essential that a thorough analysis be made of both the active and supportive role played by women so as to enhance and understand both aspects.

It was felt that a revolutionary who has a strong family backing is better poised to fulfil his/her revolutionary duties. Despite the fact that our situation demands that we put aside personal interests and put more effort towards the attainment of our freedom, it was still felt that our movement has a duty to try to make our lives as close to normal as possible. Having considered the prob-

lems encountered in separating families, especially young couples, it was concluded that it would be proper to keep families together. Only under extremely demanding situations should there be a deviation from this. Our families should automatically be representative of the ANC policy and outlook and serve as a basic school where our children should learn ANC politics. Where there are problems we should intervene in time to save the situation to benefit our struggle.

Positive discrimination in favour of women should be practiced in the movement as a step towards equality. Men must be ready to give up some privileges in order to uplift women. Many regions expressed opposition to a mechanistic approach to the women's question, as some com-



rades usually vulgarise this to the level of saying 'it means women must do all the heavy work done by men while men are expected to wash napkins'. Women have an additional duty to the society of being mothers of the nation. However, it was admitted that technological developments and improvements in material conditions solve some of these questions. Thus the problem can be solved by a common struggle against capital. But the movement cannot postpone the women's question. It must be addressed now in the interests of the struggle. We still have, within our ranks, women political organisers undermined by men. Good ideas are ignored because they come from a woman. Some women come into conflict with their husbands who cannot allow them to go out to meetings with men, especially up to late hours of the night, and yet our work demands this of us. All these hangups are to the disadvantage of our struggle, and conference must give attention to these issues.

#### General

1. It was recommended that prominent women who have been active at home and come out into exile should be immediately integrated into the Women's Section.
2. For women to gain experience and confidence they should be encouraged to take up challenging responsibilities.
3. When there are delegations from home, women should be part of the delegation.
4. Women feel that the issue of family relationships in exile has not been addressed fully. Though it was discussed in the last conference and the NEC promised to meet representatives of different departments on this question, it is still a very complex problem. It is not only a socio-political issue but a health one too. It was therefore recommended and emphasised that comrades deployed in external missions or studying somewhere, especially post-graduates where such facilities exist, and where it is not possible for appropriate arrangements to be made for the other spouse to be well treated. The latter part refers to 'foreigners' married to our male comrades. We tend to forget them when their husbands have left, even in terms of supplies etc. As to those deployed to schools and if it is not possible for them to be together, they should be allowed to visit once a year.