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STATE OF THE NATION AND NATIONAL CONGRESS REPORT BACK STATEMENT
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EASTERN CAPE ANC YOUTH LEAGUE REGIONAL CONGRESS

09TH AUGUST 1991

Members of the Youth League, members of the ANC, Comrades, I am honoured to be here today, to address this historic Congress of the life blood of our struggle.

Following our historic National Congress held in Durban, this congress, is as important as that congress, because, you are the future leaders of the ANC and the liberation struggle in general; Because, you are the ANC. The delegation you sent to represent you at the Congress, the newly elected NEC members, your branch and regional executive members, are representatives, mandated and accountable to you.

Secondly, this congress is crucial because many of you will have heard of the resolutions of the Congress from the TV and commercial media. Their selective and consciously biased reports can only be challenged and understood, after you have had a first hand report from your delegates. And the opportunity to question and analyse the work of Congress.

Like the National Congress, this congress, is not taking place in a vacuum. The business of Congress, the decisions, and resolutions, were all taken in the context of the general and specific events influencing and determining our political and policy decisions, and events both at our present conjuncture, and in terms of our strategies and tactics. All GSCSLOTS taken, are aimed to bring us nearer to realising our overall strategic goal, viz, THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE PEOPLE!:

It is important therefore that, before giving you an overview of congress, we reflect briefly on the present State of the Nation.

Then I:

then analyse how, and why, decisions were taken in the light of this analysis.

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The first part of this address will deal with those political and economic issues, which has a bearing on our work at Congress. : will then go on to summarise the constitutional, organisational, strategy and tactics, debates, which will affect the day to day work of all members, and the programme of action, which we will have to work out; locally, regionally and nationally.

We must ensure that the work of Congress is transformed into mass action, in support of our strategic and organisational goals.

Without mass participation, and increased active work of all our members, not only will congress remain as an important historic event in our history of struggle, but our opponents will

win the strategic initiatives and acclaim by default, as a result of our inaction.

When we try to understand the State of the Nation today, the view most of us have, is that presented by the state controlled media" and the opinions of big business and monopoly capital, who own the commercial press. According to this view, F.w. De Klerk, almost single handedly, and overnight, has managed to persuade the international community to lift sanctions, to welcome S.A. back into the international sport and the community of nations. He has achieved this because he killed apartheid by ridding the statute books of all the racist laws as he had promised to do, by the 30 June 1991.

How valid is the view of F.w. and his government? What obstacles 'still remain and will continue to retard the negotiation process? We may not have our own media, but we have our branch meetings, our mass rallies, and our door to door work. Through all these channels, we must work to correct the distortions and misrepresentations of this current view.

It is not F.w. De Klerk's victory!! It is a victory of the struggling masses, of our fallen patriots, of MK, of the ANC, SACP and COSATU, of all of us who have sacrificed in one way or another, so that the oppressed and exploited in this country, will be free. The youth in particular, have played an exceptional role in our struggle for freedom. Many of you have been at the barricades and at the forefront of our struggle; Some have fallen in battle, others have been imprisoned, detained, hounded from their homes and schools. You have experienced the harsh repression of the State, grown up in an atmosphere of violence and conflict, sacrificed your schooling and further education, and become full-time activists, in the cause of liberation. It is your victory we are speaking about. Through your efforts, the minority, racist regime was forced to abandon the vicious, inhumane apartheid system. This isolation and 'bankruptcy, forced the state to review its policies and ideology. The international community may feel it is now in their interests to re-instate economic investments, and trade with this country. In 1985, political instability, mass and worker struggles, forced them to reassess the profitability and viability of propping JD :u

the apartheid edifice.

Apartheid and massive state repression was initially compatible with economic growth and profitability, it is no longer so now. Foreign investments and international trade will only become a viable and profitable venture, when power has finally been transferred to the people, and peace and stability has returned to this land. Until this has been achieved, A LUTA CONTINUAL! The pace, form and content of this change, will be determined by the people, in the interests of all the people in South Africa. It is in this context, that the conditional and selective re-assessment of the sanctions tactic must be understood. Alongside the sanctions debate, is the sports boycott. This was an important tactic used, in our strategy to isolate the apartheid regime. We have not abandoned this weapon in our struggle. What needs to be grasped, is that here again, we have seized the strategic initiative. Our major objective here is to institute a programme of affirmative action now. Unity of sport

bl 1-3 at every level, is only a stage in the process. We insist
 that the unity programme is accompanied by, training of our
 men and women, the opening up and development of sporting
 facilities, from school to national level. Your vigilance and
 the need to expose the gross inequalities which exist, will be
 crucial for this initiative to work, not only at the level of
 ,5111.- but with regard to health, education, housing, cultural
 13h TESITZET we? Inequality.
 began with the International because this, above all, was
 selected by the media to report on. It was not by mistake that this
 followed the ANC Congress. The world was waiting for Congress for
 a sign of flexibility. We must retain the initiative in our
 1. The hitherto 'zhgmf' 69 "Mi ill .hshiremain 57 conditional and
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 13 again, an understanding of the State of the Nation is
 critical and I wish to dwell on three aspects in particular.
 1. First, the balance of forces;
 2. Then negotiations as a theatre of struggle and
 3. lastly, our organisational preparedness for the struggle
 ahead.
 In the Final section, we will look briefly at our strategy and
 tactics and policies, which are formulated to ensure that the ANC
 and its allies are able to continue their offensive to end the
 racial system of Apartheid, and to ensure that a non-racial,
 non-sexist, united, democratic South Africa is installed
 in 1994 place.
 Where to so we understand by the balance of forces?
 0 the unbanning of the ANC, the SACP and MK. we talked
 a broad anti-apartheid front, of all democratic forces in
 8509
 this country. The major strategic goal of that Broad Front was.
 the isolation of the apartheid regime, the unbanning of our
 organisations, and the dismantling of apartheid. The Conference
 73: 1 Democrat's Conference -uture held in Johannesburg, in December 1989,
 brought 31; these forces together. Finally the ANC in exile.
 1:3: since its efforts to isolate the apartheid regime
 have been hampered.
 7313/ the goals of this process: on the one hand, to a large extent.
 seem to be -so, out not entirely. We will return to this later.
 if recently, there has been a re-alignment of political forces.
 First, with the unbannings of the ANC and SACP; second with the
 NP: ready to delete many of the apartheid laws, and third,
 because negotiations, as an important theatre of struggle, has in
 itself resulted in a battle which I shall call, the politics of
 3: 11hces. It is in the context of the new politics of alliances.
 that our strategies and tactics and organisational work will
 unroll.
 There has been a polarisation at political forces in South
 Africa. since the unbanning of the ANC and SACP in February 1990.
 The 20 major contenders in this struggle for power, are the
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 National Party, backed by the state security apparatus, the SADF

tr media and big business, against its major contender, the
AFZCAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and its allies, the SACP and COSATU.
Cl::ing round these two contenders, are minority parties,
oraanisations, and floating individuals and tendencies, who
a; is have no hope of securing power in a democratic
S: 'h Africa.

The ANC, since the formation of the Congress movement in the
19fjis, and as a liberation movement, has always been the leading
farce in a broad multi class, non-racial alliance, with our
prihclpal allies, the SACP and COSATU. The UDF was a popular
front which aligned all democratic, non-racial forces which
aatgeate :mthew Ereeacmm12h t1a31111h15119apgia111front strategy,
woelod together a broad alliance of forces into a mighty
ooaonent, able to isolate the racist minority regime and force it
to ab abandon the apartheid system.

From this popular.front strategy, we are now moving towards the
formation of a Patriotic Front. The formation of the Patriotic
Front will be a tactical alliance to achieve the following goal:

- The calling for an Interim Government, which will oversee the
holding of a non- racial, one-person-one-vote elections, to a
Ionstituent Assembly. -

we will need two thirds majority in the Constituent Assembly,
secure a Iconstitution which will serve the interests of all
th Africans, and which will encourage the principle of
3f'irmative action to redress the apartheid legacies suffered by
.e aopressed and exploited, the Patriotic Front Alliance will be
'3n:: al, tactical pillar in our struggle ahead.

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if we succeed in welding the Patriotic Alliance behind
will spell outright defeat to: the NP and its allies
The NP has therefore gone on the offensive to break the
ic alliance between ourselves, the SACP and COSATU, to
the realisation of a Patriotic Front. Let us loox at how
e worked to achieve this. How successful have they been?
challenges face us :0 prevent their offensive from

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counter revoluti onary strategy :

soon the surrogate TOICES moat :e

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P has the power to ensure a peaceful
y or oinary people oesiring peace ano
sziiity, are fed by the te oropoganda ano the meoia, and
told that the ANC intolerant of other political views,
they disregard peace, ano slow down economic progress ano

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ause unemployment, throughn their mass actions and calls for
se':l:ns. They further xi;;l?y the ANC by :eo-baiting, in a bio
t: :estroy our alliance with :he SACP. As an organisation, we
ha a seen deflected from auilding ano democratising our
st:l::u:es, as our leaoerc have seen forced to assume the role
rc's 3f fire-fighting, oeball'ng with one crisis after another.
Prtlises to release all :olitical orisoners, and indemnify all
exlles, forced us to Focas :n mass action campaigns away from
CITE? eo ually important issues.

Ttll further weakened our Struggle. Crisis in eoucation, housing,

la e, and health, continued to occupy people locally. More
ametlance work was necessary. Our strategic priorities were
011:;3t80. We failed to convince the oppressed and the
excioiteo, that our major strategic goal is, and will continue to
be. the transfer of power to the people. Only when power is in
the hands of the majority, will we be able to transform health,
euucation. land policy? etcVTry all our struggles around these
issues 1.1 ' 1

must be aimed at the achievemeht of this goal. We are not trying
to teform the apartheid structures, but transform them.

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Tc :0 this,we need to win political power.

With its double agenga, the .NP is proclaiming its desire for
peaceful negotiations T on ThE"bheThahd5 while waging War against
our Jeople On the other.

Ad: . to their strategy, they are quietly going about adopting
our strategy of alliance, popular front politics.

How successful have they been? By declaring the NP as non- racial
they have succeeded in a limited way in recruiting apartheid's
beneficiaries to their side. So we see a move by their
tri-cameral partners to join the NP.

The second tactic was to say the SACP is unchristian and since we
refuse t separate ourselves from the SACP1 the ANC is also
uncnristian. By this tactic, they hope to win over the
incecehdent African Churches, some of whom count their membershio
in their millions.

Anether tactic long used, is to divide and disorganise our forces
by Terming ethnic divisions. portraying the violence as
thse-Zulu conflict. And supporting the theses that the ANC is
precaminantly a Xhosa party, is a taCtic to intensify Givision.
Aoaltheid aha the Bantustan system in particular, was oevised to
divise South Africa into racial and ethnic compartments: whilst
premctihg ethnic nationalisation is opposition to :frican
hatishelisetion. The MP has not aha will hot. surrencer this

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aseect 3f apartheid ideology. Zn oursuit of dividing the
Op::essec aehina our backs, aha with massive financial resource;
at :;s cisoosal, the NP is :usy setting as strange ooit1'
aa::_ee lh every oantustan. The :0? :7 :he CiSKEL ehaer ecozo 13
the LateSt. These parties, aaCKec by bantustan ao'ice anc
armles.are chargec with eSta Diishihg ethnic parties. using the
:nkatha mocel ano violence lf it oecomes exoecient. These
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oar: '''' h parties, along with 2:: tamerall partners. are seen by
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: e NF as their allies in an ant1-nNC alliance.

How successful will the NP be in winning these forces to their
si:e? eere we need to pose the Question differehtl y and say,
rather. - given that 56% of the S.A. people present71 y reside in
t.e tahtust ans, - how successfu; vil; the ANC be in winning that
ma;;:1:y of the people to their sice?

The LhKathagate scanoal is an exposure of the De KlerK
Government 5 grand strategy of Ge Stahi lisation and co- option.
The ANC has timeously accused the police of being impartial in
the .iolence in the townshies ans in the factories.

This funding scandal is a croouct of state violence aha
coileaarati on with Inkatha. Again, in their agenda, they want to
builc a. South African Muzerewa, who will derail the course to the

The question brings us back to the Congress and the work we must do as a result of decisions taken at Congress. Our immediate focus will, of necessity, be clearing the remaining obstacles to negotiations. There are still political prisoners in jail; exiles in their tens of thousands are still waiting to return; but, above all, the violence and war against our people must end before we sit down to negotiate. In this latter context, the new role for MK and the formation of defence committees was a central aspect of our deliberations and this will be reported on by our Youth League comrades.

Second, in managing the period of transition, we will need to understand the importance of First ensuring that the Tri-partite Alliance is built into a fighting force. As a fighting force, we can enter the Patriotic Front, confident of our common strategic priorities and goals. The Patriotic Front will be the main instrument to ensure the balance of forces are in our favour. In this crucial respect, we will have to review our policies with regard to former collaborators and apartheid puppets; our continued policy of isolating these groups will result either in violence, or driving them into the NP camp. These former collaborators are undoubtedly beneficiaries of the apartheid system, but they are also its victims. A national conference is to be held on this whole issue, in the near future. Discussions must begin now, at branch level. We cannot go to the All Party Conference without this question resolved.

Finally, in managing this period of transition, our organisational preparedness for the tasks ahead, must be evaluated. Here democracy and the democratisation of all our structures, was a central feature of Congress deliberations.

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elections and finalisation of the ANC constitution.

Affirmative action as a principle was accepted with regard to promoting and supporting the emancipation of women in all activities and structures.

Our organisational machinery and capacity, our report back mechanisms, mechanisms of accountability and recall, all come under the spotlight. Are we geared to mass action, do we have the capacity to contest elections for a Constituent Assembly? Recruitment and the active involvement of our membership on a day to day basis, not only in mass campaigns, was discussed. These and many other issues, regarding organisation and recruitment, will be discussed and workshoped by the branch members; For, without a strong, active and committed membership, the ANC will lose its vanguard position in the struggle.

Finally, the commission on strategy and tactics, re-affirm all the pillars of our struggle and argue the view that since we have not yet entered the transitional stage, it was necessary to remain as a national liberation movement, which represented and continued to struggle for the liberation of all the oppressed and exploited in our country.

Given our very full programme, policy issues were not debated in any depth, but Congress resolved that a National Policy Conference would be held shortly, to hammer out our policies on the economy, education, local government, health etc.

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There was common agreement that above all, it is the ANC's policies which will serve to win us support and ensure the success of our alliances, our organisational strength and the support of all the freedom loving, democratic forces in South Africa and the world community of Nations.

As our President once said:- "THERE IS NO EASY WALK TO FREEDOM"

A LUTA CONTINUA