

LuM/021/0008/01



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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The Tasks of the DIP in the Current Period.

1:1. The new situation that has arisen inside our country as a result of the unbanning of the ANC, the SACP and other people's organisations has been recognised in the recent NWC statement. It says among other things:

" We need to consider the opening of offices and information centres inside the country."

As a Department, the DIP wishes to place the following recommendations before the NEC for consideration and immediate action.

1:2. The DIP has a central role to play in ensuring that the presence of the ANC is seen and felt in every corner of our country, by every segment of the society and by every possible constituency, including those that are diametrically opposed to us. This requires a massive multi-pronged propaganda and information exercise that will familiarise everyone with the policies, the ideas and programme of the ANC in language, symbols and concepts that are easily grasped assimilated and with which our people can identify.

1:3. Thus far our propaganda has been directed at awakening the sense of common national grievance and arouse a sense of their latent power and capacity to change their situation among the people. This we have successfully done and galvanised our people to act in unity and around a series of issues that demonstrate not merely a grasp of single and particular grievances but an understanding that these are rooted in a system.

The task now is to activate and inspire the people into every form of self-activity expressive of their self-confidence and self-knowledge as their own liberators. The ANC and its allies, the MDM and the general movement for national democratic transformation of our country must be seen and embraced as their movement and their instrument for bringing about the transformations we seek. It must have visibility, it must be a constant and ever-growing presence, addressing their needs and also giving them direction in terms of their satisfaction.

2:1. Channels of Communication:

These must include the visual; oral/aural; written. Of these the

most immediately effective is the visual and pictorial because it requires no skill to assimilate the ideas. In this category we must include: Posters;

- Pictures;
- T Shirts;
- Stickers;
- Flags and emblems;
- Video tapes;
- Films;
- Slide shows.

2:2. Visual: Since we are legal it is theoretically possible to cover every conceivable surface with an ANC message everyday and every week, in every written and spoken language in South Africa. The same applies to pictures, stickers, etc. We should therefore immediately produce at least twelve different poster designs, with the appropriate slogans and other messages in every spoken and written language in South Africa. All these can be immediately reproduced as stickers, T Shirts; buttons and on other items of clothing. The

ANC artists must be activated for this purpose forthwith and sympathizers around the world should be mobilised to assist. To be effective the designs must not only be bold, they must be aesthetically pleasing, exciting and hard-hitting.

2:3. Flags and Banners: We must immediately requisition through our friends in Britain a bold and imaginative design for an ANC banner/s for use on public demonstrations and other manifestations. We must also produce one for the Women's Section and the Youth and Students. Such an imaginative design must then be the prototype for reproduction inside the country in as many numbers as we can manage. The banners should depict not only the ideas central to our programme but also the notion of the people as their own liberators. This must be artistic and not hagiographic. Every conceivable region, district, town/city and locality which we have even the slightest presence in must have its banner which contains something or other distinguishing it from other places. (E.g. the Witwatersrand Region banner could contain Mine headgear denoting the golden city).

This variety will have the virtue of giving the impression of strength at all demonstration, mass conferences where different regions are represented.

Smaller flags, ranging from the 6 feet x 3 feet, display flags to smaller hand-held ones must be produced in their thousands and distributed for people to hoist and wave when and wherever they can.

2:4. Emblems: We have over the years produced ear-rings, cups and saucers, pens, decorative pins, badges, note pads and a host of other visible items carrying ANC logos and emblems. These must now begin to flood the country in every possible form.

2:5. Video and film shows:

The ANC video Unit and other sympathetic bodies have produced a host of material of propaganda worth. There are the videos of the Amandla Ensemble, the Free Mandela Concert at Wembley, CASA 1987 and various other ANC activities, news videos, and discussions on a variety of topics. In addition there are the purely information and documentary ones. All these must now be made widely available inside the country. On film there are a handful of materials which can be of some propaganda use. We must now orient our video and film unit towards both the collection of news and the preparation of stimulating and informative video materials. We will be able to call upon our friends in other parts of the world to assist us in increasing and improving our output.

To ensure that these materials reach the widest possible audience the ANC must give consideration to a propaganda caravan/s which will house a large video screen, VCR equipment and speakers. This can then be used to travel from location to location putting on various video shows that carry an ANC message. If we couple this with a street theatre troupe it can be even more effective. Thus far the video material reaching home are seen only by the elite who have electricity in their homes and VCRs. We need to get this to large numbers of people in the townships, the shanty-towns and small out of the way villages and dorps.

The propaganda caravan will also be equipped to stage shows in small halls and schoolrooms in out of the way places. It must therefore also have its own power source so as not to be constrained by the absence of electricity.

We should get the cooperation of shopkeepers, especially in the townships and other black areas to use their large display windows to house a TV and VCR which can run a number of such materials especially in the evenings and on Saturdays. These can range from light entertainment to talk-shows and other materials. These very same methods can be applied to Slide shows.

3:1.Oral/Aural: Over the years we have employed street broadcasts . records and cassette tapes to communicate the message to our people. We are now in a position to augment these with the use of sound trucks and even a pirate radio. In the meantime we must work towards the setting up of a Commercial radio channel inside South Africa. The Transkei, which houses Capitol Radio, should not have a problem granting us a license. It should be attractive enough to catch as many listeners as possible but also political enough as not to just become a pop station. News, interviews and other more serious material must feature on it. We cannot hope to rely on advertising to keep us going so we should be prepared to run it at a loss. There is already a campaign to buy the ANC a transmitter for Radio Freedom. This must now be re-oriented immediately towards this objective plus the raising of funds to maintain the station and its personnel. DIP will have to give serious consideration to recalling its most experienced Radio Freedom journalists for immediate deployment on this project plus obtaining the services of patriotic disc-jockeys and announcers on a commercial basis.

Records, cassette and RF outside South Africa can then augment this aspect of our work.; Sound trucks could occasionally be used to carry the message on the streets of the townships and other Black neighbourhoods.

4:1. The Written word:(Newspapers, leaflets and magazines) The ANC has a number of publications printed outside the country. The greatest challenge that faces us now is setting up a regular newspaper inside South Africa. To do this we will need money. Like the Radio Station we must be prepared to run this at a loss though we will of course solicit advertising from all sources. To produce such a paper requires that we obtain the services of an experienced Black journalist to be news editor and recruit a team of good democratic journalists to work under him. Editorial policy however will vest in the DIP which will be responsible for the leader page, features, etc. As priority we can speak of producing a weekly which must as soon as possible become a daily. We must work immediately towards hiring a team of translators for every major African language and Afrikaans to produce regional editions of the paper as well. We should aim at having on the streets, everyday of the week in as many languages as possible, an ANC daily paper that will be the voice of the leadership by the end of 1990.

For the immediate the ANC must produce a number of small, easily read and assimilated pamphlets explaining policy and the programme of our movement. These must be translated into all the spoken languages. The other sectoral journals can be collapsed into this newspapers as is the case now with Mayibuye.

We must produce without delay an Information package which will be heavy on visuals and loaded with short pithy fact papers plus the ANC's most recent NEC Statements and short documents. It must be attractively presented and highly professional. If necessary we should obtain the services of a good advertising outfit to design it for us. The facts will come from us and will be for our message. This will go at all the SA newspapers as well as to important figures in business, education, law, medicine, the churches and to other figures whom we think we should reach.

We must explore the possibility of a leaflet campaign which must commence as soon as possible to bombard every Black residential neighbourhood with our propaganda. The leaflets must be attractive and informative. Balloons, drops from Skyscrapers and passing cars along the highway must all be part of our repertoire of dissemination. The old door to door methods must not be neglected as a means of direct communication.

An ANC magazine, along the lines of Sechaba, but internally focused, must also be top priority. This makes more urgent the need to improve Sechaba. Once we begin speaking to our own people we will need to be current, informative and up to the standard of the existing journals inside the country today. The slapdash journalism we could get away with as an external journal would destroy us

within the first month if we did it. We must secure the regular services of good a serious movement analysts to deal with the current issues and to cover the arts, sport, etc. If necessary we would have to consider salaries.

5:1. Plan of Action:

The DIP core must meet without delay to plan and execute the aspects of this programme that can be immediately implemented. Serious consideration must be given to the strengthening of the DIP core with experienced comrades from other departments. The venue for such a meeting will have to be HQ. This will involve a number of comrades from Lusaka, London, Harare, Addis and Madagascar.

Rapid and reliable communication between DIP HQ and its most important outlying stations is essential and can no longer be delayed. *The DIP must immediately acquire proper premises in Lusaka, equipped with adequate telephone lines, telex, copiers, telefax and other requisites.* The conditions under which we presently work are untenable given the demands that are being placed on us. A portion of these requirements have already been filled by a donation from Norad.

5:2. The NEC must set up a task force to travel to SA, composed of the key DIP personnel augmented by comrades in the internal machinery to explore the possibilities on the ground and to prepare a concrete programme of action for the following six months. *Solid communications with home must be established direct to Lusaka and to London.* DIP must submit plans for setting up ANC Information Centres in all the urban areas and a central Information Office under the internal leadership structures.

5:3. On the return of the task force, the DIP must send a delegation to key areas of support and funds - such as the Scandinavian countries, Netherlands, US and Canada to raise the funds for the plans set out here.

5:4. By May-June the key personnel for the fulfilment of these tasks must be in place inside the country and have begun to work.

6:1. Key Target Dates for 1990.

March 21st - 30th Anniversary of Sharpeville. Though the PAC has had a low key reaction, it might want to use the occasion to put itself forward. We should plan to mount a large a visible ANC propaganda exercise on that day and the week that follows to coincide with the banning on 30th March. A special issue of Mayibuye must be planned for that date.

May 1st - 40th anniversary of the Alexandra Township massacre of 1950. International Workers Day. Together with the other elements of the alliance the ANC must make a big showing at

rallies, demonstrations and other events of that day. Propaganda on the theme must also flood the country.

June 16th - South Africa Youth Day.

June 26th - Fortieth anniversary of the first Freedom Day strike; Thirty fifth anniversary of the Freedom Charter. Must see the beginning of a sustained, massive ANC propaganda offensive .

August 9th- South African Women's Day.

6:2. If the ANC is to win the hearts and minds of the South African people it must popularise its programme, its ideas and its leadership as the repository of the most profound hopes and expectations of our people. We will only be able to do this if we re-orient our DIP and invest in it to achieve the results it can produce if properly equipped.

Z. Pallo Jordan.
Secretary for Information.

Thabo, the ANC's Crown Prince Charming

CHARMING is the word most people who meet him use to describe Thabo Mbeki — particularly white South Africans unprepared for such urbanity within the ranks of the African National Congress.

And such absence of rigid dogma in discussion or argument.

There is no doubt Mr Mbeki's impact on the uninitiated is impressive. And, certainly, he is nobody's typical revolutionary. But what he is instead, one feels, is what he has carefully groomed himself to be.

Reasonable, considered, sharp. There may be a statement of rebellion in the beard. But then even top executives of the ANC need to watch what they spend on razor blades.

Contrary to the popular view that they live high off the hog on funds fraudulently mugged from soft Nordic governments, members of the administration in exile in Zambia subsist on a paltry stipend.

The bulk of those funds is channeled to the military effort. The chief press spokesman beds down like a squatter in one corner of a room in an over-populated Lusaka house.

Thabo Mbeki is better off than most because he has a working wife, Zanele Mbeki is an organiser with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Lusaka.

Mr Mbeki's dress usually is distinctive: a hound's tooth sports jacket alternating with Cuban shirts. And always a pipe, underlining a look either of humour or contemplation.

Whether by study or not, being charming is what Thabo Mbeki does extremely well. Last October, for example, when the South African rugby chiefs met an ANC delegation in

Harare, Mr Mbeki soon wowed them with his erudition and bonhomie. Within minutes, with bizarre familiarity under the circumstances, he was calling Danie Craven "Doc".

At one point after the meeting, Transvaal Rugby Union president Louis Luyt grabbed Mr Mbeki in a bear hug and said with mock alarm, "I'm just a little fellow. You must protect me from the press."

The expectation must be that, things being protracted rather than equal, Thabo Mbeki will become president of the organisation his father, Govan, has been involved with for more than half a century.

His rise from director of information and publicity to head of the department of international affairs — to replace Johnny Makatini, who died earlier this year — effectively moves him from fourth position in the ANC hierarchy to third. At the age of 46, he has youth on his side. And considerable political nous.

For some years, he has doubled as political adviser to Oliver Tambo, the ANC president. Reportedly, the two are very close. To begin with, there is a relationship through Nelson Mandela. Govan Mbeki was a co-accused with Mandela in the Rivonia Trial. Mr Tambo was Mandela's partner in a law firm.

Should the present impasse over negotiating with the ANC continue to a point where Mr Tambo decides to step down, it is likely Thabo Mbeki will be elected to succeed him. Some of the military commanders, like Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief-of-staff Chris Hani, might feel hard done by. But they really do not have the intellectual ammunition to match Mr



Thabo Mbeki has often been tipped as a future president of the African National Congress. This week, with his appointment as head of the organisation's Department of International Affairs, he moved another step nearer. **JOHN RYAN** of the Africa News Service reports.

Mbeki.

Details of Mr Mbeki's mid-term education are sketchy. He was born in the Transkei on June 18, 1942. It is understood he moved to Port Elizabeth at the age of 13 when his father became Cape leader of the ANC and he went to school in New Brighton.

By 1959, at 17, Mr Mbeki was active in black student politics. He became a member of the African Students' Organisation, forerunner of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso). He ran the ASO in 1961, and

organised widespread protests against Bantu Education.

Then he moved to Soweto and Orlando. Whether or not he completed his schooling at that stage is uncertain. But what is known is that Mr Mbeki sought refuge in Swaziland at some time between 1961 and 1963. Then we went to the United States.

What happened during that period of his life in exile also is not recorded. But in the early Seventies, Thabo Mbeki obtained a degree in economics from the University of Sussex.

When the 1976 student riots sparked an exodus of hundreds of black students from South Africa, Mr Mbeki was already active in the ANC. And his experience as past leader of the African Students' Organisation must have been invaluable to the organisation.

From then on, he worked his way through the ranks and was appointed director of information and publicity in 1984.

During the township unrest of the mid-eighties, the ANC leadership became worried about the level of the anti-white violence and the fact that radical elements among the township youth seemed to be moving beyond any control.

Thabo Mbeki was assigned to coordinate a diplomatic campaign to involve more white South Africans in the anti-apartheid drive to try to offset the hatred of the young blacks.

The dialogue that has followed between the ANC, white academics, churchmen and politicians, organisations like the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa) — and the S A Rugby Board — has been an extension of that cam-

paign. And Mr Mbeki has been present at just about all these discussions, usually heading the ANC representation.

Govan Mbeki joined the South African Communist Party in 1961. Although his son led an ANC delegation to Moscow in 1986, there is no evidence to suggest that he is a CP member. Thabo Mbeki seems more of a pragmatist than an ideologue.

Not only does he emerge in conversation as an original thinker, but he also appears to be one of the directors of ANC policy.

It was Mr Mbeki who indicated to me last September that the organisation was prepared to drop its previous stipulation about "no normal sport in an abnormal society" because such an insistence was counter-productive. It suggested nothing in South African society should change until everything changed.

ANC spokesmen in Zimbabwe and Tanzania strongly denied the report when it appeared. But at the meeting with the rugby chiefs a month later, it was proved correct.

Whether Mr Mbeki had discussed the matter with Mr Tambo before speaking to me is difficult to say. Possibly it was an spontaneous response, prompted by a question.

It was announced at a conference of ANC chief representatives and regional treasurers in Oslo this week that the organisation is to open eight more missions around the world. These are to be in Washington, Madrid, Tunis, Tripoli, Kampala, Caracas, Accra and Managua.

As the ANC's foreign minister, in effect, Thabo Mbeki will be exporting his charisma that much further.