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TRANSCRIPTION FOR MR FREDERICK VAN ZYL SLABBERT

Thank you Van Zyl, I am not quite sure what it is I am supposed to speak about. On the programme we have an item on Constitutional Guidelines but I think people must have noticed that we did not intervene in this discussion on the issue of Strategies for Change and Forces for Change. This was because we thought we should take the two things together. So Mr Chairman, there is a .bit of danger here that I am going to speak much longer than anyone else has spoken so far in this meeting to try to cover this area which we think is very important. So we!!! say something about our own view of the Strategies for Change, and as I say include in that something about these Constitutional Guidelines. i

I don't think it is necessary for this meeting for me to define the overall purposes of the ANC. I think people know the Freedom Charter. I think people know that we have this perspective of a United Democratic and non-racial South Africa. We belong to the camp - as Wynand was saying'- the camp of struggle. I think people also know that we have in the- past said that there are four principal strategic tasks that we have to carry out to get to the goal that we pursue. It's been? called the four pillars of our struggle and I want to say something about each one of those pillars as they constitute the basis of our strategic and tactical outlook even.

One of those pillars is - not putting them in any. order of -importance - mass mobilisation - ensuring that the millions of South African people are engaged in the struggle. That is one, The second one is building up the ANC as an organised structure inside the country. Necessarily that means an underground organisation, because it is an illegal organisation. And ensuring that the underground organisation of the ANC plays its proper role in the leadership of these people that we want to engage in the struggle. The third element in the strategy is armed struggle. And the fourth element is international mobilisation, isolation of the apartheid regime of Apartheid South Africa and questions of that kind.

Every day when we sit in Lusaka or London or anywhere else these are the issues that we are attending to. Of course I think the point is this - and Joe Slovo made this point - earlier in our discussions that the principal agent of change has to be the oppressed people, because they are oppressed and therefore want change - must want change - and they are in the majority anyway. The principal agent of change has to be the oppressed people, so naturally our principal attention, I am talking around the area of mass mobilisation, mass political struggle, has to be these oppressed. And what we seek to do is to ensure that these millions of people actually engage in struggle, that they shouldn't be observers, they shouldn't be people complaining about apartheid and so on, 'but should actually engage in struggle, wherever they are, in the towns, in the countryside, everywhere. A very very major task to make sure, as I say that these masses of people are engaged in struggle. An important part of that is that we want those masses of people engaged in struggle as a conscious political force. That they should know what they are fighting for. That they should have a programme. That, the Freedom Charter should be known, accepted among all of them, so I am saying to engage those masses in struggle as a conscious political force. It is very natural, very complicated work perhaps to come to a conclusion: Our own assessment is that very good progress has been achieved in terms of ensuring the involvement of these oppressed masses in the manner that I have been speaking about overall. That is not to suggest any complacency. That's not to suggest that State repression cannot have an effect on the level of that involvement, but I am saying by and large, overall, in the main we think those masses of people are mobilised, swim

Some examples were given earlier I think by Mark .i.v. for instance, about the three day stay-at-home in June. It exemplifies the level of organisation and the level of consciousness of these millions of people. We are at all times very interested to reach all sections of this Oppressed community. I think perhaps it might not be generally known how extensive that process is, of reaching all these people. I give you one, or two or three examples just to illustrate this point.

As everyone from home knows there was a rather ugly explosion at KTC in Cape Town. The conflict which was in fact a conflict among forces which belong together as part of the democratic movement for certain specific reasons an explosion occurred there and people started killing one another and so on. He had to intervene in this process so we had a very, rather big meeting. I can't remember how many people came from KTC - 18 - 20 - 22 - the leadership in the area - and we sat with them and said - let's sort out this problem. And it was sorted out. There are certain tensions that continue in KTC but principally the problem was sorted out. I am giving that example, Mr Chairman to try and indicate what I mean by our reaching to every little corner of our country, because clearly we couldn't stand aside with regard to that problem. We shall come back to that perhaps later to the specific problematic area of Natal and the violence there. It is a very important element in all of these things. I

Let me give another example. The first suggestion is that there ought to be one national democratic trade union federation was raised around 1975. The people from home will remember that the trade union movement was still new, still young, but already then this idea emerged that these unions needed to get together to form one national federation. In the end it all led to Cosatu - to the formation of Cosatu. The ANC was part of this process 'as I say, from then, right up to the end. And we had to do certain things which might not look so important. For instance there was a (very sharp - Mark would know all about this rather intimately - rather sharp conflict - if that is the right word between the Cosatu unions and what we will call the UDF unions. And I think the intervention of the ANC was very important to produce Cosatu because the ANC intervened in that and in certain instances we had openly to say to people the trade union only does that - it is clear to us the reason you are resisting this process is that you are worried about whether you are going to have an official post in the 'new federation. The process can't be stopped because you are interested in personal power or prestige, or whatever. In the end the process worked.

What I am saying, Mr Chairman, is it is that kind of detail that the ANC is involved in every day in the process of the mobilisation and the organisation of these masses of oppressed people.

One of course could give all sorts of examples. Mark ..; Spoke yesterday about - I thought rather a contentious point - the need to cut off the enemies options rather than go for the overthrow of the regime in some such formulationiwe-seuld-I am not discussing that but it is clear that when the regime-lboks for these co-optees-from annng the African pe0ple it would aim for a certain layer of society - it would look at the black business people and the teachers and that sort of thing - the middle class. That would be its most natural ally in this process of co-option. Not for the purpose of taking away its options - the Options-of the regime - but -a as part of this process .of ensuring that all of our people are engaged in the struggle. The ANC'of course has had to do 'a lot .of work even among the .t.:2... Among this black middle class to get them into the struggle as I say, not aiming_ at cutting off. the enemies Options but engaging these pe0ple in the struggle which has the effect of making them inaccessible, unavailable to the enemy vfor its own purposes. So we can talk of a situation today where in an organised way an organisation like Nafcoc - African trade as tan important organisation among them, openly recognises the need to be in constant consultation with the ANC about whatever positions that it wishes to take or a smaller organisation for instance like the Black Management Forum - smaller but important. Black managers began to find a place in this economy and elsewhere themselves in contact with the ANC discussing very important questions about management now and management in future.

We had a very important meeting in Harare earlier this year of the black teachers - I am talking about the Indian, African and coloured - and the pe0ple who were there represented one hundred thousand organised teachers. And what we were discussing with them was the need to form one democratic teacher's organisation and other things.

So I am saying, Mr Chairman, that even in the context of what Mark was talking about you have that social layer, social level, which would be the natural in terms of co-optation which in fact is in itself being mobilised into struggle in its organised formation. That's part of this whole process of this mobilisation of the ' greatest possible numbers of our people into the struggle. One can draw all sorts of examples. iBantustans, whether they are called independent or not are a very important area of mobilisation for us. Always continuously we look for ways and means to ensure that these rural people are also engaged in the struggle. It's a complicated process perhaps Mr Chairman, if we have time we can come back to the issue. That's the area of mass mobilisation. Now I was talking about the black oppressed. It would seem to us that as the struggle intensifies, and Lawrie Schlemmer has a problem about this, and the crisis of the system deepens, it seemed to us that it was inevitable that you would get movement among the white population - that people would begin to say that obviously something is wrong - obviously something must change, and therefore, it's been our view that it was important that we should reach out to this white community as well to try and get that white community involved in the struggle to end apartheid. We have had big fights with Herman about some of these issues before. Our own view, as I say, is that as that crisis, the crisis of the apartheid system deepens, whatever it means, Lawrie, you are bound to get movement, visions, doubts setting in, cynicism, all manner of things happening to the white population and it is very important that the ANC intervenes in that process to say there is a way out of this crisis. Here is a political solution. This is what we should all of us be doing. Very important. I think if I say to Van Zyl Slabbert six weeks ago that we were going to have a meeting with Danie Craven he wouldn't have believed me. When the question was first raised with us a year ago about the possibility of meeting white sports administrators, we did not believe it either. Danie Craven, and then Opperman and Pamensky and others we said it's impossible. They will never come. I think because in part we ourselves had not understood how deep this crisis was and therefore the fact, that it affected people of this kind.

Mark was talking earlier today about some of the work that the metalworkers are doing. Earlier this year Joe Stovo raised the question about the position and the role of the Afrikaaner workers. Earlier this year there were negotiations which took place at Eskom and there was a whole galaxy of trade' unions sitting on. this side and the Eskom management on the other_side. The national union of mine workers, Cyril Ramaphosa's union, was there because of the interest of Eskom in the coal mines and the NUM had its own demands to management for this that and the other and then of course all: Of the other unions - now this is all the unions, including the white unions all sitting there together. So at the end of the day the unions said, "Could you, Eskom management, respond by such and such a date" and Eskom management said, "No but we can't, that's too soon because we have got to process each one of your demands". At which point all the white unions said in which case we withdraw all of our demands and we support the NUM demands. I think it must be the first time in the history of South Africa that this happens. So they withdrew their demands and said we shall all of us-support the NUM demands. I don't know where that story has ended.

Soon after that the same unions, or a number of the unions that had been present at the Eskom negotiations had to go and negotiate with Iskor and they phoned the NUM and said, "Can you people please give us two or three people to sit in on our delegation when we negotiate with Iskor?" The NUM said "No, no. we can't do that. The NUM is not involved with those negotiations." They said "Alright," they were meeting in Pretoria, "Why don't you send a group, let it park itself in some hotel in Pretoria and we shall reach no agreement with Iskor without negotiation with you". And the NUM said no we discussed the question with the NUM. These Afrikaaner workers were asking for leadership and they were asking for joint action with the National Union of Mineworkers. It came as a big surprise to the NUM because after all these people are AWB and KP and so on. No, no, .no we can't deal with you, which was a wrong decision. Part of the reason for it which the NUM people say was that it was these Afrikaaner trade unionists were saying quite openly Botha has abandoned us. It is clear that Botha is busy with privatisation and wage freeze and all of this. we can't win our own struggles alone against him, let's get together.

Now I am saying Mr Chairman I don't know where this process has ended. But again it demonstrates that as the struggle intensifies, even unexpected forces begin to move. We are not talking about acting with the NUM, about political questions, and so on, but about economy questions. But that is important. So we would therefore say it is necessary at all times continuously for us to reach out to these forces among the white community that are beginning to move because of the crisis of the Apartheid system. And give a political alternative. To say that we don't have to go through this war and destruction and all of that. This is the way out so long as we 'all of us all act together to remove this system which has created this problem. h

There are many other things, we were talking last week to the leadership of the University of Natal. We were talking to the principal and the vice principal. And we were talking about the transformation of the University of Natal, again because of the evaluation of the situation in South Africa. The University of Natal, its administration, its leadership say but where does the University of Natal belong in this democratic struggle today and where will it belong in the future democratic South Africa. And they begin to try to define a place for themselves and they begin to look at curricula, they begin to look at staffing, they look at composition of the student population, they look at all sorts of things. And so things have come and let's meet and discuss along these questions. So that process is also on, the University of Cape Town, the HITS University, the University of the Western Cape discussing this issue, how do we transform these Universities, what do we do with them to get everybody engaged in South Africa. On Chairman that's a very important and large sector in the strategy of the ANC.

So the perception that Nynand was conveying which is correct, a false perception amongst some circles, that you've got a camp of electoral politics and the camp of arms structure and that's it. This is wrong from the point of view of the ANC because I'm saying we have to try desperately hard to get everybody involved in the struggle. There will be discussions how to conduct that struggle. Do general strikes work? Do mass demonstrations work? what about the e. . . .

state of emergency? But let's make a point the general spread of the work that we are trying to do to make sure of mass disciplinary

struggle. The ANC contrary to what Gatsha Buthelezi says is not aA/
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exile movement Ahas never been. Its not Iike white? left up to
revolution and as the age as we Joe SIovo is ageing? dies
away. The answer has never been: an exile movement)so the ANC to
play its role has to be present in South Africa in an organised
way. It has to have an organisation inside the country, an
organisation that is in contact with the situation, that is in
contact with the people, that plays its role in this organisation
and leadership and so on. Thats a very important task."

Elsebe was asking yesterday what do you do lwhen state repression
comes and so on. The point of course if yes you do estate
repression, thousands of people are detained and so on. If for no
other reason you need a underground organisation because of that, if
for no other reason. That is outside of the eyes of the police,
that can produce a leaflet and be distributed, that can participate
in a political meeting, say our own view is such and such without
saying I'm speaking on behalfA of the African National Congress.
Very important element and its one 'bf the reasons why the regime
cannot defeat this revolutionary stgggie.

Yes indeed it can go and collect all sorts of people who have been
addressing meetings, organising openly this that and the other,
collect them lock them up in prison. But there is another
organisation or structure which remains, which works, which tries to
influence people would now evade 1960 and by now we've got a fair
amount of experience about how to work in these conditions, thatfs
an important element in this structure, arms sgygggle.

The principal military task that we face I-donit-think-MF-Ghaipman-%-
needete.penhap3winwthetquestions-maybe-in-the-questionsdwafterwards
this-emight_ato__be._iaIsetvI didn't think we needed to explain the
circumstances which lead us ito take up arms I think' people are'i
familiar with that sort Of area, but what I wanted to say is this,
that the principal military task that we face is the building up of
cure strength, military strength. I think General van der Merwe Of
the Security Police has said this, that in the recent past they have
noticed more combatants of the ANC, call them',terrorists: are
trained inside rather than outside. That's part of the process of
building up our military strength. In all sorts of ways in terms of

the combatants, in terms of material because clearly we have got to conduct that arms struggle in a more continuous way, not sporadic, and to cover the whole country. I think Niiiii Breytenbach was saying that there is as yet no guerilla warfare in South Africa. I agree, we agree. We need to step up that military offensive and to do so we need larger forces on the ground. And that's a task which is being attended to. It's difficult, it's problematic, people are being arrested, people are being shot and all of that. But again because there is an underground political structure it becomes possible to solve that problem. It takes time. If not trying to make it sound simple. I need to say that the ANC has reaffirmed its position, that in the conduct of that arms struggle we should not try to reproduce ourselves in the image of our enemy. That we can't conduct an arms struggle against civilians. That it is impermissible to carry out military operations which have as their target, civilians, whether black or white. I'm sure there'll be questions about this one. That the spectrum of military targets is very, very clearly defined. It's the armed personnel of the enemy, army and police and the hit squads and the vigilantes and all that. Strategic economic installations, structures of governments, but not civilians. But I'm saying in our strategic perspective, that area, that element, arms struggle we think is very important and very CLWNA.

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Then there is the international isolation of the Apartheid regime. The first time I saw a public admission on the part of the representatives of the Apartheid regime that sanctions are doing something was the statement by Barend du Piessis when he presented his Budget in parliament this year, where he devoted some of his attention to this issue and said, we are living with the reality of sanctions and boycotts, as a result of which we have had to abandon some of our programmes, and as a result of which we have had to relocate resources, I think I am more or less quoting. I think P W Botha has more or less repeated this sort of position. It's a very good thing to think that P N Botha has been forced to abandon some of these programmes, because of sanctions - good thing. If we could persuade the rest of the world to impose such sanctions that would have to abandon all of these programmes that would be very good. So we'll try to push in the area of sanctions.

- There is also a very important element in terms of the international. ___ tse :/
 . in any event in which taking sides in this conflict not just against-u
 Apartheid-but-been for some. The question that we raise with the
 Soviet Union that it is not enough to be against Apartheid, its
 necessary to say you are also for a democratic South Africa. Is the
 Soviet Union for a democratic South Africa? To say that we are in
 favour of a non-aliance South Africa. Are you in favour and they
 say yes. We are saying the same thing to the Americans, and the
 British and everybody else. You find an expression, one of the
 reasons the thing is important is that its necessary to think
 together with the International community. It is important for the
 solution of the South African problem. You get an expression of
 facts, for instance with regard to the front line states. Each time
 a front line state Summit meets, Oliver Tambo is there talking as
 . an equal amongst his colleagues, not just intervening when South
 Africa is being discussed, but intervening on all questions; Because
 of an understanding in the region that this democratic movement,
 which in this instance the ANC represents, is part of the forces
 that are making the future. Not just of South Africa but of the
 region. So we sit there, and Angola questions come up, and
 President de Santos reports that this is what we are doing with the
 negotiations, what is the view of the region? And Oliver Tambo
 will say, we don't like that, why don't we handle it like this, and
 nobody says but liberation in Kinshasa. We are independent states
 as I said because of their appreciation their understanding in the
 region of where we belong. So I'm saying generally the issue of the
 rest of the world not just being against Apartheid but for a
 . democratic South Africa and therefore the need for that world to act
 ' together with us to think together with us in terms of what we do to
 transform that situation. That's a very important element in work. 7%

So Mr Chairman, as I say there is lots and lots of detail we can
 give about these strategies. But these are the principal directions
 of our work and in our view its very very important that we try and
 move the white population to be part of that struggle. In our view
 there is a point at which I don't have the persons in that perhaps, .77
 I hope Herman I'm not misrepresenting you, we don't have the persons 1
 in which I thought I sensed in Herman about the possibility to move
 the white population; L9 towards this democratic positions: into
 this democratic positions its going to take a lot of work, it
 cannot come about simply as a result of discussion, and conversation

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and debate. It comes abddt also as a result of sggggle, as a result of a changing balance of forces in the country, opens up lots of possibilities. Of course people will move at different times. A critical mass of flesh t will move. Van Zyl' Slabbert might not be enough to move Aritoles??, if you can move him, I don't know. So he will need a different critical mass to move him but we wouldn't presume that he is immovable and will at all times seek to reach him, to put our point of view across and that is why in part we value meetings of this kind because whether peOple like it or not. When they go home somebody is going to ask, what did the ANC' say? What' 5 your view, are they alright, are they genuine, are they not communists? Even if people didn' t want to say anything, they are obliged to say something. I think people ought to go out of their way to say something. Wynand knowicertain of the things as he told he has to do. I' m sure if the constitutional guide lines of the ANC had not been published by the Weekly Mail and Business Day, I' m sure Hynand would have read them in parliament and that would have legalised them. And I think that' s an important thing to do.

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