

For some time now I have been giving some thoughts to the role that I would be assigned by the movement in the coming period. This was prompted by the fact that as far as I was concerned I was only coming for a specific period and to perform a specific task.

At this moment of time I am of opinion that by and large the task that I specifically came for has been completed. What is required is a few more weeks of further revision discussions and some practice.

At this stage I must <sup>Note</sup> mention that after giving the matter very serious consideration I have come to the opinion that I could not wish to continue in the ~~specific~~ field of documentation. This is an extremely important and crucial aspect of our work and it requires individuals who have the inclination and the flair for this type of work. I have attempted to do the work as adequately as possible but am convinced that I have reached the "end of the road" in this respect. The people that I have been involved with have displayed all the necessary qualities and enthusiasm. I have no doubt that they will not be found wanting in this field. All that is required is experience.

The question now arises as to what am I to do?

At the outset let me say that my experience here has been invaluable. I have gained a tremendous insight into the work of the movement and to all the difficulties and complexities with which we are faced. A lesson that has also been clear is that no man can be a "jack of all trades" and that it is essential to "specialise" in specific fields. I ~~xxx~~ also believe that I have gained some insight into the specific needs of the movement and the very wide field that we need to tap to ensure the successful development of our struggle.

In trying to answer this <sup>re-my task</sup> question I am in some difficulty because I can only speak from a limited knowledge of things and therefore ~~I wish~~ that my comments <sup>must be</sup> are viewed in this light.

Since my visit one aspect has been raised time and again and that is the mobilisation of the Indian and coloured into the main stream of revolution. Our analysis that it was essential to organise amongst the Indians both in the legal and illegal field was confirmed. It is clear that an urgent task of the movement must be to create and establish machinery within the Indian and coloured community.

I feel that what is required is the ~~beginning of~~ the implementation of the "Blue print" that ~~was evolved~~ to attempt to carry out this task.

Firstly it is necessary to fully investigate and examine the possibilities of functioning from ~~the~~ Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. It is recommended that before any such steps are taken one should make a full investigation of all the possibilities in each area. There are many individuals who have contacts in such places (these need not necessarily be political, they can be social, family etc.) This will prevent a lot of time wasting and also exposure.

[Here I am not dealing with the tasks of any such machinery established, this I will try to deal with separately.]

Any such machinery established must be in constant touch with operational headquarters.



on a similar basis as all other sub sections, i.e., they must submit constant reports, they must be under direct guidance, there should be regular contacts. In short an implementation of the method of work generally being used.

In speaking of mobilising of Indian for the struggle it is also crucial that we make a full analysis of the potential for possible recruits that exist outside the Southern African framework. Here I am specifically referring to areas;

- 1) The United Kingdom
- 2) Ireland
- 3) Egypt
- 4) India
- 5) Western Europe.

Without being over optimistic of the success that one <sup>can</sup> ~~will~~ have in obtaining suitable cadres we should work out a well detailed plan for tackling these regions. It is true that despite some efforts our real successes in this field have not been too good. However I would like us to consider whether some of this was not a result of some objective difficulties on our part. At this time most of our energies and time were being directed to more fundamental aspects of the movements re-construction work. Undoubtedly all efforts had to be put into the mobilisation of the majority of the people coupled with this was the fact that some of us were involved in too many things, for example solidarity work. In this context we were unable to give as much attention to the other aspect of work. I am of opinion that consistently systematic work in this field will ~~provide~~ give more results.

Another area that might have caused some problems is the fact that one did not <sup>fully</sup> categorise the various ~~different~~ fields in which individuals could be used. We seemed to have had two broad categories either the individual joined the armed section of the movement or he had to go in to work in the underground <sup>propaganda</sup> network, ~~in this case the basic task being propaganda~~. It appears that there are various other categories, for example couriers, intelligence, political mobilisation (i.e. legal type), infiltration of certain organisations, setting up of front structures. The investigation of each situation, the "discovery" of potential recruits, their political and practical training all requires somebody to be working on it on a full time basis.

#### Propaganda

In the initial stages it is essential that we increase the flow of propaganda material directed to the Indian community. ~~In the initial stages~~ while the machinery is being organised this has to be undertaken from outside. Jana Sakhti was intended to ~~maximize~~ fulfill such a role. We must ensure that it is produced bi-monthly. /pkakati

Youth Challenge—the regular issues of this production was beginning to create an impression, unfortunately it has since ceased publication and this must be re-started.

Non-Sa participants—it is clear that these people can play a very important part in some of our activities. We require personnel to be placed in the front line states. They could be working normally as teachers etc.; we require people to set up front businesses; we require people who could go into the country; we require people who could perform invaluable intelligence







The AA is unable to deal effectively with all the issues and an effective branch could initiate activities. Recently we had the case of the 22, for various reasons this has not received full publicity, in fact as far as I can recall there has been no demonstration on this issue. ~~xxxxxx~~ Some other methods by which our effectiveness in solidarity work could be increased considerably. Everyday information comes out of SA which are newsworthy and which if properly handled could get a lot of publicity, for example, the Mosque issue, New Job reservations, Starvation, mass removals, education etc., this information either in a form of press release or some other means could be released to papers (both national and local), interested organisations, sections etc. For instance we could ensure that the various muslim institutions governments, papers, etc ~~xxxxxx~~ are fed with this information etc.

~~Today there exists an unprecedented~~

To fulfil our tasks we will have  
to pay special attention to the  
Branch Cmt. we must ensure that  
people with ability,



Last summer we organised one outdoor outing. This was a tremendous success, not only did it give parents with kids an opportunity to meet other S's on a social level, but there were many non Congress people on it and we were provided with an opportunity to have discussions etc. This too could be organised under a false name.

For security reasons, through fear etc. many S's especially the passport holders are reluctant to come to the office, consequently many of them feel isolated and cut off from the struggle. These are the very people we have to reach for our internal work and through the social activities some contact can be made. We should also discuss the possibilities of a bulletin, which would serve as a means not only of keeping our people informed, but also by giving them the feeling of identification and maintaining the organisations influence over them.

The Branch could also take over the question of research in the office. At the moment some organisation is being <sup>undertaken</sup> ~~brought in~~ but it is still in a shambles. Through the Branch this very important section of our movement, which incidentally is also related to internal re-const., can be remedied.

Sechaba an excellent magazine and practically a give away at the price. Yet the circulation is far from satisfactory. haphazard attempts have been made to deal with circulation. I feel that if circulation is taken over by the Branch we will witness a rapid increase in circulation.

#### Solidarity work.

The immediate question that comes to mind is - Our relationship with the AA. I feel that there are no difficulties here that can't be overcome. Firstly the AA is an organisation that is basically for the British and its role is to campaign against the SA regime. The task of ~~the~~ our Office and therefore the Branch is to assist them wherever possible, but more than that we are here to project our organisation. Already we have been addressing a number of meetings etc., this is not in opposition to the AA but it merely supplements their task. In fact that better we are organised in this respect the more will the AA benefit! We must of course always ensure that we work in close consultation with the AA. Through a dynamic branch we can ensure that our members participate more

fully in any activities; something that has been lacking until now.



From time to time we are presented with an opportunity to organise meetings which for the lack of a better word I must call "scoops". Here I am thinking of A Dr. McKenzie, who was the medical superintendent in the "Sawana" homestead and whose exposure about malnutrition and infant mortality caused a sensation. He is resident in London at the moment and could be approached to address us.

Regular reports from various sections of our movement should be made ~~from time to time~~, for instance from the London office we could have a report about Sechaba, we could have reports of solidarity work, we could have reports from the youth, the woman etc. As far as possible reports from the South should be given. One recalls JM's talk which was very frank and informative, one left the meeting feeling satisfied.

In this way the Branch meetings can serve as medium for criticism, and self-criticism, for the throwing out and development of new ideas. How many of our people are aware of the work done in Canada, or in America.

#### Lists.

The Branch could be utilised to build up a list and a dossier on all SA's in Britain. ~~There~~

#### Welfare and Social Cmt.

This group can play a very needy role. Firstly they can play the obvious role of providing accommodation and other needs for new arrivals. This group can help in the lists as well as mobilising other SA's by fund raising events. This could possibly be done under some front organisation so that people are not scared of. They should also consider the possibilities of setting up ~~some~~ a SA house, which will provide a very needy requirement. This group must look into the possibilities of organising trips abroad, apparently this is not very difficult to organise to Socialist countries. ~~There~~ Here not only will be playing a valuable role in terms of giving children a chance to go on a holiday, but it would also provide us an opportunity to give them firsthand experience of Socialism. I have no doubt that not only will this help in getting the parents involved, but also the youngsters.



Let me attempt to make some suggestions which <sup>I hope</sup> ~~feel~~ will ~~put~~  
<sup>Enable the BRANCH to play the Role our tasks demand</sup>  
~~the important role that it should.~~

~~xxxxxxx~~ <sup>Therefore</sup> firstly it is important that we look at the personnel on the Committee. In terms of recent decisions the emphasis now should be on internal re-construction and it is important that we "free" some of our leading functionaries to enable them to carry out these tasks. If there are people in this category all steps should be taken to relieve them from the Branch cmt., it is not humanly possible to perform ~~many~~ tasks adequately, and our priority should be internal re-organisation. We must try and find ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ "experienced" personall (who could give a lot of attention to the Branch) ~~and it~~ <sup>could also serve as a means our youngest personnel to take the initiative, to learn the art of</sup>  
ORGANISATION & LEADERSHIP.

Meetings. More thought must be given to the types of meetings.

a) ~~xxxxxxx~~ <sup>"</sup> ~~e should put our struggle in its international context.~~

We are in a position to invite leading personnel from various countries and organisations to address us. At our last meeting we had an Al Fatah speaker and it was a ~~good~~ success. We should consider speakers from Vietnam, Latin America, the black Power Movement the ~~Irish~~ Ireland. When inviting our speakers we could inform them that, as a general rule, we are aware of the situation and would prefer detailed discussions on specific aspects, for eq., ~~xxxxxxx~~ Our discussion on Ireland should centre around "urban Guerrilla struggle", from the Vietnamese we could hear of underground work during the french period. Pomeroy is in London at the moment he was involved in the Huk movement for years and his information is invaluable, he could be asked to lead a series of discussions. This field is unlimited and meetings of this nature will help us to get a better understanding <sup>of the needs</sup> of our own struggle.

Discussions on our own struggle should be organised, for example Joe leading a discussion on the prospects of an Armed struggle; the relationship between legal and illegal work, the role of the proletariat and the Peasants; a discussion of Debray, Fanon,



Some time after Morogoro a Branch was set up in London. ~~The~~ Undoubtedly this was <sup>a</sup> corewt decision, however given the fact that the ANC had taken the unprecedented step of opening its doors, given the fact that by setting up the Branch we were working in "virgin" territory, I feel that this matter should have been given far greater consideration the implications discussed etc., and that there should have been some framework (terms of reference) under which the Branch existed. If it was necessary for political and organisational reasons to set up the Branch without much delay, then such an analysis and discussion should have been ~~undertaken~~ initiated afterwards. It is regrettable that much greater thought <sup>on various levels</sup> is being given to this matter because a call for the dissolution of the Branch has been made. (Probably this call might have done us a good service by turning our attention to this matter)

There is no doubt that the Branch is necessary, but we must ensure that it does not merely become a "token Symbol" of democratisation, of the involvement of the rank and file, of the integration of the non-African revs. It must become a living, dynamic section of our movement, it must become a reserve whose role must not be simply confined to solidarity work. Let us for a moment examine the activities of the Branch to date. Each month we have held a Branch meeting, unfortunately most of these were badly organised, not enough thought or preparation went into it. No discussion was stimulated and in fact very little new information regarding our struggle was gained. They reminded one of the "revival" meetings. While it is true that the secretaries attitude or lack of activity contributed to this state of affairs, this in itself will be too simple an explanation. After all there was an elected Branch committee, which could have pushed

\* It must help to motivate, educate and persuade S.A's.



After Rivonia war movement was faced with a situation for which we were not prepared. For all intents and purposes the effective leadership was transferred to areas outside SA. This brought tremendous organisational and other difficulties in its wake. It led to the breakdown of a collective leadership and in many areas it gave rise to bureaucratic tendencies. <sup>Apparently this is especially true in where</sup> It is also true that in many areas we were compelled to utilise the services of many personnel who <sup>lacked experience &</sup> had not been steeled in the political struggle, <sup>overnight,</sup> these people were confronted with the tasks of representing a major National Liberation Movement, and in entirely new and strange conditions and under these circumstances it was inevitable that some negative tendencies would manifest themselves.

Another feature of post Rivonia was the fact that hundreds of Congressists left the country to settle abroad. In these ranks there were many who had played leading roles in the struggle at home and it was important that the experience and the know how should be utilised for the development of our struggle.

The Organisation was now confronted with two fundamental questions, firstly how were the hundreds of SA's to be effectively utilised in the struggle, and secondly how were the non-African revolutionaries to be integrated into the movement. It was obvious that the old method of the Congress Alliance was not the answer in this new period. These questions were fully debated at Morogoro, the decision was taken to integrate all revolutionaries under one structure. Leading personnel from other groups were elected on to the R.C., and this structure which was going to deal with internal re-construction would enable the integration of non-African revs. internally.

~~Externally non-African revs. were elected to important positions and~~ to enable the hundreds of SA's to participate in the struggle, and to give them a feeling of "belonging", and to mobilise and educate thousands of other SA's <sup>Setting up</sup> ~~the idea of branches~~ it was decided to set up branches. This of course was related to the process of democratisation in our work.