

19/02/91Report of a Meeting with Prof. Willem KleynhansPresent: Cde Stero Tshwete (OC), Stan Nkazi (DPE), Reggie Mponzi (ANCYL) and Cirie Pikoti (ANGWL)Venue: Pretoria, Home of Prof. W. Kleynhans
10.30 am.Topic of Discussion: The Prof's concern about the ANC's lack of organisational skills for process elections → voting and proper organisational skills for a fully fledged political party in the W. Democratic sense to the National PartyBackground: Prof. is from a family that was staunch Nationalist party. He was active within the Youth League of the NP, as from 1934 until he became the YL's Chairman for the TVL province and represented the YL within the NP mother body regional structure in 1949.

He broke away from the NP in 1955 when the coloureds were denied being members of the common voters roll. He then started questioning the Apartheid structure openly, at this time he had joined Unisa as a lecturer and collected 13 signatures petitioning the government on this issue. He was then expelled from this NP Branch then, but he remained an opponent of the Apartheid structure, writing

articles on his opinions. However he continued monitoring the development of the NP as well as other liberal parties within S.A.

He is highly interested in the field of political dynamics involving mass organisation, elections, the constitution etc hence his conviction that he could be of assistance to the ANC and other political parties involved in this new phase of politics leading to the ballot box for the first time.

He then contacted Cde N. Mandela on this issue since he has been trying to make contact since February 2nd 1990 with the ANC. This issue.

He had the following questions to ask from the ANC:

1. Are we ready to take over power as a political organisation and govern the country?
2. Why do we refuse to refer to the ANC as a political party?
3. Are we ready to marshal all our forces do the necessary spadework involved in making people come to vote on the given day?
4. Have we managed to convince our supporters about the need to sacrifice more for the organisation given our goal of winning elections?
5. Have we already embarked on an education programme regarding elections and conditioning people and emphasizing on the need for loyalty and discipline, sacrifice to achieve this goal?

6. Do we have proven records of membership, his fear being that we have not even achieved the we had set ourselves of 2 million by December and how to further spur people on this mobilization effort for more members.
7. Is this the time to be concentrating on mass and rallies instead of an intense mobilisation and educational programme ~~was~~ that is mass-based on coming elections and committing people to do more voluntary work given the lack of resources and the vast areas to be covered.

The Professor stressed on the following issues:

- 1) The ANC must marshal all its forces and supporters to pressurise on the issue of a Constituent Assembly and we must not relent of this demand.
- 2) The ANC must seriously think of a special elections to be called where all political parties or groups interested in the participating in the election process, would be able to prove their membership other than the guesswork taking place and unfounded claims on membership by other political parties. In this way parties can establish their strength before going to the voting process, the NP & other white parties in S.A. have this advantage over our us and will not point this out to us.
- 3) The ANC must play a big role in ensuring that not many splinter groups are formed as this will split our votes.
- 4) The ANC must resist being rushed into elections.

as for reality is our people are not ready.
N.B. Given S.A. Constitution it takes 1 day to vote, and no extension will be granted even if everyone to have voted by this time. Our people are not conditioned to this and need time to be educated.

- 5) The issue of establishing our numbers factually is crucial as the All Party Congress might be transformed into a decision making body. Thus whilst there might be consensus on minor issues on major issues vote will be the best decision decisive step and ANC might be outvoted. Whites have been involved in the voting process for the past 70 yrs or so and have mastered all the manoeuvring skills of elections. The ANC cannot afford to go unorganised elections.
- 6) The ANC must come out with more striking propaganda for its supporters in order to enhance the enthusiasm of its supporters and spur them for further sacrifices on their side. Our propaganda is not convincing enough.
- 7) Given the background of the NP's. 70 years in power; practical experience therefore that the party in power always stays in power, know all the tricks of the trade.
- 8) Structuring of the Organisation:
 - a) Ensure a two way informing process, Bottom \rightarrow Up and Up \rightarrow Bottom.
 - b) The structure of the organisation must as simple as possible to be understood by all and easy to explain.
 - c) Conference must ensure that all branches are represented and use the next ANC Conference for all

delegates to sign and use these signatures as an appeal for a formal registration of the party.

9) The ANC branches are just too big and do not allow for participation of all. To harness our support there is need to break down our structure to 20-50 at least to avoid impersonalising meetings. Everyone wants to feel that his/her contribution is impacting on the organisation. In this way more volunteers are likely to come up and do the work of the organisation.

10) There is need to immediately embark on a wide educational programme of giving people admin skills as well as leadership skills. Our resources should not be spurned when embarking on this task.

11) The ANC must avoid slogans that might put it in a tight corner e.g. Transfer of power to the people by end of this year as some people might interpret this literally.

12) The ANC must avoid smothering the voice of its membership & ^{at activist} observations.

- The prof. genuinely wants to be of assistance to political parties within the black spectrum given their lack of experience in this field of politics and his own experiences and interest in the field of Political Dynamics.
- Whilst the Professor's experience and knowledge is dominated by Western experiences / influence and which certainly presented problems to us and this was communicated to him, he had very good points to raise with us that our people have

not yet grasped the enormity of the work involved or even pointing out tricks of the Nationalist Party. His views also were lacking in that he did not seem to have a good grasp and knowledge of the operations of the extra parliamentary politics especially within the liberation movement. His views are based on recent statements and publications of the ANC since February 2nd 1990.

Recommendations:

There is need to workshop / discuss a number of issues that the Prof. raised so as to first equip the leadership of our organisation and for this information to filter down.

Conclusion:

The Prof. is available at all times and is willing to assist whenever needed. He donated two text Guides on Politics from Unisa to be used on a number of issues for the ANC.

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