



# **UMKHONTO WE SIZWE MILITARY VETERANS ASSOCIATION**

**4<sup>TH</sup> NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
BIRCHWOOD CONFERENCE  
11 – 14 OCTOBER 2012**

## **ON THE STRUCTURE OF MKMVA AND ITS ABILITY TO PLAY A HISTORICAL ROLE TO UNITE AND PROVIDE POLITICAL EDUCATION ACROSS ALL STRUCTURES OF THE MOVEMENT**

### **Noting that**

1. Historically MK was a component of the ANC Constitutionally and the very people who were combatants are MKMVA of today.
2. MKMVA has no constitutional standing within the ANC and that amendment are required to ANC constitution to create MKVA as a League including prescribing its role as it did before
3. MKMVA needs to go back to basics, and that its role is be understood as not for material gain but to serve the People.
4. MK was provided with superior politico-military tools such as Military and Combat Work (MCW) and that MCW can be used as a tool in doing political work within the ANC and the Alliance.
5. The need to Regulate and control Elitism within the organisation.

### **Conference Resolves**

1. To intensify MKMVA's political activism in the structures of the ANC and the Alliance. Most importantly in this regard, to ensure full representation of MKMVA in the ANC REC, PEC and National structures through their chairperson and Secretary respectively.
2. That NEC must develop a program of action to give meaning and strengthen MKMVA's ability to give strategic political input within the national political discourse, through
  - a. The Deployment of MKMVA cadres within the ANC Alliance and the state and
  - b. Reviving a strong commissariat at all levels
  - c. Ensuring that members of MKMVA swell the ranks of the ANC on branch level.
  - d. That MKMVA develops a coordinating structure at the level of the zone of the ANC
3. That it must be ensured that the structures of MKMVA reflect the broad and rich diversity of its membership base characterised by a practice of all embracing inclusivity across the spectrum of genders, geography, generation, skills and detachments. HOWEVER, caution should be exercised against a narrow detachmentalization of this glorious organisation, whereby comrades, by virtue of belonging to a particular detachment, claim superiority of status, in relation to, and alienate those who trained either at different times from when they

underwent military training or at different locations or geographies, displaying demeaning the better than thou attitude intended to belittle others.

4. Strengthen MKMVA participation in the political education and organizing subcommittee of the ANC and that a reconstituted Commissariat is central in all political education schools of the ANC.
5. Institute a capacity building program that will empower and refresh comrades as an ongoing education and training program and to strengthen the commissariat and mandate it to develop comprehensive political program of MKMVA aligned to that of the ANC.
6. Establish the MKMVA Women's Desk to function within the broader mandate of the Association, its subcommittees and the NEC. The desk will ensure that gender issues will find resonance in the ANC and broader society in a structured fashion and accountable to the GS of the Association

## **ON THE VALUES AND CULTURE OF DISCIPLINE, HONESTY AND INTERGRITY,**

### **Noting**

1. The need to discourage the escalation and widening of impunity within the organisation.
2. The need to address minor indiscretions before they become major embarrassment to the organisations.
3. The need for MKMVA to be a shining symbol of discipline and loyalty to the ANC.
4. That MKMVA must be at the forefront of defending ANC values

### **Conference resolved to:**

1. Establish Discipline Committees throughout the organisation to ensure sustained disciplinary culture.
2. Establish an award system to emulate good performance, loyalty and discipline in the organisation.
3. Strengthen political education of members aimed at enhancing discipline.
4. MKMVA must seek to become the conscience of the ANC. In order to do this we must honestly assess where and how we went wrong. We must seek to regain the moral high ground we once had as MK
5. MKMVA also need to deal with issues of discipline. In order to approach challenges with discipline, we must assess the causes of ill-discipline within our ranks. We must be brutal in addressing such ill-discipline issues should they emerge.

6. MKMVA must prevail upon government to provide proper psychological counselling and rehabilitation of ex-combatants in order to ensure that ex-combatants are not seen and are not behaving in a manner that causes them to be social misfits

7. The newly elected NEC must develop a strategy and suggest tangible steps and programs to be adopted and implemented. Such programs should be monitored vehemently.

## **ON MKMVA'S ABILITY AND STATE OF READYNES TO DEFEND BLACK, GREEN AND GOLD**

### **Noting that:**

1. In order to defend the ANC, we must be cognizant of the fact that MKMVA has a direct responsibility for the NDR
2. We are expected to defend and promote the unity and cohesion of the ANC
3. Ours is to protect the ANC at all costs
4. We need to defend the integrity of the ANC and its alliance. In this regard we must revive that special relationship we have always had with the SACP and all other progressive forces. In this regard, we must explore the possibility of running joint progressive programs and/or campaigns
5. We have an obligation to defend what we fought for
6. We need to assist the leadership of the ANC and enhance its ability to steer the ship and advance the gains of the revolution
7. That MKMVA is committed and willing to defend black green and gold but is lacking in the state of readiness because readiness has everything to do with responding anytime to any situation when called upon to do so and such qualities as alertness, physical fitness, vigilance, psychological fitness, morale, social base, are very important as fundamentals for readiness
8. That MKMVA is not playing a significant role in shaping the security sector environment at all levels.

### **And believing that**

1. In responding to the above questions, we need to be clear about our historic background, i.e. the role of MK as a nucleus of the **Black, Green and Gold** (ANC) being in the fore-front of armed struggle and trained with the various forms of fighting the enemy but remains the eyes and ears of the movement.
2. After taking over the country, the role of MK had to change, thus the birth of MKMVA. More than addressing the issues of our welfare as military veterans, one of our major tasks, is to defend the NDR. MKMVA members are by nature special cadres in the movement who possesses special qualities of patriotism, high level of discipline and the highest understanding of the movement. It is clear that MKMVA is the last trench of defense in the NDR.
3. In view of the current challenges faced by the ANC, the greater participation of MKMVA members within the life of the ANC is a must.
4. The overthrow of apartheid system meant a new page in the struggle for emancipation of our masses. The tactics used by the enemies of the movement as an organization that has been and still in the fore-front of the total emancipation of the majority citizens of our country had to change. The emphasis of their operational activities against the ANC mainly focused on hostile propaganda through the use of media, infiltration of the structures of the movement in order to capture and destroy ANC.
5. Those who infiltrated our movement are involved in activities that seek to undermine the unity of the organization through bringing foreign practices elements within the organization, such as tribalism, factionalism, corruption, power-mongering and many more.
6. That there is a global imperialist onslaught directed at the NDR

### **Conference resolves that MKMVA**

1. Must strengthen its intelligence gathering capacity.
2. Must deal with attack of ANC leadership in Public and defend its integrity at all cost.
3. Should do political work on the ground in collaboration with the ANC, Alliance and community based structures.
4. Should occupy the space of the battle of ideas, and political discourse in the public space by building the Media management capacity. This must entail
  - a. The re-launch of the Radio Freedom to ensure broad based political and public education, as well as counter the effects of strategic paralysis by the hostile media that seeks to render the revolutionary leadership and the revolution illegitimate in the eyes of the masses.

- b. Re-launch of Dawn and Sechaba to counter the onslaught of hostile media.
  - c. That MKMVA be at the forefront of coming with a research effort to protect the ANC from hostile and foreign onslaught.
5. Must build the agility to respond quickly to various developments of interests.
  6. Must fight tendencies like factionalism, corruption, tribalism and nepotism as practised in the MKMVA and ANC
  7. Should defend the gains of our revolution through involvement in effective service delivery programs in partnership with government, especially of essential services to our communities.
  8. Should insulate the ANC and be its first line of defence against forces, individuals and organisations within and outside the ANC forces with nefarious tendencies and subversive actions directed to the National Democratic Revolution
  9. Must be provided with possibilities to second former MK cadres in security sensitive state departments and parastatals.
  10. That all deployments within the security cluster should be done in consultation with MKMVA as security competency resides with MMKVA within the ANC as was always the norm within the ANC.
  11. Ex MK cadres deployed in the Party and government must account to MKMVA
  12. Must assist the ANC and government to insulate against imperialist onslaught on the NDR which is led by the ANC in the current conjecture
  13. To work in tandem with other liberation forces to safeguard the gains of the national liberation struggle and the sacrosanct of the African Unity
  14. MKMVA to be a strategic resource in both political and security related matters.
  15. Understand the threat faced by the organisation and adequately address the problem.
  16. Loyal to the organisation and its values.
  19. Defend the ANC jealously.
  20. MKMVA structures must ensure full participation of members in organisational issues.
  21. Members must be politically vigilant
  22. Act as a deterrent against acts of violence and intimidation against the ANC.

**23. MKMVA be at the forefront of coming with a research effort to protect the ANC from hostile and foreign onslaught.**

24. MKMVA further commits its absolute devotion to the course of the revolution with a willpower and revolutionary stamina to carry the revolution and organisational task through with firm revolutionary discipline, hard work, theoretical soundness, perseverance, patience courage, ingenuity, optimism, honesty, modesty and self respect

25. Further noting that in terms of Polokwane Resolutions, ANC took a decision that MKMVA members must actively participate in the structures of the ANC but there are challenges in the implementation of this resolution.

**We therefore, recommend the following;**

- a. That the MKMVA be accorded equal status as other leagues.
- b. That MKMVA must begin lobbying other structures of the ANC for support at Mangaung Conference in this regard.
- c. Proper organization of the MKMVA structure including the revival of the structured Commissariat
- d. That we prioritize the mass mobilization as per Morogoro Strategies and Tactics.
- e. That we introduce organs of people's power that we destroy the cult of detachments including the SDU's without undermining the courtesy of the service.

**ON MKMVA CONSTITUTION, POLICIES/ PROGRAMME AND THEIR APPROPRIATENESS TO TAKE MKMVA TO HIGHER LEVEL:**

**Noting that**

1. We do not have coherent policies in place.
2. To certain extend we do have programmes, the most difficult parts is implementation of these programmes.
3. The limited resources, to carry the programme forward.
4. MKMVA is unable to fund the programmes.
5. The Limited support from our mother body.

6. MKMVA programmes are not owned by MKMVA but owned by government or ANC NEC MKMA needs to have a strategic c plan for the year which also be delegated to its lowest structures.

#### **Further Noting that**

1. The Socio economic plight of ex combatants remains a sensitive issue and the need to adress it at this juncture is now more crucial than ever before.
2. Poor socio economic status of military veterans is used by reactionary forces to manipulate MK cadres.

#### **Conference therefore resolves**

1. That the developmental posture and approach that MKMVA is adopting should still be reconciled with the “welfarist approach” where the advancement of the ex-combatants issues takes center stage.
2. That MKMVA must pursue a double agenda of advancing welfare issues whilst pursuing a politically transformative agenda
3. That the NEC is mandated to structure MKMVA such that it is able to fulfil this “double” mandate
4. To ensure fulfilment of organisational work, the conference resolved that MKMVA structures must adopt ethos of corporate governance systems. To that end, Conference resolves that all MKMVA structures be given training on corporate governance within three months of assuming office.
5. As part of MKMVA organisational renewal, conference resolved that there should be compulsory political education for all MK cadres at all levels, aimed at enhancing revolutionary consciousness amongst MK cadres.
6. Acknowledging that the efforts to advance the NDR within complex and dynamic world will require politically and academically astute cadres with advanced reasoning skills and capabilities,
7. Conference resolves on building partnership with progressive learning institutions and make full use of the skills and experience base of former MK members in order to sharpen their tools of analysis and develop personal intellectual capabilities to contribute optimally in the advancement of the NDR to build a national democratic society.
8. MKMVA must seek to become relevant in society MKMVA contribute to social cohesion and nation building and embark on programs and/or campaigns that will promote social cohesion and nation building, on its own and/or in partnerships with other alliance structures



## **ON MKMVA RISING UP TO BECOME THE VOICE OF REASON IN THIS GREAT HOUR OF NEED?**

### **Noting That**

1. Our comeback as MK also meant deployment into various facets of the state while other took their own way into the corporate world. This cost the MKMVA the power it should have inherited from the days of Mkhonto We Sizwe the military wing of the ANC.
2. Voice of reason requires being current in terms of the politics of today. MKMVA members must continue to update themselves so as to be the voice of reason heard above that which seeks to diminish the might of the ANC.
3. To rise as the voice of reason will require new programs and reorganizing ourselves into that family of a cohesive and organised force united by common goal.
4. Propaganda and control of the public mind remains an important weapon required if the ANC is to remain in power until we achieve the goals of the NDR;
5. Are we capable of basing our voice of reason on our understanding of international balance of forces
6. Noting that the complexity of today's world requires advanced reasoning skills and capabilities,
7. Noting the need to develop intellectual dominance
8. Noting the need to professionalise MKMVA structures

### **Conference Resolved**

9. That a body of thought leaders and subject matter experts must be established to provide the association and the broader ANC with much needed research and analysis capability. This should help MKMVA establish trends and information on various aspects of the socio-political and economics dynamics of the country, the region, the continent and the world.
10. This body of thought leaders should be responsible for research and analysis on matters related to peace and security. This body shall be accountable to NEC of MKMVA, under the guidance of the GS of the MKMVA.
11. This will provide an early warning mechanism which will in turn provide the alliance with the resilience and ability to respond to the, uncertain, complex and ambiguous strategic environment underpinning the NDR
12. As part of organisational renewal, conference resolved on reaffirmation of our commitment to the principles of criticism and self-criticism on order to improve

and deliver on our mandate. All MKMVA Units must have regular criticism and self-criticism session

13. MKMVA must build a partnership with learning institutions and develop make full use of the skills and experience base of MK members.
14. In order to sharpen its tools of analysis and have the desired intellectual dominance, MKMVA must approach a philosophy school and request them to develop a course on critical reasoning
15. All MKMVA structures must be trained on corporate governance within three months of assuming office in order to have superior corporate governance systems
16. All structures of MKMVA must have compulsory political education sessions on a regular basis, for all MK cadres and there should be continual assessment
17. MKMVA will only be heard and have a commanding stronger voice within the ANC if it is accorded the status of the league within the ANC.

## **SPECIAL RESOLUTION**

The conference reiterates its call for the elected leadership to vigorously pursue the program for the Exhumation and repatriation of fallen heroes from all countries

# **STRATEGIC OVERVIEW UNDERPINNING THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION (NDR)**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **CHARACTER OF GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT**

The NDR is characterised by the Dominance of Capitalist system with minimal regulations

### **GLOBAL TRENDS**

#### **POLITICAL**

- There is a raising need for the restructuring global governance
- South- South Cooperation and South-East cooperation
- Liberal democracy
- Rise of extremism
- Political realignment in terms of sphere of influence
- o New forms of intervention (Regime change doctrine)

#### **SOCIO-ECONOMIC**

- Economic power shift from West to East-Asia, but military preponderance remain with the America and NATO
    - Emerging markets
  - Concerns about climate change, energy security, and water security (CEFEW) issues
    - Economic Meltdown
- Power configurations tilting to emerging powers of the South

### **REGIONAL TRENDS**

#### **POLITICAL**

- Appointment of Cde N Zuma as chairperson of AU commission
  - Inter-ethnic/ religious conflict
  - Democratisation processes in Africa is strengthening
- o More elections
- o Less coup or where it occurs its government is not recognised by African leaders

#### **SOCIO-ECONOMIC**

- Discovery of oil and other strategic natural resources
- High economic growth – rise above 6%
- Rise of SA investment in Africa
- Africa remains largely exporter primary of goods
- Regional economic integration adopted as an imperative for economic growth and prosperity in Africa
  - Increase of Chinese economic role in Africa

### **DOMESTIC SITUATION**

#### **POLITICAL**

Revolutionary breakthrough:

- Government based on the will of people
- Strengthen the ANC as the leader in the implementation of a practical program of social change
- Build democracy, a culture of Human rights and the value system that is based on human solidarity.
  - Work with Africa and global progressive forces

## **SOCIO-ECONOMIC**

- Pursue economic growth, development and redistribution

## **THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES TO THE NDR**

- Poverty, unemployment and inequality
- Fraud and corruption (Tenderspreneurs)
- Unequal world
- New global partnerships (BRICS)
- Lack of cohesive approach among developing countries in changing the unequal socio-political and economic international systems
  - Imperial onslaught against the ANC
- Contestation of ANC political power by the narrowly defined civil society organisations
- Lack of political will and leadership decisiveness within the ANC due to individualisation of leadership by some who go against democratic centralism and collective leadership (**rise of free agents**)
- Continued bias media and judiciary against the ANC to effect strategic paralysis through spectrum of non-kinetic means- to render revolutionary leadership and revolution illegitimate)

The challenges on the global, regional and domestic environment presented to the ANC and the country require unwavering committed of MKMVA cadres to the achievement of goals of the national democratic revolution.

## **21st CENTURY CHALLENGES**

Emanates from the national security

Government has the best policies but implementation is not happening. What causes this situation? Government intervention- requires ingenuity to draw experiences from alternative governance like State Capitalism.

Strategic responses will require that Comprehensive Security underpins the tenets of the democratic governance to insulate against

## **GLOBALISERS IMPERIALIST ONSLAUGHT**

SOLUTION:

- Create a proactive ANC with MKMVA cadres in the forefront of community work.
- Play a political leadership role in guiding the development and implementation of national security strategy
  - Early warning on threat to service delivery
- Deployment of MKVA cadres in security sensitive departments / national key points such as Home Affairs, Metro Police, airports security

## **CURRENT TASK OF LEADERSHIP**

- Raise organization leadership to the level of political leadership.
- Ensure that the organizational leadership is fully equal to task of ensuring that realization of political slogans, aspirations and decisions of Conference.
- How does leadership leads? Take cognisance of the experience of cadres whom you task, organise operationalization of correct solution through the people and organise MKMVA to ensure capacity to check for the fulfilment of decisions with direct aid and assistance from the membership

- Correct Solutions requires a leadership that not only teach/lecture membership but **learn from the membership**

In order to rise we must be:-

- a. Selflessness
- b. Dedication
- c. Conviction

### **RENEWAL OF MKMVA AT ALL LEVELS (Requirements)**

- Proper division and structuring of peoples Commissars from National Office to Regional office
- Central control of Commissariat through monitoring and evaluation
- Transfer of qualified cadres to ANC , Alliance and state machinery
- Removal of cadres that violates decisions of MKMVA collective
- Promotion of new cadres
- Purging of unreliable, corrupt cadres
- Develop **integrity commission** to conduct the ff:
  - Screening and adjudication
  - Organise everything
  - Identify incorrigible and windbags capable of drowning any living cause – with floods of talk
  - Neutralise all the conceited aristocratic bureaucrats

### **Principles of Proper selection of cadres:**

- Revolutionary theory imparted continuously as guide to action not dogma, MK at the centre this initiative.
- Know your cadres
- You must value you cadres as gold reserves of the party.
- Know your cadres carefully, Study them individually, Know their strength
- Carefully nurture and foster your cadres
- Help the promising to advance.
- Reserve the old cadre to represent the valuable asset of the organization, Boldly promote the new and old cadres / merge the cadres.
- Members of our intelligence must be deployed in all the security clusters.
- Cadres must be involved in all the events of the organization for vetting purpose.
- Cadres must be capacitated and safeguard the assets of the organization including its leadership.

### **MAIN CRITERIA SELECTING AND PROMOTING OF CADRES TO TAKE CHARGE**

- Absolute devotion to course of revolution.(**serving the people**)
- Ability to independently find ones bearing
- Select cadre with revolutionary stamina
- Will power to carry the revolution and organisation tasks through.
- Internalize the ideology of ANC.

It is respectfully submitted that the way out of the South African crisis characterised by deepening class poverty, unemployment, joblessness, corruption, civil unrest, and the unguided youth is the full implementation of all the ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

It is the only document that can orientate and guide us in this transition from white minority system to the national democratic system.

Comrades this situation, this phase of our revolution require all the members of the liberation struggle to ensure unity and cohesion and act in unison, the ANC, SACP, COSATU, SANCO, ANCYL, ANCWL, YCL, and MKMVA. Let the liberation alliance fire with all cylinders.

MK Commanders and Commissars are not mere disciplined soldiers. We are first and foremost revolutionaries, armed with politics, rooted amongst the people and serving their interest. We are a rare breed in this revolutionary struggle. We were not only prepared to die for the revolution but we were also prepared to take life for it. Our characteristics are revolutionary commitment and dedication, sacrifice, selflessness, armed with a correct revolutionary theory and national democratic struggle experience.

This is the unit that is well placed to lead in this transition. Our skill is an essential strategic reserve an indispensable resource in the process of dismantling apartheid capitalism by setting up grass root people's economy, which must inevitable come In this regard we are positioned at the core of the broader army of the poor.

The man greatest treasure on earth is life. The poor have been robbed of their greatest possession by being alienated from their own economic resources by the international financial oligachies and multinational co-operations.

Commanders and Commissars have to vigorously engage with the mother body to take our rightfull position at the core of the projects and programmes for socio-economic development, for the establishment of a strong foundation or base for the rural people's economy. We can achieve this objective because we once achieve the tallest objective of them all in life.

Let us further influence convincingly the ANC members everywhere to vote for the redirection of the resources for this purpose. Let our target be to bridge the gap between rural and urban.

Let it be known that MK insists on a high standard of selfless devotion to the revolution on the part of all its members. One among other things that we are required to do at all time, is to behave correctly to the people and respect their persons and property.

Umkhonto soldiers pledge themselves to safeguard the revolution at all times regardless of personal hardships, suffering and danger. A soldier who breaks discipline, disobeys commands or by improper conduct betrays the high moral standards of our army was punished. Such punishment is /was necessary to maintain the qualities expected to a people's army.