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 AGENDA EQR NEG MEETLNG IQ BEmHELQMQNW
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 Minutes of previous meeting
 Matters Arising
 (1) Report of Polltical Committee - written report by
 M. Vall1
 (il) Report of Organisational Committee - written
 report by S. Tshwete
 (lii) Report of National Preparatory Committee 1
 written report by J. Stuart
 (lv) Report on Return of Exiles - written report by J.
 Seleb1
 (v) Report on Transkei visit - written rebbrt by C.
 Hani
 (v1) Holldays (W. Sisulu and G. Mbeki)
 Report of Deputy President - T. Mbeki
 Negotiations
 4.1 Report 0? Steering Committee - written report by J.
 Zuma
 4.2 Preparation for forthcoming talks _ Poiitica?
 Committee
 Draft Interim Constitution of ANC _ PoVitical Committee
 Report of Constitutiona? Committee - Z. Skweyiya
 Functioning of External ANS m Poiitical Committee
 7.1 Functioning of Lusaka Headquarters
 7.2 Functioning of NEC and NWO
 7.3 Morale of External Membership
 Launch date of ANC Youth League

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
SOWETO 23.06.1990

PRESENT: W. Sisulu, J. Siovo, D. Tloome, C. Hani, G. Shooe, R. Momnati, T. Mongaio, J. Seiebi, S. Tshwete, J. Zuma, R. Kasrlls, M. Piiiso, P. Jordan, R. September. H. Makgothl, S. Sigxashe, S. Dlamlnl. R. Nanci, S. Makana, F. M911. J. Stuart. 8. Mfenyane, J. Molefe, A. Pahad, J. Jele.

BY INVITATION: M. VaWTi, 6. Marcus

APOLOGIES: GU Tambo, N. MandeTa, T. Nkobi, T. Mbeki. J.

Modise, T. Mokwena. S. MabizeTa, A. N20, G.

Mbeki. J. Nkadmeng.

IN THE CHAIR: w. Sisutu opened the meeting and asked J. Siovo to make a report.

Joe Siovo reported on the Taunch of SACP on the 29th July 1990.

The SACP had decided to name pubiiciv its National Leadership:

Joe Siovo, D. Tioome, R. Mhlaba, G. Mbeki, C. Hanx, J.

Nkadmeng, Mac Maharaj, R. Masriis, S. Sigxashe, R.

September.

The final list would be made known CO the NEC of the ANS.

S. Mfehane then proposed the agenda which was discused and the following amendments were made:

1. Instead of item on Resolutions of ILC, a resort on uersonnei and membership De dlscusse.

2. An item on Negotiations shoukd De included: ?Agreec that every meeting of NEC would consider a Report on Negetiations Processj.

3. Item on Return of ExiEes to be Included on agenda

The Agenoa w s adooted with above amendments.

REPQKT OF COMMISSION: on ailocation of oersonnei to P011t10a1 and Organisational Committees at

Headquarters was given by w. Sisuhu on

behalf of the Commission designated at

extended meeting. After discussion the

?Okiohihg names were anpreved:

PJLSTECAL COMMLath:

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Joe SiCW

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ORGANIS i IONAL COMI4 TTEE: waiter s.suiu N. MandEia, (Ex-
officio). S. Tshwete, (Head) Mac
Maharaj, Popo Moie.e (Secretary)
P. Mayibuye, J. Zuma, I.
MononTat, R. Kasriis, Ivan
Piiay, Msungutu. R. Suttner.
Guebuza.Rapu. Moongo, ThandTT C.
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x - A member from t.he wo men s Leag e
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PoiTLTcai Committee
TH; NL"IQNL_ CONFERENCE
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MINUTES OF MEETING OF

EXTENDED NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

gBEING MEETING OF THE NEC SITTING WITH MEMBERS
OF THE INTERIM LEADERSHIP "ILC"!

SOWETO 20 - 24 TH JUNE 1990

PRESENT : A. NZO, W. SISULU, G. MBEKI, D. TLOOME, J. SLOVO,
G. SHOPE, S. DLAMINI, A. GUMEDE, H. GWALA, C.

. HANI, J. JELE, P. JORDAN, R. KASRILS, V.

KHANYILE, T. LEKOTA, H MAKGOTHI, M. MAHARAJ, S

MAKANA, R. MANCI, T. MANUEL, F. MELI, S.

MFENYANA, R. MHLABA, W. MKWAYI, A. MLANGENI, J

MOLEFE, P. MOLEFE, R. MOMPATI, E. MOTSOALEDI, J.

NETSHITENGE, J. NHLANHLA, A. PAHAD, J. SELEBI, R.

SEPTEMBER, S. TSHWETE, J. STUART, R. SUTTNER, J.

ZUMA, I. MATSEPE, B. FIHLA, T. MONGALO, M.

PILISO, J. NKADIMENG, XOBOLO

APOLOGIES : O. TAMBO, N. MANDELA, A. KATHRADA, T. NKOBI, J.

MODISE, T. MOKWENA

IN THE CHAIR W. Sisulu opened the meeting and welcomed

members. He asked the meeting to approve the

attendance of M. Valli, Secretary of the ILC, and

G. Marcus, recorder. There was no objection. He

then asked M. Valli to introduce agenda. M.

'h Valli explained agenda and it was adopted.

COMMITTEE FOR JUNE 26TH STATEMENT

The following were approved to draft the NEC
statement for June 16th 1990.:

P. Jordan, (convenor) C. Hani, A. Pahad, J.

Netshitenge, P. Molefe, R. Suttner.

INTERVENTION BY COSATU

The meeting agreed to invite a delegation of

COSATU including General Secretary J. Naidoo &

Dep General Secretary 8. Mofumadi to address them

on the latest developments in the campaign

against the Labour Relations Amendment Act (LRA).

J. Naidoo made following points in his briefing:

ii)
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vi)
IT WAS DECIDED
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The government had introduced amendments to the LRA in 1988 which had been calculated to weaken COSATU. COSATU had warned the government of conflict which would follow if specific demands were not met, and that conflict had materialised. The employers had been forced in 1989 to accept that Labour Legislation could not be unilaterally and arbitrarily imposed.

The Manpower Commission had agreed with Cosatu's stand, but the govt would not relent, arguing that it needed to consult their parties.

COSATU had indicated they would be compelled to resort to actions if the government refused to legislate agreements which had been reached and chose a confrontation. '

COSATU was of the View that the government should legislate the amendments proposed (and this was agreed to by the Manpower Commission) as a token _of their commitment to act in the spirit of negotiation, and as a mark of good faith.

COSATU would meet over the week to determine specific actions. Sit-ins and demonstrations were already taking place in certain places. Discussion followed and the following points were raised 3-

Should we counterpose a strategy on conflict with the regime at all levels of the negotiations?

To what extent had the possibility of suspending negotiations (on this issue) been canvassed within worker ranks?

That the meeting should come out in full support of COSATU's actions and call on the people to act in support.

A statement in support of COSATU should be issued and proper liaison set up to see what more could be done.

After De Klerk's response shall have been received, a briefing to be sent to the Deputy President with a request that he contact President De Klerk to demand that he meet COSATU.

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THE EDUCATION CRISIS

- ii)
- iii)

V. Khanyile, Spoke to a written submission. The following points were made:

The disintegration (of state authority) is most spectacularly revealed in the education crisis and the challenge facing us is to respond to the disintegration.

The DET was no longer in control. They realise they have no solutions to the crisis.

No basic text books and stationery had been provided for schools.

The failure rate among students was immense and morale even among teachers had reached a low ebb.

Cosas was attempting to develop itself as an organisation, and teacher unity was being forged under the Cosatu.

Increasingly parents, teachers, principals etc were coming to the ANC but there was no mechanism to enable the ANC to provide political guidance.

Discussion of the report followed and these points being made:

- i)
- ii)
- iii)

IT WAS AGREED

The crisis in education is fundamental

ANC should heed Cosas call for assistance to re-establish itself.

Teacher unity presently guided by NECC and COSATU needs to be strengthened by the ANC in a structured way so ANC can respond effectively to the calls for guidance.

That the crisis in Education be discussed in the context of the discussion on the overall current political situation.

REPORT ON NEGOTIATIONS' PROCESS : WAS GIVEN BY J. ZUMA

He recalled that the Groote Schuur meeting had decided on a Working Group composed of members on either side to work out a definition of a political

offence and to report back (to the principals) by let May 1990. The issue of repressive legislation had now been left with the government to follow up and it had been agreed that it would address the question of lifting the state of emergency.

The Working Group had since made reports and the ANC (NEC) had discussed the report.

THE NEC HAD AGREED

That their comments and observation be submitted (to the other side) and the Working Group be mandated to go ahead and finalise the report by the end of the month (May) with the assistance of the ILC Discussion of the report followed.

IT WAS AGREED

i) To consider the memorandum submitted by the Robben Island prisoners and to ensure that they were briefed, as well as prisoners held in other centres, including those on death row.

ii) To arrange meeting with trialist

iii) To tackle the question of monitoring by way of placement of monitoring cadres on the ground formalising methods of reporting incidents and the methods (and frequency) of communication with HQ).

iv) Steps should be taken to ensure COSATU participation in monitoring.

The report on the Current Political Situation was given by W. Sisulu (written report submitted).

Discussion of the report followed with these points being made:

i)

ii)

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vi)

There is a need to discuss whether the process that has been set in motion towards a negotiated settlement is reversible.

Much confusion still remains on the ground and not enough guidance was coming through from the centre.

The document raises some issues and falls short of providing a broad political assessment and some issues are even wrongly posed.

The document is populist and lacks a programme. The Natal violence has specific features which have not been taken on board.

Further the question of unity is approached in general terms but the specifics (e.g. affecting

the Bantustans) have not been addressed.

vii) The enemy crisis should be approached in such a way that we are enabled to enrich our strategic perspectives.

viii) The central role of the ANC/MDM needs sharper emphasis and it is not enough to say there is disintegration of the government's support base to both the right and left.

ix) Negotiations should be assessed as a front of struggle.

x) The document makes an artificial distinction between the masses and the ANC. There is a T. preponderance of structures and people hear too many voices and tend to get confused. There are many who don't understand the goals of the movement, understanding them mostly from the point of their entry only.

xi)i Work on the ground should be characterised by more strategising and political monitoring of developments.

xii) People want to join the ANC but there are no (membership) cards.

xiii) There should be greater consultation with the people especially before we meet Bantustan leaders (and others working in enemy created structures). Failure to do this paralyses the people.

xiv) Questions requiring urgent attention are those that relate to education and the black authorities. There is disintegration. at many levels but how is the vacuum to be filled?

.. Generally, how do we utilise the space opened after February? Can we build dual power? And how do we build people's defence units?

xv) A unique opportunity has arisen for the Movement to make authoritative pronouncements giving guidance for the future conduct of struggle in regard to education, community councils, bantustans etc. -

xvi) Headquarters should contact local structures before dispatching their emissaries (to work in these structures). And when visitors come to headquarters local structures (of the ANC) ought to be informed.

xvii) The question often arises whether ANC structures should displace other structures on the ground. At some levels the organs of implementation may not be ANC. Should such local organs be collapsed?

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xviii) The document has highlighted that we are locked to the negotiations process in a way which does not balance the concrete situation and the De Klerk government is attempting to substitute protest for struggle. We need to plan campaigns and ensure that a mechanism for checking is built into our campaigns.

xvii) The regime is working on a strategy to reverse the battle gains made by the ANC. Our structures are in disarray and disintegrating; we should avoid being tempted with the "scent of power".

xx) The violence in Natal is assuming a new trend and there is clear evidence of SAP involvement.

The issue of Gatsha Buthelezi being Minister of KwaZulu Police while President of Inkatha ought to be a matter of concern for the government.

The KwaZulu police is not outside the ambit of the regime. On issues like this we should organise action and we should not be satisfied that we have made a statement.

REGIME REPORTS

were tabled and the reports from the following regions were received and considered from the 1st May.

Western Cape Region

Eastern Cape Region

Border Region

Transkei Region

Northern Cape Region

Northern Orange Free State Region

Southern Orange Free State Region

P.W.V. Regional Reports

Natal Midlands Region

10. Southern Natal Region

11. Northern Natal Region

12. Eastern Transvaal Region

13. Northern Transvaal Reports

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1 Recruitment drive and membership

2 No. of branches set up

3. Date of regional meeting

4. Relations with MDM structures

5 Main problems in campaigning

6 Fees collected.

Report of the Women's Section was given by G. SHOPE. The report covered a report on the Women's workshop which had been called inter alia to agree a programme to build the Women's League of the ANC. A task force had been created for the purpose. It had been decided to launch the Women's League on August 9th and a conference to be held in Kimberley in October. These points were raised in discussion which followed

a) Dual membership : The ANC women's league would not phase out existing women's organisations.

. b) Membership cards : The cards of women belonging to the WL would carry a special stamp.

c) Women would be seconded to regional and branch structures to facilitate organising.

d) The Women's League will function as an autonomous organisation with its own national headquarters and raising fund for its own account.

Reports of the Youth Section was given by J. Selibi. The following points were made .

a) The youth section had set up a task force to build the Youth League.

b) A provisional constitution was being considered as well as a launching manifesto, and a memo prepared by SAYCO.

e c) A youth league conference was planned for b. April 1991 and the task of setting up branches was to start on 16 June 1990.

d) The problem of uniting with SAYCO, SANSCO and other youth organisations was under consideration.

Discussion followed which centred principally around the relationship between the Youth Section and SAYCO and the approaches of the two bodies towards the question of establishing the ANC YOUTH LEAGUE.

It was agreed that the Youth Section would go on to hold discussions with the youth bodies mentioned so that the programme for the launch of the ANC Youth League would be a joint programme with the full involvement of the youth on the ground.

DISCUSSION ON REGIONAL REPORTS

Precedence was accorded to comrade Jay Naidoo to discuss the reports as he was due to leave the meeting. He emphasised that COSATU structures should be utilised in building the ANC. There were over

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25 000 shop stewards and Welkom alohe had some 900 shop stewards. Apartheid structures were collapsing and while councillors and even MP's were important the structures of the people (on the ground) were most important. The alliance would have to be consolidated at national, regional and local levels if we were to win political power.

The following points were made in further discussion

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The last 30 years have done a lot of harm to the communities and there is incredible ignorance about the ANC. Moreover, the organisation is being called upon to provide alternatives to decaying structures. While mass' structures exist, experience has shown that damage has been caused by foreign funding.

Rules for membership should not be applied so rigorously that people wanting to join are kept out because they cannot afford them. African people's living standards have deteriorated badly and this must be taken into account in recruitment drives. We should establish principled guidelines which take into account factors such as unemployment etc.

Headquarters must ensure that workshops are held and skills are imparted. Consultations with the MDM and COSATU should be the order of the day at all levels.

We have to develop a culture appropriate to the circumstances. Our membership cannot be held in the dark and accountability should be nurtured to enhance development and confidence. The manner in which regions have been demarcated should be reconsidered and the whole process of recruiting should be modernised.

Headquarters must move on the process of building structures. There is no ANC literature which is meant to help regions and branches - in the Ciskei and Transkei for instance. There are openings in the homelands to broaden ANC propaganda. Some homeland leaders are even willing to provide resources. We appear to be slow in moving in to take advantage of spaces which have opened up.

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The reports ought to be compiled and sent to the regions for study. At the rate that we are moving it seems unlikely we will be ready for December 16th and postponement should be considered.

In the last thirty years, organisations have emerged which have served the cause of the wale. Undemocratic practices should be avoided. There are also suspicions in other levels of leadership since the unbanning of the ANC that they would be eclipsed. These organisations should have been consulted at the launching of the ANC. Consultation should however be distinguished from seeking permission.

There is talk of branches with membership of thousands. But do we have a perspective of what a branch is? Are we using all ANC members to We are building a mass ANC as a weapon to capture power. Reports have raised the question of political education. We want a membership that understands the ANC and its polices. Has the time not arrived for an ISIKHOKHELOGTensions must so in the context of campaigns. We cannot simply build a branch for the sake of boosting membership. Reports indicate that recruitment is not as effective among the Indians and Coloureds. Our approach suffers from being too generalised. the National Conference. Definite goals should be set for each region to meet in preparation for the Conference.

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THE ORGANISATIONAL REPORT

was read and tabled for discussion. The following points were made in discussion.

The problems at the centre (HQ), centre around our inability to implement the original plan contained in the document "Building the ANC Legally".

It is true that the recommendations contained in the original structure have not been implemented. But the document looks at how to implement and get the basic elements in place to enable us to begin working effectively. More elaborate structures can develop out of this.

One of the positive features of the document is that it has placed before the meeting the need to have a day to day political strategising body which is charged with the task of initiating and reacting to daily events.

It is one of the major weaknesses of the movement that we live politically from hand to mouth. We should base ourselves on experiences gained from attempting to implement previous strategies.

In order to improve the work and co-ordination, it was felt that it was in the interests of the movement that the General Secretaries of UDF and COSATU should be part of the ILC structure; but this does not make the ILC a federal structure.

The inclusion of the General Secretaries and the President in the ILC is in no way an attempt to have the Alliance functioning at this level. The four people are there as ANC members, not representing their organisations. They have been co-opted as ANC members. When the policy of the ANC was being drafted in 1943, the General Secretaries of the SACP was designated as such, and Ghana Makabeni was designated as head of the trade union movement. It does appear then that precedents have been set.

(It was finally agreed that the formulation in the document gave a. wrong impression. and it should be amended so that reference to General Secretaries and President should be replaced with "such other members as may be co-opted by the ILC".

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The ILC as a larger body cannot carry out the task of strategising on a daily basis. This document (Organisational Report) intends to correct this weakness (of day-to-day political strategising) Regional convenors will not be part, of the strategising committee and should be part of the broader discussions (on strategy).

There is an absolute necessity for such a political committee as outlined in the document. We need a committee meeting on a day to day basis to give leadership.

The political committee should be composed of people based at HQ and who should be fulltime.

The question posed by the document was the relationship between the Organisational Committee and the office of the National Organiser.

It is clear that (in formulating the document) there was insufficient consultation with departments

The DIP personnel should deal with both media liaison and propaganda.

The administration comes forward (in the document) unrelated to all other structures. The administration must have a clear link between the ILC; the political committee, the organisational committee, the finance committee etc.

A subcommittee should be set up to make proposals on how departments should function and interact.

The Deputy President should be ex-officio member of all committees

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE REPORT

The Convenor (R. Suttner) presented certain resolutions and indicated on what issues (for resolution) there was no contention. He proposed to briefly summarise the content of each resolution, and once they shall have been properly formulated, he proposed they be submitted to the ILC for approval and adoption.

REPORT ON
PROGRAMME

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Resolutions were accordingly proposed on

- i) the formation of Branches
- ii) the Natal violence
- iii) mass struggle

LAUNCH OF THE SACP

was given by J. Slovo. He indicated that a communication had been sent to all fraternal bodies on the launch of the SACP at a rally to be held on 29th July at the FNB stadium. He expressed hope that fraternal organisations would help spread the news and send regional contingents. The Internal Leadership Group (ILG) would be presented at the rally.

OF ACTION

R. Kasrils led discussion and the following points were made:

1. At all levels throughout the country, the masses are making protests in the form of rural revolt education crisis etc. It is imperative that the Liberation movement comes up with a coherent programme to mobilise & harness popular energy to ensure the negotiation. process is taken to a higher stage and the demand for a Constituent Assembly is properly articulated.
2. A small group should be set up to produce a document to be placed before ILC and NEC.
3. Central to a programme of Action is that the building of the ANC has to take place in the context of campaigns in which people are actively involved.
4. The Natal issue is vital and the ANC must come out in support of the National Stay-away.
5. We must keep the perspective of a struggle for power before us and one of the tactics in the present situation is the demand for a Constituent Assembly. This demand should be clarified and promoted with the use of concrete slogans.

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The regime is talking about a referendum and we should take a position on this issue. Our organisers should be on the ground so that we don't talk in generalities. The land question is one on which we should elaborate specific demands.

We should campaign around charters e.g. Media charter, land charter, cultural charter. Such campaigns help to draw the framework of future legislation and provide a mandate for negotiations.

The DPE should be instructed to produce a manual on what is happening in Natal and include interviews and give the ANC viewpoint.

A Peace Conference is envisaged as a culminating point of solidarity actions on Natal, and in order that it should be a national event, it should take place in the first week of August so that it does not interfere with date set for launch of the SACP. It should not clash with the 9th August.

The ANC should issue a statement denouncing talk about an attack on hostels inmates on the 2nd July, and consider other actions as well directed at hostels inmates.

A sub-committee should draw up a comprehensive programme of Action which would take into account the resolutions of the meeting and the programme to be ratified by ILC. It was agreed that the Programme of Action would be drafted by Cde Valli, Kasrils, Mayibuye, Hani, Lekota. Hani to convene sub-committee.

FINANCIAL REPORT was submitted in writing by Cde Vusi and he spoke to it making these points '

1.

The report had been prepared with a view to explaining process proposed to create a financial network; a serious flaw in the report is that it omits a mechanism for policy making and this omission needs correction.

Regional Branches have started submitting budgets but there is no mechanism for standardisation.

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3. A workshop for regional treasurers is necessary so they can formulate and agree a basis for standardising budgets and salary scales and to consider financial control and accounting procedures.

4. The position of treasurer will have to be clarified and an accountant is needed to deal with daily transactions, responsible to treasurer.

5. Guidelines need to be drawn up urgently in respect of:

- (a) Payments (and payment contracts)
- (b) Donations
- (c) Asset control
- (d) Vehicles (policy)
- (e) Subscriptions
- (f) Salary structures
- (g) Reception and settling in procedures
- (h) Appointment of Auditors

6. Administrative aspects dealt with:

- (a) Membership Card : a new design
- (b) Subscription and Banking procedures
- (c) Computerisation
- (d) Employment policy
- (e) Office space : hire or purchase?

General discussion of the report followed.

THE CHAIRMAN Thanked the members for having transacted business in a good spirit and indicated that the next days meeting at LOHOO would not include the ILC. He closed the meeting at 18.10 hrs.

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ANC , INTERIM CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Whereas the ANC was founded in 1912 to defend and advance the rights of the African people after the violent destruction of their independence and the creation of the white supremacist Union of South Africa; and

Whereas in the course of fulfilling this historic aim, the ANC has emerged to lead the fight of all democratic and patriotic forces to destroy the apartheid state and replace it with a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa in which the people as a whole shall govern and all shall enjoy equal rights, and

Whereas through the struggles and sacrifices of its members over the generations the ANC has come to be recognised as the central organiser and inspirer of a vast popular upsurge against apartheid, involving a great array of social, cultural, religious, trade union, professional and political organisations, and

Whereas, pending the adoption of a new Constitution, duly adopted at a national conference on South African soil, reflecting its new role and responsibilities in the new South Africa that is being created, it is necessary to have a constitutional framework for the re-establishment of the ANC functioning legally in South Africa,

The National Executive Committee of the ANC, basing itself on the terms of the 1958 Constitution of the ANC, as updated by the Constitutional Guidelines adopted at the Kabwe National Consultative Conference in 1985, hereby adopts the following constitutional framework for the period of re-establishment leading up to the holding of a national conference:

1. NAME

The name of the organisation shall be the African National Congress, hereinafter referred to as the ANC.

2. AIMS AND OBJECTS

The aims and objects of the ANC shall be:

1. To unite the people of South Africa, Africans in particular, for the complete liberation of the country from all forms of discrimination and national oppression.

2. To end apartheid in all its forms and transform South Africa as rapidly as possible into a united, non-racial and democratic country based on the principles of the Freedom Charter.

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3. To defend the democratic gains of the people, and advance towards a society in which the government is freely chosen by the people according to the principles of universal suffrage on a common voters' rollu
4. To fight for social justice and eliminate the vast inequalities created by apartheid.
5. To build a South African nation with a common patriotism and loyalty in which the cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of the people is recognised.
6. To promote economic development for the benefit of all.
7. To support the cause of national liberation, development, world peace, disarmament and respect for the environment.

CHARACTER OF THE ANC

1. The ANC is a democratic organisation whose policies are determined by the membership and whose leadership is accountable to the members in terms of the procedures laid down in the Constitution.
2. The ANC shall in its composition and functioning be anti-racist and against any form of tribalistic exclusivism or ethnic chauvinism.
3. While striving for the maximum unity of purpose and functioning, the ANC shall respect the linguistic, cultural and religious diversity of its members.
3. The ANC shall support the emancipation of women and ensure that the voice of women is fully heard in the organisation and that women are properly represented at all levels.
4. The principles of free speech and full circulation of ideas and information shall operate within the ANC.
3. Membership of all bodies of the ANC will be open to all men and women in the organisation without regard to race, colour, or creed.
6. While the ANC is a secular organisation, it collaborates closely with religious bodies in the country and provides on a non-denominational basis for recognition of the spiritual needs of its many members who are believers.

MEMBERSHIP

1. Membership of the ANC shall be open to all South African men and women above the age of 18 years, irrespective of race, colour or creed, who accepts its principles, policies and programme and are prepared to abide by its Constitution and rules.

2. Spouses or Children of South Africans who have manifested a clear identification with the South African people and its struggle may apply for membership.

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_ 3. The National Executive Committee of the ANC (hereinafter referred to as the NECI, shall draw up a list of existing members of the ANC. This shall include men and women who have functioned in , ANC units in the underground, in prison and in exile as well as persons who were enrolled as members of the ANC at the time it was banned and who have maintained their links with the peoples
1? struggle.

3 4. The NEC shall appoint persons in all the regions of South Africa to receive applications for membership. Where branches have j been established, such persons shall be members of the branch
I committee.

. 0. Applications for membership shall be considered by the branch committee where such exists, and by the regional executive if no branch committee exists. The branch committee, the regional executive
3 committee, or such interim structure as the NEC may create from time
-J t to time to decide on applications, shall have the power to accept or refuse any application for membership submitted to it, provided that
_ such acceptance or refusal shall be subject to review by the next
j higher organ of the ANC.

7' 6. The NEC shall arrange for membership cards to be issued to registered members of the ANC and to persons whose application for membership has been accepted, subject to review as aforesaid, and, in all cases, subject to payment of the prescribed subscription.

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7. On being accepted into the ANC, new members shall, in a language he or she knows well, make the following solemn declaration to the body or person who received the application:

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. "I, , solemnly declare that I will abide by the aims and objectives of the ANC as set out in the Constitution and the Freedom Charter, that I am joining the organisation voluntarily and without motives of personal gain or material advantage, and that I will participate in the life of the organisation as a loyal, active and disciplined member."

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8. Members shall pay an annual subscription fee/xeleurletaed:as:e mgrdrrincomezamdetepminedzbsbth%&2\$. Non-earning members or those on reduced incomes will pay a flat fee at a low amount to be fixed by the NEC.

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RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERS

1. RIGHTS

A member of the ANC shall have the right to:

- a. Take a full and active part in the discussion, formulation and implementation of the policy of the ANC;
- b. Receive and impart information on all aspects of ANC policy and activities;
- c. Offer constructive criticism of any member, official, decision, policy, programme or activity of the ANC;
- d. Take part in elections and be elected or appointed to any committee, structure, commission or delegation of the ANC;
- e. Submit proposals or statements to the branch, region or NBC.

2. DUTIES

A member of the ANC shall:

- a. Belong to and take an active part in the life of his or her branch;
- b. Take all necessary steps to understand and carry out the aims, policy and programme of the ANC;
- (3. Explain the aims, policy and programme of the ANC to the people;
- d. Deepen his or her understanding of the social, cultural, political and economic problems of the country;
- e. Combat propaganda detrimental to the interests of the Movement and defend the policy and programme of the ANC;
- f. Fight against racism, tribal chauvinism, sexism, religious intolerance or any other form of discrimination or chauvinism.
- g. Observe discipline, behave honestly and carry out loyally decisions of the majority and decisions of higher bodies;
- h. Inform his or her branch of movement to any other area, and report to the branch committee secretary on arriving at any new area.

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ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

1. The ANC shall consist of the following organs:

a. The National Conference, which elects the NEC;

b. The Regional conferences, which elect the regional executive committees;

c. The branch meetings, which elect the branch committees.

2. Branches may be grouped together into zones and may be subdivided into smaller units such as street committees.

3. Pending the re-establishment of regional committees and branches, the NEC may nominate temporary structures to carry out their functions.

4. The ANC Womenis League shall have the same basic structure, namely national, regional and branch. Its objectives will be to defend and advance the rights of women, both inside and outside the ANC, against all forms of national, social and gender oppression and to ensure that women play a full role in the life of the organisation, in the peoplels struggle and in national life. The Womenis League will function as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC, of which it will be an integral part.

5. The ANC Youth League shall be open to persons between the ages of 14 and 30. It will operate on a national, regional and branch basis. Its objectives will be to unite and lead young men and women in confronting and dealing with the problems that face the youth, and in ensuring that the youth make a full and rich contribution to the work of the ANC and to the life of the nation. The Youth League will function as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC, of which it shall be an autonomous part.

. 6. Members of the Women's League and the Youth League over the age of 18 shall be expected to play a full part in the general political life of the ANC.

7. This interim constitutional framework shall serve as the basis for the convening of the next national conference of the ANC at which a new Constitution for the ANC will be adopted.

HEADQUARTERS

National headquarters will be established in Johannesburg

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REGIONAL STRUCTURES

The country will be divided into the following regions:

Western Cape, 5 Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Border, Transkei, Southern Natal, Midlands, Northern Natal, Northern OFS, Southern OFS, Northern Transvaal, PWV, Western Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal.

The regional headquarters will respectively be:

Cape Town, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth, East London, Umtata, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Empangeni, Welkom, Bloemfontein, Pietersburg, Johannesburg, Rustenberg, Nelspruit.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The National Conference shall be the supreme ruling and controlling body of the ANC. It shall be composed as follows:

- a. At least ninety per cent of delegates shall be chosen directly by branches in proportion to their membership, save that special provision can be made to ensure adequate representation of areas where membership is reduced;
- b. The NEC may invite individuals who have made a special contribution to the struggle or who have special skills or experience to offer the conference, their total number not to exceed ten per cent of delegates;
- c. All members of the NEC will attend ex officio as full participants in the conference;
- d. The NEC shall appoint a conference organising committee which will circulate conference information in advance, determine the precise procedure for selection of delegates and indicate how the membership can ensure that their concerns are on the agenda;
- e. The conference shall determine its own procedure in accordance with democratic principles;
- f. Voting on key questions, including election of office-bearers and members of the NEC, shall be by secret ballot.

DUTIES AND POWER OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The National Conference shall:

- a. Decide and determine the policy, programme and Constitution of the ANC;
- b. Receive and discuss the reports of the NEC which shall include the Presidential address, the Secretary General's report, the Treasurer General's report, and reports from the regions and from the Woman's League and the Youth League;

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c. Have the right and power to review, ratify, alter or rescind any decision taken by any of the constituent bodies, units or officials of the ANC;

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d. Elect the President-General, the Deputy President, the Secretary-General, the Treasurer-General and the remaining forty .34 members of the NEC; nomination shall be by delegates at the Conference;

e. Have the power to elect or appoint any Commission or committee and assign specific tasks and duties to such Commission or committee.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

2 1. The National Executive Committee shall be elected by the 3 National Conference and shall hold office for three years.

2. The NEC shall be constituted as follows:

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. a? a. President-General, Deputy President-General, Secretary - General, Treasurer-General and the remaining forty members elected

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g at the National Conference;

.3)K b. The president and secretary of each region, or their respective f deputies, who shall be ex officio members of the NEC;

_ c. The president of the Woman,s League and the president of the j Youth League, or their respective deputies, who shall be ex officio 3 members of the NBC.

7 3. The NEC shall have the power to co-opt new members to replace .3 persons who cease to belmembers.

j 4. The NEC shall meet on the day of its election and thereafter at '3 least four times a year.

. 5. The NEC shall appoint from amongst its members a National Working Committee of not less than seven members residing within a radius of fifty miles of the National Headquarters, who shall constitute a permanent core responsible for the activities of the NEC in between meetings.

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6. The NEC shall appoint the National Organising Secretary.

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7. The NEC shall appoint the National Finance and Control Committee.

-1 8. The NEC shall:

a. carry out the decisions and instructions of the National Conference;

b. issue and send directives and instructions to and demand and receive reports from regional committees and branches;

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- c. supervise and direct the work of the ANC generally;
- d. ensure that the regional and branch structures of the ANC function democratically and effectively;
- e. supervise the work of the Women's League and the Youth League;
- f. manage and control all the national property and funds of the ANC;
- g. submit reports to the National Conference;
- h. do all things necessary in furtherance of the policy and programme of the ANC.

THE NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

The National Working Committee (the NWCJ) shall:

- a. carry out decisions and instructions of the National Conference and the NEC;
- b. conduct the current work of the ANC and ensure that regions and branches carry out decisions of ANC;
- c. submit a report to each NEC meeting.

THE NATIONAL FINANCE AND CONTROL COMMITTEE

The National Finance and Control Committee shall consist of senior cadres of proven reliability and experience in handling financial matters, who shall be responsible for monitoring the collection, receipt, allocation and spending of funds. It shall have under it the Treasury and the Fundraising Committee, and shall report to the NEC on the state of the organisation's funds and resources before each NEC meeting.

DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF OFFICIALS

1. The President-General:

The President-General is the head and chief directing officer of the ANC and the leader of the house in a national conference. He or she shall:

- a. Present to the National Conference a comprehensive statement of the state of the nation and the political situation generally;
 - b. Make pronouncements for and on behalf of the NEC outlining and explaining the policy or attitude of the ANC on any question;
- (2. Preside over meetings of the NEC in conformity with the Constitution, bye-laws and rules of procedure adopted by the NEC;

d. Be an ex officio member-of the NWC;

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f. In carrying out his or her functions, the President General shall be assisted by a Presidential Council consisting of the Deputy President-General, the Secretary-General, the Treasurer-General and such other members as the NEC may appoint.

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g. The President-General shall, under the overall supervision of the NEC, orient and direct the activities of the Constitutional Committee of the ANC.

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2. Deputy President-General.

The Deputy President-General shall assist the President-General, deputise for him or her when necessary and carry out whatever functions are entrusted to him or her by the National Conference, the . President-General or the NEC.

3.The Secretary-General.

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The Secretar;v-General is the chief administrative officer of the ANC. He or she shall:

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"J a. Keep the minutes of the National Conference, the NEC, the NWC, f1 as well as other records of the ANC;

J b. Conduct the correspondence of the NEC and the NWC, and send 71 out notices of all conferences and meetings at the national level;

'33 c. Convey the decisions and instructions of the National Conference, the NEC and the NWC to the regional committees, and see to it that all units of the ANC carry out their duties properly;

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. d. Prepare annual reports on the work of the NBC and the NWC '1; and such other documents which may from time to time be required J by the NBC and the ch.

3. In the absence of the President-General or the Deputy President-General, the Secretary-General shall assume the functions of the President. In the event of death or permanent incapacity of the 'v President-General and the Deputy President-General, the NEC shall as j soon as possible appoint an Acting President until such time as the National Conference meets.

3. Treasurer-General

The Treasurer-General is the chief custodian of the funds and property of the ANC. He or she shall:

8. Receive and bank all monies on behalf of the NBC and shall, together with any two members of the NEC, operate a banking account;

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- b. Keep such books of account as may be necessary to record clearly the financial position of the ANC;
- c. Submit to the National Conference a report showing the Income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet of the ANC for the period since the previous National Conference, and shall submit periodic reports to the NBC and the NWC;
- d. Be responsible, together with the National Finance and Control Committee, for working out and executing plans for fund-raising.

4. The Auditors-General

The NEC shall establish the office of Auditor-General with the task of ensuring strict control of the assets of the ANC and accountability of members concerned with financial matters. The Auditor-General's office shall:

- a. Be headed by a member of the NBC and shall consist of three members chosen on the basis of proven integrity and standing in the Movement;
- b. Have all the powers necessary to act as permanent financial watchdog of the ANC;
- c. Normally function collectively, but may on an ad hoc basis entrust specific tasks to its members;
- d. Act as a supervisory financial inspectorate with access to all books and financial documents of the ANC and the right to make such reports and recommendations as it sees fit;
- e. Be accountable to the NEC through the National Finance and Control Committee, and be independent of the Treasury.

5. The National Organising Secretary.

The National Organising Secretary shall be appointed by the NEC with the task of organising the ANC nationally, recruiting new members and generally strengthening the organisational machinery of the ANC.

6. The National Chaplain

The National Chaplain shall be appointed by the NEC on a non-denominational basis to provide such spiritual leadership as believers in the ANC might wish to have, including the saying of prayers at the National Conference.

REGIONAL STRUCTURES

'3 Subject to the overall guidance of the national leadership, the ., Regional Conference shall be the highest organ of the ANC in each region. The Regional Conference shall:

- w! 3. Be held at least once a year, and more often if requested by at least one third of all branches in the region;
- b. Be a delegates conference attended by delegates chosen on a democratic basis by all branches in the region, with special attention being paid to securing adequate representation of areas where membership is reduced;

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- c. Be attended by members of the Regional Executive Committee who shall have full voting and speaking rights as ex officio participants;

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2. (:1. Carry out the decisions of the National Conference, the NBC and the NWC;

,, e. Receive and consider reports by the Regional Executive Committee;

f. Elect the Regional President, Secretary, Treasurer and eight other members of the Regional Executive Committee; and

g. Carry out and develop the policy and programme of the ANC in 4 the region.

a h. Pending the creation of branches and the holding of a Regional .1 Conference in any region, the NEC shall appoint an interim Regional Executive Committee for that area.

REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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. The Regional Executive Committee shall be the body responsible for carrying out the decisions of the Regional Conference. It shall consist of the Regional Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer, and eight other men and women elected by the Regional Conference. The Regional Chairpersons of the Womants League and the Youth League shall be ex officio members with full voting and speaking rights. The REC shall:

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- a. Meet on the day of its election to elect the Regional Working Committee and thereafter at least once every three months;

- b. Carry out the decisions of the Regional Conference and of the national leadership;

- c. Manage and control the funds of the ANC in the region;

- d. Submit reports to the NEC as often as is required on the state of the organisation, the financial position of the region, and such other matters as may be specified;
- e. Appoint the regional organiser, who need not be a member of the REC;
- f. Organise and establish branches in the region;
- g. Carry out the policy and programme of the ANC and do all things necessary to further the interests, aims and objects of the organisation.

REGIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

The Regional Working Committee shall be a core group of the REC and shall consist of not less than one quarter of its members, all of whom shall reside within fifty miles of the regional headquarters. It shall perform the duties and functions of the REC to which it shall report

FUNCTIONING OF THE REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- 1. Pending the holding of Regional Conferences, the NEC may appoint interim members of the RECs.
- 2. Regional officials shall, with due allowance for differences of detail, perform the same functions as their national counterparts.
- 3. Any three or more branches within a region may be grouped into zones, with appropriate organisational structure.

BRANCHES

Every member of the ANC shall belong to a branch, which shall be the basic unit of the organisation. The branch shall:

- 1. Be registered with the REC;
- 2. Meet as provided for in the rules and regulations;
- 3. Be the place where members exercise their basic democratic rights to discuss and formulate policy;
- 4. Be the basic unit of activity for members;
- 5. Elect at an annual branch meeting a branch chairperson, secretary, treasurer and six other committee members.
- 6. The branch committee shall:
 - a. meet on the day of its election and choose a branch sub-committee to carry on the day-to-day affairs of the branch;

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- b. carry out publicity and organisational work in its area in furtherance of the policy, programme and decisions of the ANC;
- c. submit reports on its work to the branch meeting and at least each quarter to the REC;
- (1. look after the funds of the branch.

DISCIPLINE

- 1. The NEC shall review all cases presently falling under the Code 91" Conduct and take such decisions as may be necessary to benefit persons affected by the Code;
- 2. In the light of experience gained in the period of re-establishment of the ANC a new Code of Conduct shall be drafted for presentation to the National Conference;
- 3. In the interim, the existing Code of Conduct will operate insofar as it is relevant, and will progressively be replaced by disciplinary proceedings to be exercised according to the following principles:
 - a. Disciplinary proceedings should be confined to violations of the basic principles and norms of the ANC, and not be used as a means for stifling debate or denying members their basic democratic rights;
 - b. Proceedings shall normally be conducted at the level where the alleged Violations took place, namely, branch, region or national, and shall be heard by the relevant structure;
 - c. Any person faced with disciplinary proceedings shall receive due notice of any hearing and of the basic allegations against him or her and be afforded a reasonable opportunity to make his or her defence;
 - d. Any person adversely affected by the outcome of any hearing shall have the right to have the matter reviewed by the next higher body of the ANC;
 - e. Penalties for proven violations of the constitution, principles, norms and decisions of the ANC shall include : reprimand, suspension, expulsion, payment of compensation, the performance of useful tasks, demotion.
 - f. Matters shall be attended to expeditiously;
 - g. In addition 'to misconduct which directly violates the norms of the ANC, any abuse of office, corruption, sexual harassment or misappropriation of funds shall give rise to proceedings.
 - h. Proceedings may also be brought against members who behave in a disgraceful way that brings the organisation into disrepute or

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manifests a flagrant violation of the .moral integrity expected of members;

11. Disciplinary proceedings shall not be brought as a means of solving private problems or as a means of interfering in the private lives of members where the norms of the organisation are not directly affected;

3'). Members who fail to pay their subscriptions for six months or who fail without just cause to attend branch meetings for three consecutive months, and who have been reminded of their lapse and not responded appropriately, shall be lapsed from membership.

FUNDS

The NRC shall adopt a document entitled ANC FUNDS which, in the light of constitutional provisions, will set out the manner in which funds will be raised and utilised and which will in particular indicate how funds shall be distributed at the branch, regional and national levels. Proper records shall be kept of all receipts and expenditures and regular evaluations made of all assets.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

1. The NEC shall have the power to adopt rules and regulations for the better carrying out of the activities of the ANC, and in particular, to deal with transitional situations brought about by the changing political position in South Africa.

2. The REC's shall have the power to adopted rules and regulations for the better functioning of the ANC in their respective regions, and, in particular, to deal with transitional situations as referred to above.

3. All such rules and regulations shall be consistent with the constitutional norms of the ANC, and rules and regulations framed by a REC shall only become operative when approved by the NBC, or, on a provisional basis pending approval by the NEC, by the NWC.

AMENDMENTS

This constitutional framework is intended to be operative in the period leading up to the holding of a national conference, when a new Constitution will be adopted or the groundwork laid for the adoption of a new constitution. Any new proposed constitution shall be submitted to the membership who shall be given a reasonable opportunity to study it and propose amendments.

GENERAL

The ANC shall have perpetual succession and power, apart from its individual members, to acquire, hold and alienate property, enter into agreements, and do all things necessary to carry out its aims and objects and defend its members, property and reputation.