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1. Introduction

From August 17 to 24, 1987 a workshop of South African researchers was held at Bommersvik in Sweden to discuss Research priorities for a future non-racial South Africa. The workshop provided a forum for the discussion and identification of key priorities, as preliminary contributions towards comprehensive research and training efforts recuired for determining policy options in the transition period to a democratic South Africa.

Participants came from inside and outside South Africa.

This report includes the discussion and projects identified by the working group during the workshop.

These project proposals were subsequently submittes to the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs for consideration and funding.

2. Opening Session

2.1 Chairman: Lars Olof Edstrom - Deputy Director General, SIDA

2.2 The opening speech was delivered by Lena Hjelm - Wallem - Minister for Foreign Assistance, The copy of the speech is attached as Annexure I

2.3 Comrade Pallo Jordan, NEC, ANC member, responded on behalf of the African National Congress - the copy of his response is attached as Annexure II

3. Participants from inside and outside the country met to discuss seperately their respective reports and recommendations on Coordinating structures.

2.1 The ANC delegation also met to discuss the proposal on the programme of work. The programme of work agreed upon is attached as Annexure III

2.2. The ALPHA MINUTES formed the basis for the discussions of the Swedish participation, in view of the programme proposal accomodating the Swedes as resources persons. The minutes of the discussions are attached as Annexure IV

2.3 It was agreed that Cde Thabo Mbeki, Pallo Jordan, Manto Thsabalala and Bunny Mackay would be the ANC members of the Steering Committee.

2.4 A Secretariat (Annexure V) thatw would assist in the smooth running of the workshop was approved by the meeting.

4. The Project Document was presented at a Plenary Session by Cde Bunny Mackay. The Project Document is attached as Annexure VI

5. Comrades Bunny Mackay and Goran Andersson presented the objectives of the workshop. These were:

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4.1 To produce an Action Plan Document to be presented to the Swedish International Decelopment Authority (SIDA) at the end of the workshop.

The Action Plan Document would:

- identify priority areas of research;
- formulate terms of reference for the projects;
- assess the necessary resources (human, material, financial) for the implementation of the plan.

4.2 To formulate a proposal for an organisational structure that will initiate, and coordinate research work on behalf of the National Liberation Movement.

6. The two versions of minutes of the Harare meeting were read. Corrections and additions were made. The corrected and adopted version is attached as Annexure VII.

6.1 The internal Ad Hoc Coordinating Committee gave its report - ANNEXURE VIII.

7. Working groups were announced. The list of the participants, indicating the working group allocation is attached as Annexure IX.

8. August 18, 19, 20 were devoted to group work mainly on the formulation of sectoral project proposals.

9. On August 20, 1987 at 10.00hours at Plenary, Mike Suitcliffe presented a proposed Coordinating Structure for the internal (Annexure X).

9.1 Some participants felt that, since the implementation of the project was not necessarily dependant on the immediate establishment of a coordinating structure, consultations inside the country should still continue. It was therefore not necessary to discuss the proposed structure. Others felt that even though the establishment of the coordinating structure might be premature, discussing it as presented by Comrade Mike would be useful as a basic document for reference and further internal consultations. It therefore would not necessarily be adopted as a document of structure, during the workshop.

9.2 The ad hoc Committee could serve as an interim structure pending the finalization of the internal structure. It might be necessary to enlarge the Ad H oc Committee to facilitate consultations.

9.3 However, if the structure was to facilitate the implementation of the structure, then it was felt by some participants, that it was necessary to discuss the model presented. This discussion would facilitate different inputs by the rest of the participants.

9.4 Finally it was agreed that the presentation of the project proposal to the Swedes did not in any way depend on the availability of a concrete structure. The model would therefore not be attached to the proposal.

9.5 It had to be discussed once more with the mass democratic movement. The meeting was reminded that it had been agreed in Harare that The Coordinating structures would be finalized in November 1987, after indepth consultations with the broad democratic movement at home.
The meeting took note of the medel.

10. August 21, 1987 was devoted to the presentation of sectoral project proposal by the groups.

10.1 <u>On Education</u>

In formulating the present project the group had taken into account some components of the on-going project on Education, that had been approved by the ANC Research Unit. Plenary questioned the 3 year budget, in view of the fact that it had been agreed that all budgets should be limited to a period of one fiscal year. The Editorial Committee was asked to work out salaries scales for research workers. It was further agreed that the ANC would then resolve the question of on-going projects in relation to the project proposals under discussion, by September 1987.

10.2 <u>On Local Government</u>

The projects budgeted for 2 years. Projects 1, 4 and 6 could be commenced immediately. Projects 2, 3 and could await the outcome of the initial projects.

Plenary resolved that Project 2 and 6 should have a rural base and include a broad demographic survey. Projects to have an initial budget for one year.

10.3 <u>On Economy and Agriculture</u>

It was noted that whereas the SAERET Research proposal had been annexed to the Project proposal on Economy, the London-based had been omitted. The argument for annexing the SAERET proposal was that, the SAERET project had already started and was an on-going project.

The project had no training component. This has to be reflected.

Plenary resolved that research has to be popularized in a form of understandable and acceptable to the mass democratic movement. There is need to employ full-time research workers, who will be accountable to the mass democratic movement.

10.4 <u>On Legal and Constitutional Affairs</u>

It was noted that the proposal had a strong bias towards constitutional affairs. Plenary identified research, training and need for attachment for legal practice as priorities to be highlighted in the document. The budget for the National Institute for Public Interest Law and Research had to be recast in order not to confuse legal aid and research.

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10.5 On Social Services

Research has to include work that is done externally, by ANC. The organisational details of the project proposal need to be restructured. The budget has to be readjusted.

10.6 On Health

Instead of limiting working relations to NAMDA, the need to consult with the Health Workers Association, especially in Johannesburg, was expressed. The question of Internal refugees and refugee camps, including mental health require special attention. OASSA could research together with the health sector into these topics.

10.7 On Culture

The document will need to be upgraded and reflect the research objectives. Attention will have to be paid to the implementation and budget components of the project proposal.

10.8 On Women

Plenary reviewed the research areas identified in Harare. It was noted that once more, the women were under-represented.

The Women Secretariat expressed through its representative a wish that research into women's affairs should be integrated into ongoing research and that it should not be relegated to a separate section only.

Plenary resolved that there was need to have a consultative meeting of 8-10 Women Researchers drawn from the different regions within the country, who would meet with the ANC women in order for them to formulate a research project proposal. This should take place during the last week of October. The women researchers from inside the country would have to be approved by the democratic movement to ensure that they are political activists. It was, however, agreed that a project proposal be worked out and submitted to SIDA. The envisaged consultative meeting would be part of the project proposal and should be considered as the first phase of research. It would be necessary therefore to budget for this. In formulating the project it would be useful to consider issues affecting women under oppression, women in struggle and women in reconstruction. High on the agenda will have to be the dialectics of gender and race. A deliberate effort would have to be made to identify and develop Black Women Researchers.

10.9 Plenary agreed that research on the youth should be seen as an integral part of other areas of research. The question of youth mainly relates to political mobilization and therefore rightly belongs to political research.

10.10 The Editorial Committee composed of Cdes Bunny Mackay, Max Sisulu, Mike Suitcliffee, Tedd Pekane and Manto Tshabalala was mandated to make the recommended adjustments and corrections in all the proposals. The final project proposals that were presented to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are summarized for the purposes of this report. These are attaded as Annexure XI.

11. On 22.08.87 the Prime Minister of Sweden, Hon. Ingvar Carlsson, paid a courtsey call to the participants in Bommersvik.

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12. PRESENTATION OF PROJECT DOCUMENT TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON 24.08.87

12.1 Present: ANC Cdes Thabo Mbeki, Pallo Jordan, Bunny Mackay, Lindiwe Mabuza, Zola Skweyiya and Manto Tshabalala.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
International Cooperation and Development Aid
Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA)
Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Development Countries (SAREC)
Swedish international Planning Unit (SIPU)

12.2 In welcoming those present, BengtSare Soderberg, the Permanent Secretary, expressed satisfaction and pleasure in that the seminar had completed its tasks successfully. Cde Pallo Jordan in presenting the project proposal, first of all thanked the Swedish Government for the assistance it continues to offer to our Organisation, and in particular, for all the facilities that had been provided for holding the seminar. He noted that:

+ The project proposals have been broken up into different sections;
+ The order of presentation does not, however, suggest any order of priority in terms of implementation. Certain projects could commence immediately and others later;
+ The appendix on the Economy proposals, relates to the on-going SAERET Project and is attached by way of information and as an indication that the ANC would like to have it funded. There are other projects that have not been attached, which will, nevertheless , need funding.
+ As indicated in the document, there is a section on interim funding to ensure and facilitate meetings for planning and coordination, both inside and outside South Africa.
+ In order for the project on Women to take off, there is need to have a Consultative Meeting that will elaborate on research areas and produce a comprehensive project proposal.

12.3 Bengt Soderberg reminded the meeting that the project proposals would be formally submitted to SIDA by the ANC in November after further consideration and planning of the proposals, especially from the implementation point of view.

12.4 He emphasized that the project proposals had to be treated as a , confidential document, as these involve the internal and external sectors of the movement. ANC gave assurances that an edited version of the document would be put on a floppy disc and sent home. This still has to be edited.

12.5 Sweden wanted to know whether the Coordinating Centre involved setting up a physical structure with a permanent staff or whether the research workers would be spread all over, in different countries.

ANC responded by saying that Coordinating Centres should be a mixture of both. The centre should be attached to one of the universities in one of the Frontline States, as an autonomous entity. The physical

structure would be necessary for the administration and coordination of the project.

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This will therefore necessitates the presence of an Administrative staff. Research workers will be in the field, their work will be coordinated from the centre. A similar structure is envisaged inside the country.

12.6 Asked by SAEREC whether to await the ANC September decisions on the funding of the on-going project, the ANC representation replied that the funding of the Education Research project should continue and any other new proposals should await the September decisions.

12.7 Sweden expressed satisfaction on work that had beeen done by the participants at the seminar. The S..edish consultant who had worked with the participants throughout, noted that it was his first experience to work with so many people having an enormous task before them. Looking at the end result, he concluded that the seminar had been productive. He noted that descriptions of individual projects differed. Whereas some projects could already be operational early in 1988, others still need to be further developed. The period up to November 1987 should then be used for this planning process.

12.8 It was clear then to SIDA that, even though the budget indicated in the project document was rather large, this should take into account phased implementation of the project.

12.9 ANC saw this as a learning process in which many people participated and would continue to gain experience on how projects are formulated and implementd. What is important is that our people are involved in the planning processes for action-oriented research work. It is clear that funds for this gigantic task can never be sufficient. Urgently needed are funds for the interim period up to November 1987.

Another component of research that was emphasized relates to comparative studies on other people's experiences in the implementation of policy options and especially in the transitional period of struggle.

12.10 The ANC admitted that the issues discussed during the evening lectures were outside its actual experiences. The lecture had given the ANC participants an insight into the difficulties to be anticipated in the implementation of various policy options. The exchange of experiences and debates had been interesting for both parties.

12.11 SIDA was interested to know how ANC would handle the basic question of role of Social Scientists in the implementation of transitional political ambitions and aspirations and how the available information would be utilized.

12.12 For the ANC the role of the Social Scientists was clear. The end result of this process should be physical transformations. Of course the element of uncertainty would always remain. There are however, series of possible options on how to achieve the transformations. In this regard the social scientists should study the prevailing conditions, explore the actual experiences of other people and then discuss the options within the mass democratic movement. There should be a close relationship between the researchers, the ANC and the mass democratic movement. All parties will have to be involved in research work. The objectives of this research will be to turn the resources of the needs of the majority. Consequently there will be a dynamic contact between the

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researchers and the mass deomocratic movement. To meet this objective all projects have incooperated a training component. This particularly refers to the involvement of black women researchers.

12.13 Responding to the question whether the training components of the project involved training in research skills or in specialised fields of study, the ANC said in a number of projects a number of surveys on skills profiles have been identified. The project focusses mainly on training in the areas of research. Training in general, would still remain the resposibility of the relevant departments within the ANC. These departments would continue to train people to run the state machinery.

12.14 SIDA reassured the ANC that should there be a necessity for assistance in general training then this could be considered; and could include assistance in education within the country.

12.15 Furthermore the ANC would have to decide whether this proje-ct should be handled within the fremework of the normal ANC/SIDA annual allocations or as a different entity, which would enable the Project to request for funding as the necessity arises.

12.16 Lines of communication between SIDA and SAREC in relation to this project would have to be established.

12.17 SIDA in formed the ANC delegation that the SEK 1.5m that had been set aside for this project has virtually been exhausted in Harare, Dakar Bommersvik meetings.

12.18 In closing, the Permanent Secretary, Bengt Sonderberg, noted that the project had reached new and higher levels of development, since it was conceived and following the Harare meeting. This was the beginning of a new process that will have to be developed further to achieve the objectives for which it was meant.

13 PRESENT AND PLANNED ACTIVITIES

13.1 It was envisaged that an interim working structure would be set up to carry out activities that would facilitate the establishment of the proposed coordinating centre including initiatives of research.

13.2 It was further proposed that such an interim structure could be manned by two to three persons who would as ume resposibility for preparatory work on a full-time basis. These persons will be provided with the following facilities:

+ working space
+ office equipment
+ budget to facilitate its work, including transportation.

13.3 The principal activities engaged in by the interim committee at the present are the following:

+ Preparation of documentation that will be submitted to the Presidential Council for consideration and further suggestion on the implementation of the Project
+ Ensure and facilitate meetings for plan ing and coordination both inside and outside South AFrica.

+ Upgrading the project proposals, especially from the implementation point of view, for submission to SIDA in November 1987.

+ Formulate a project proposal to justify the establishmnet of the Coordinating Centre, for submission to SIDA.

+ To communicate with SIDA, the ANC decision on the relationship of the on-going projects to the present projects. According to the project document summary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the ANC should submit the proposals in September 1987.

+ Prepare and facilitate a joint meeting to be held in Harare November 1987 aimed at finalising the coordinating structures in and outside South Africa.

14 Preparation for the Establishment of the External Centre for Coordination

14.1 Finally as indicated above the major activity of the interim working structure will be to pursue all issues relating to the establishment of a centre for coordination in one of the Front Line States. Concretely what this entails is the taking up of a number of political, diplomatic, legal and other measures as well as establishing a network of connections with academic and research institutions and other bodies.

14.2 The movement will at the highest level of representation take up the matter. It was proposed in a meeting that the NEC should take it upon itself to approach the governemnts for attaching the project to any of the universities in Southern Africa.

15 Organisation and Financing

15.1 It is recommended that the research coordinating centre be an antonomous entity. It will involve setting up a physical structure with a permanent staff. It will be as an umbrella for all research projects on on-going and future research projects. A similar structure is envisaged inside the country.

15.2 The organisational structure of the core part of the coordinating centre will be decided upon by the highest organ of the movement, the NEC of the ANC, as its representative body and legal custodian. In an attempt to define the nature and tasks of the coordinating centre the ANC will have to address itself to the following:

+ 'Name of the Coordinating Centre

+ Purpose of the Coordinating Centre

+ Location and operation of the Coordinating Centre.

+ Functions of the Coordinating Centre.

+ Financing of the Coordinating Centre.

+ Responsibilities of the Authority governing the Centre.

+ Recruitment and regulation of the Staff Centre.

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+ Rules governing commissioning of research work.

15.3 The ANC has to decide whether this project should be handled within the framework of the normal ANC/SIDA annual allocations, through the OTG, or as a different entity to safeguard its open implementation that would enable participation of other researchers other than ANC

15.4 All Departments within the ANC, need to be informed of the NEC decision that research on policy options for a free democratic South Africa is to commence soon. It is also important to urge them to cooperate and give maximum effort to this exercise.

16 Internal Coordinating Centre

From the reports from some of the delegates from inside the country who attended the Internation Conference on Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid South Africa from September 24 - 27, 1987, it is doubtful whether in fact the mass democratic movement has been briefed thoroughly on this project. This project, in this event, might therefore not achieve the objectives for which it is intended. For these reasons it is also being recommended that a special meeting be convened soon between the ANC leadership (NEC) and the leadership of the mass democratic movement. This should clear the air and at the same time facilitate the establishment of the internal coordination structure on a firm and more representative basis.

17 BUDGET SUMMARY

17.1 The amount required is estimated at SEK 300.000 for work to be carried out inside South Africa and SEK 275.000 for external work (see attached budgets).

17.2 The preliminary budgetary estimates for the implementation of the projects during the first year amount to about SEK 21.000.000.

Project Areas	MSEK
1. Constitutional issues	4.6
2. Local Government and Planning	0.8
3. Economy	3.9
4. Education	2.0
5. Health	4.7
6. Social Services	1.5
7. Mass Media and Culture	3.3
8. Women	- -
TOTAL:	20.8
Interim Funding	0.6

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17.3 EXTERNAL COORDINATION OF RESEARCH

Funds will be needed for the establishment of the coordinating centre, including initiatives of research. Two.three persons will assume responsibility for preparatory work on a full-time basis.

Presented below, is a budget whcih would allow the preliminary work to start:

BUDGET PRELIMINARY PHASE - SPETEMBER-DECEMBER 1987

1.	Administration (including office rentals)	USD	10.000
2.	Travel (outside Zambia)		12.000
3.	Transport		2.000
4.	Allowances		3.000
5.	Contingency		1.000
6.	Coordination meeting in Harare (15 people)		14.000
TOTAL:		USD	42.000

17.4 INTERNAL COORDINATION OF RESEARCH

Apart from the need to coordinate work within each of the defined sectors of research, there is also a need for regional and national coordination of the project as a whole. To this end a full-time coordinator will be employed in each of the five regions. It is important that this work start as soon as possible and funds be made available to facilitate a setting-up of structures.

Presented below, therefore, is a budget which would allow preliminary work to start immediatly.

BUDGET PRELIMINARY PHASE - SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER 1987

	Rands
1. Salaries	
5 coordinatros (R 1.700 p/m)	34.000
Salary overheads (15%)	5.100
2. Travel	
Air fares in South AFrica	12.000
Air fares to Harare (5 x R 800)	4.000
Vehicle cost (20.000 km at 45c)	9.000
3. Administration	
Office rentals (R 400 p/m)	8.000
Telephone, duplicating, typing (R 500 p/m)	10.000
Office equipment	7.500
4. Workshops (local)	10.000
5. Contingency	10.000
TOTAL:	R 109.600

18. CONCLUSION

Concrete responses to the current as well as to planned activities will facilitate the formulation of a comprehensive project proposal on the Coordinating Centre. The project proposal has to be submitted to SIDA not later than November 30, 1987.

For purposes of implementation, upgraded project proposals shold also be submitted to SIDA by not later than November 30, 1987.

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ANNEXURE I

OPENING SPEECH BY LENA HJELM-WALLEM
ON AUGUST 17, 1987 AT BOMMERSVIK WORKSHOP

On the first day of this workshop it is indeed a pleasure and an encouragement for me to see that so many distinguished participants involved in planning and social research for future South Africa have been able to come to this important gathering in spite of many difficulties. I would like to extend a warm welcome to all of you. I hope that the discussions in the next few days will be constructive and fruitful. There are no ready-made solutions for building a free and democratic society. This workshop should rather be seen as a forum for your own discussion in which Swedish experts will be happy to share their experience.

The situation in South Africa remains a source of grave concern. Recent developments offer no grounds for optimism. Acts of agression and destabilization against the Frontline States, particularly against Angola and Mozambique, continue to escalate. The continuation of the state of emergency and intensified oppression

of the majority of the people of South Africa are resulting in more violence, suffering and human degradation. Maintenance of white minority supremacy under the aparthied system remains the objective of the South African Government. Appropriate conditions for meaningful negotiations with the genuine leaders of the majority seems still to be remote.

Sweden is on your side in its total rejection of the policies of South Africa. All efforts will be made to bring about concerted and comprehensive international action to put an end to apartheid in the framework of the United Nations and the UN Charter. Selective sanctions that have been instituted by a number of countries should ultimately lead to comprehenisve measures, including a total trade embargo. As the other Nordic countries Sweden has recently adopted a broadly based trade embargo. This is to be seen as a signal not only to South Africa but also to other countries who could do more in isolating apartheid South Africa.

It is a moral duty for Sweden to do what it can to free South Africa from the scourge of apartheid. This is reflected by Swedish support for sanctions policies and also by the top priority given to the southern African region in humanitarian and development aid. In the current fiscal year nearly half of Swedish bilateral assistance is being directed to southern Africa. An increasing flow of aid is going to the Frontline States to help them withstand economic sabotage from South Africa

and contribute to the peaceful development of the region. Support for regional co-operation through SADCC and humanitarian assistance to ANC and SWAPO are other important elements.

In spite of the alarming situation in the country we all know that a free, non-racial South Africa will ultimately emerge. It will be largely in your hands and in the hands of all those struggling with you for majority rule to settle the country's constitutional future and to form new directives for economic and social policies. Apartheid laws will have to be abolished and aparthied institutions will have to give way to democratic structures that allow all South Africans to participate fully in the development of a new sociaty. All this requires not only an enormous effort but also extensive planning which, I understand, has already been taken up in the various departments of the ANC. The workshop we are about to start should be seen as a modest but, I hope, significant contribution to the planning process. The significance of the workshop will depend on the result of the discussions and on the extent to which Swedish experience can be a useful input in your planning. The workshop will remain a modest contribution in the sense that Swedish experience, although useful as a source of ideas and suggestions, cannot pretend tobe universqlly applicable.

To-day's Swedish society with its democratic institutions, its social security and its relatively equal distribution of income and wealth is the result of gradual change over a

long period of time. South Africa will probably be in a different position. After the downfall of the apartheid system fundamental changes will become necessary in a short term perspective.

It is the ambition of the organizers of this workshop to present to you a balanced picture of various spheres of Swedish society and policies. There will be emphasis not only on positive achievements but also on shortcomings. The presentation is just a basis for discussion. It will include aspects of economic and social policies, constitutional matters and the administrative set-up as well as mass media, information and culture.

Democracy is one of the basic concepts in Swedish socieaty and policy. It does not only mean that every man and woman who has reached the age of 18 years has the right to vote and to stand for election and that constitutional and other legal provisions are protecting fundamental rights and freedoms such as freedom of association and freedom of expression. Democracy is also seen as an ideal that should caracterize social life in general and in particular when it comes to decision-making in maters reluted to public education, labour relations and management of large enterprises. The wide range of popular movements grouping together people sharing a common interest are another instrument for influencing decisions by democratic means. The concept of democracy is not a static one. New efforts must constantly be made to strenghten the democratic approach and to give this concept the widest possible application.

I would like to conclude by wishing you every success for the discussions ahead and for further planning efforts for a sociaty safe for human rights, human dignity and democracy.

ANNEXURE III

WORKSHOP ON RESEARCH PRIORITIES FOR POST APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

P R O G R A M M E

MONDAY August 17 :

09.30 hrs — Chairman -Lars Olof Edstrom
Opening of the Workshop
Opening Speech - Lena H. Wallem
Response - Pallo Jordan

10.00 " — TEA/COFFEE

10.30 " — SEPARATE COORDINATING CONSULTATIVE MEETING (INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL)

12.00 " — LUNCH

13.30 — PRESENTATION OF PROJECT DOCUMENT:
BARNEY MACKAY

PRESENTATIONOF OBJECTIVES, GUIDELINES AND WORKSHOP PROGRAMME - BARNEY MACKAY AND GORAN ANDERSON

15.00 " — TEA/COFFEE

15.30 " — PRESENTATION AND ADOPTION OF HARARE MINUTES

16.30 " — FORMATION OF WORKING GROUPS

17.00 " — DINNER

19.30 " — POPULAR ROLE AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SWEDISH SOCIETY

EVENING DISCUSSION

PRESENTER: Sverker Gustafsson, Daniel Tarchys
CHAIRMAN: Blade Nzimande

21.00 " — MEETING ANC DELEGATION TO DISCUSS EXTERNAL COORDINATING STRUCTURE

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TUESDAY August 18

09.00 hrs		GROUPWORK
10.00	"	TEA/COFFEE
12.00	"	LUNCH
13.00	"	GROUP WORK
15.00	"	TEA/COFFEE
15.30	"	GROUP WORK
17.00	"	DINNER

WEDNESDAY August 19

09.00 hrs		GROUP WORK
10.00	"	LUNCH
13.00	"	GROUP WORK
15.00	"	TEA/COFFEE
15.30	"	GROUP WORK
17.00	"	DINNER
19.30	"	ECONOMIC POLICY OPTIONS - THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SWEDISH WELFARE POLICY.

EVENING DISCUSSION:

PRESENTER: J. Karlsson
CHAIRMAN: Blade Nzimande

THURSDAY August 20

09.00 hrs		GROUP WORK
10.00	"	TEA/COFFEE
12.00	"	LUNCH
13.00	"	GROUP WORK
15.00	"	TEA/COFFEE
15.30	"	GROUP WORK
17.00	"	DINNER
19.00	"	PRESENTATION ON PROPOSED INTERNAL STRUCTURE by Mike Suitcliffe

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FRIDAY August 21

09.00		PLENARY: Chairman: Mike Suitcliffee
		PRESENTATION OF PROJECT PROPOSALS BY GROUPS
10.00	"	TEA/COFFEE
10.30	"	PLENARY CONTINUES
12.00	"	LUNCH
13.00	"	PLENARY
15.00	"	TEA/COFFEE
17.00	"	DINNER

SATURDAY-SUNDAY August 22-23

STEERING COMMITTEE FINALISES ACTION PLAN DOCUMENT

12.00 " MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER

MONDAY August 24

11.00 " PRESENTATION OF PROJECT PROPOSAL TO THE MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SWEDEN.

12.00 " LUNCH WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND SIDA.

ANNEXURE IV

ALPHA MEETING - 08.08.87

- The format and the contents of the project proposal were outlined.
- An Ad Hoc Committee of 3 has been established inside the country and its main task is to set up an internal structure to coordinate research work internally and to relate to research outside the country.
- The need to establish a Research Coordinating Centre outside South Africa, ostensibly not associated with the ANC, was identified. It will serve as an umbrella for all research projects - on-going and future research projects. Its nature and tasks will need to be clearly defined.
- Questions of its locations and staffing to be considered.
- Since the SAERET Project has not taken off the ground, because of lack of funds, it might be an idea to restructure it to suit the needs of the Coordinating Centre. Its location and structure, including the composition of its Board of Directors, will in a way determine how it relates to the envisaged coordinating centre.
- The Centre must be in Southern Africa.
- The Swedish participation at the Seminar will include provision of the venue and identification of available resources in Sweden for research into the post-apartheid period. The Swedes are interested to know what costs will be involved in the project.
- A tentative programme will be drwan up after consultations with the Swedes and will be subject to alterrations by the delegation upon arrival.

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MEETING TO BRIEF COMRADES ZOLA AND MAX

15.08.87

Present: Bunny, Tedd and Manto

- The structure of the project document was outlined. However it still lacks the political salutation to be presented by Cde Thabo at the opening session.

- The Swedes will chair plenary sessions for the opening and the presentation of project proposals, as had been agreed upon in Lusaka during the consultations on 22.06.87. This question remained unclear and would be resolved by Cdes Thabo and Pallo on their arrival.

- It was agreed then that the Steering Committee be composed of two people from home and all the members of the sub-committee, and will include Cdes Thabo and Pallo.

- It was disclosed that the Women's Secretariat was unhappy about the manner in which the arrangements for the seminar were handled. The Sub-Committee insisted that several attenpts had been made to include women in all the consultations. However, paramount in their minds, understandably, was the forthcoming Women's Conference. The sensitivity of the women would be taken into account, in organising subsequent meetings.

- Cde Mark Shope had complained that he had not been properly briefed about the travelling arrangements. On the contrary, he had promised to consult the SACTU Management Committee on his participation. He did not come back to the Sub-Committee.

- The Youth and DMD were also unhappy that they had not been involved.

- London was surprised that they too had not been informed. It was again expalined that, in fact, the initial coordination had been done through London.

- Cde Max noted that the project document by the Department of Economics and Planning had not been submitted in full. It was agreed that the whole document be photocopied and attached to the main document.

- Whereas NAMDA had sent a representative, our London Office had in turn instructed Dr Abdul Karim to attend as well. It was resolved that NAMDA had to sort out the question of its representation.

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MEETING TO BRIEF THE COMRADE FROM HOME - 15.08.87

- Present were Cdes Mike, Paul, Mathole and Kamy
- The objectives of the workshop were outlined. At the end, the group was expected to present an Action Plan on research priorities and indicate the necessary resources.
- Two representatives from home would sit in the Steering Committee.
- The delegation from inside the country would workout guidelines for reporting back, taking into account security considerations.

MEETINGS OF THE ANC DELEGATION ON 17.08.87 AND 22.08.87

- Chaired by Comrade Pallo Jordan and a number of issues were discussed
- The nature of the workshop was once more defined, as it appeared to some that its character had changed since the agreements in Lusaka. The Swedish participation was a controversial subject. The meeting was referred to the minutes of the Consultations between SIDA and ANC held in Lusaka on 22.06.87. The Swedes would, according to the agreement chair two plenary sessions and would also be available as resource persons, if required by the working groups. In addition they would give two lectures on "Popular role and transformation of the Swedish Society" and "Economic Policy Options - The Development of the Swedish Welfare Policy".
- At the end of the workshop, the groups would be expected to present project proposals on research. This should indicate the available and necessary resources.
- Funding will have to take into consideration those projects that had already been submitted to SIDA and SAREC but had not yet been funded, pending the outcome of the current workshop.
- A clear relationship between research in and outside South Africa needs to be worked out.
- The project should not be tied to the Swedish funding only. Other donors should be involved.
- In discussing the Coordinating Structure, the meeting had to bear in mind three options that had been looked into in Lusaka.

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+ A research centre, attached to a University in Southern Africa
+ A Coordinating Centre with a limited time frame
+ Reatructuring of SAERET

- Linking it to a University might mean surrendering autonomy. On the other hand, this could be a useful arrangement in that it would provide the project with a necessary infrastructure and also legitimacy for existance. At the same time, it will be necessary to guard against being a subject to its structures.

- Some initiatives had already been made for possible cooperation with some institutions: Zimbabwe Institute for Development Studies (ZIDS), University of Zimbabwe following the directives by the Prime Minister. It was noted however that ZIDS has limited possibilities. For the moment the arrangement with University of Mozambique (Eduardo Mondlane) was viewed as not feasible. In deciding the location of the Coordinating Centre the question of drawing in PAC, in accordance with OAU Charter should be taken into consideration.

- The Rector of the University of Zimbabwe is awaiting the ANC's response to the offer made. The arrangements that accord the Insititute of Mining at the University of Zimbabwe to operate autonomously should be explored.

- The proposal to restructure SAERET was discussed at length. SAERET is ostensibly not directed by us but is in fact an ANC project. SAERET is at its initial stages of development. Through it, various contacts have been amde with University of Zimbabwe and the UN agencies to transfer it to Southern Africa. SAERET and the ANC Economic Unit had initiated contact with people at home for the post-apartheid policy options. This contact resulted in the Amsterdam Conference. It would therefore be important to examine the initiatives of SAERET as an ANC project. Funds are available for its extension at the University of Zimbabwe; instead of building something to the extent of UNIN.

- The meeting endorsed the need for a controling and directing mechamism, ostensibly automous of the ANC. SAERET has the infrastructure for this. The question is, does its structure relate to the envisaged Coordinating Centre. Does its location suit the issues to be addressed? If its structure is unamendable and its location unacceptable, how possible is it to restructure it? Are the Board of Trustees the acceptable front

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for our Movement? The terms of their recruitment would have to be addressed. Since SAERET has developed a life of its own perhaps; it is better to solicit funds for it within the framework and administrative procedures of this project.

- The Coordinating Centre should be part of PHASE I of the envisaged project. Preferably its Executive Director should be a non-South African, who is committed to the course of liberation and the aspirations of the mass democratic movement.

- It was then agreed that a Preparatory Committee of 2-3 persons be established. Its tasks would be to persue all issues related to the setting up os the Coordinating Centre. This Committee will need funding to enable it to function until the setting up of the Coordinating Centre.

- Initiatives of the University of Zimbabwe will need to be persued, and at the same time approaches should be made to the Government of Zambia, by an NEC delegation.

- The meeting agreedthat, in Zambia it might be easy to reach a political agreement, in which case, Zimbabwe could be involved in other various areas of the project.

WORKSHOP SECRETARIAT

Goran Anderson - Swedish workshop coordinator
Elisabeth Dahlin
Lena Johansson
Ewa Mellgren
Ulla Strom
Cecilia Hoglund
Bunny Mackay
Max Sisulu
Ted Pekane
Manto Tshabalala
Leen Ramafatse

STEERING COMMITTEE

Thabo Mbeki
Pallo Jordan
Mike Suitcliffe
Mathole Motchega
Bunny Mackay
Manto Tshabalala

SWEDISH OFFICIALS AND RESOURCE PERSONS FOR EVENING SESSIONS.

Bengt Save Soderberg, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Carl Tham - Director General , SIDA

L O Edstrom - Deputy Director General, SIDA

Bo Toresson on popular Role and the Tranformation Swedish Society.

Daniel Tarchys

SVERKER GUSTAVSSON

on Constitunal Development and Swedish Welfare Policy.

Resouce persons who participated in the workshop

1. State, structure of Government and Constitutional Affairs.

   Mr. Bjorn Beckman, Ph.D, University of Stockholm.

2. Local Government and Planning

   Mr. Ove Andersson, Physical Planner.

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3. Health, Education and Social Services.
   Mr. Ernest Michanek, Ambassador, Former Director, SIDA and
   Mr. Lennant Wohlgemuth, Head of Education Division, SIDA.

4. Mass Media and Culture.
   Mr. Ian Sandquist, Head of Information Division, SIDA and
   Mr. Bo Karre, responsible for cultural Cooperation, SIDA.

5. Economy, Agriculture and Energy
   Mr. Bertil Oden, Economist, SIDA

6. Women and Children
   Mrs. Maj-Lis Loow, Member of Parliament, President of the
   Social Democratic Women's League.

ANNEXURE VI

Programme Proposal

INTRODUCTION:

The intensification of the struggle for freedom and democracy and the changing objective situation has heralded a period of increasingly thinking on the nature of a post-apartheid society in South Africa.

Such thinking demands that we also begin to consider a comprehensive programme within the context of contemporary struggles, which will be carefully looked into. The agenda for the transition to a non-racial democratic South Africa will commence with an analysis of the presnet socio-economic situation including the newly formed models on organs of peoples power.

The main aim of the programme is to assist the ANC in the present stage of the struggle, to strengthen its capacity to formulate policy options in relation to a post-apartheid South Africa. It will also ensure that unity of the oppressed poeple as a powerful and effective instrument to secure their own complete liberation from all forms of descrimination and national oppression; the promotion and protection of the interests of the oppressed people in all matters affecting them; the attainment of universal adult suffrage and the creation of a united democratic South Africa on the principles outlined in the Freedom Charter; and the support for the cause of national liberation and the right to independence of nations in Africa and the rest of the world.

Background Information and Justification

The concept of post-apartheid socio-economy has been discussed at various levels within the national liberation movement and it has been always felt that the transformation of the politics and economics of South Africa will have implications for the organisation of most aspects of everyday life. Thus, the provision of housing, education, health care, transport, liveable environment, defence, and so on will be fundamentally affected by the form that the political economy takes. However, the current and projected realities related to the above-mentioned sectors place constraints on the one hand and provide opportunities on the other, for the achievement of a progressive political economy. Thus, the relationship between appropriate sectoral policies must be a dialectical one.

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The subject of post-apartheid South Africa is now being discussed the world-over by governments, non-governmental organisations, friendly organisations, individuals and so on. However, there is yet no comprehensive study of the type being suggested from the point of view of the national liberation movement in South Africa.

This prevailing situation underscores the necessity and urgency of setting up a coordinating centre. This centre will be the first of its kind to coordinate research efforts, and involving direct participation of our people, both inside and outside South Africa and other progressive researchers the world over.

The ANC strongly feels that a Coordinating Centre has to be established. It will provide a data base as well as theoretical and practical guidelines to help the National Liberation Movement in restructuring the socio-economic system in its transition from a racial colonial political economy to a democratic economy.

The creation of such a centre would provide a unifying ideological concern that links various sectors, (seperate parts) into a coherent whole serving not only the short-term goals in socio-economic development but also the long-term aspirations of the South African people.

In carrying out its research coordinating activities, the centre will be accountable to the national liberation movement. It will be a source of guidance to all democratic forces inside and outside South Africa in the struggle to destroy racial models which can disguize apartheid. Such models are local authorities, regional councils, the so-called National Statutory Councils and Constitutional Democracy based on the calvinist theory.

The centre will coordinate research whose character will be a policy-oriented, problem-solving search for knowledge and information, whose content will seek to further the cause of liberation and help in the formualtion of economic policies and programme for an independent free Democratic South Africa.

OBJECTIVES

The short-term objectives will be creation of Coordinating Committees both inside and outside the country; in order to facilitate coordination, administration and funding of research activities. This phase will demand recruitment/release of candidates from other demanding duties, for full-time work. They will be persons adequate to the task of the centre involving the following aspects:

i) Liaise with the internal Coordinating Committee;
ii) Establishment of documentation and data gathering facility;
iii) Clarifying and defining key areas for priority research;
iv) Initiating the legal diplomatic, and other formal ways required for the formation of such a centre;
v) Making of necessary arrangements for holding discussions with

relevant policy making bodies in the sub-region; as well as with anti-apartheid forces in South Africa and elsewhere.

Operational budget have to be worked out for such persons.

THE MEDIUM TERM OBJECTIVE is linked with the establishment of a Coordinating Centre outside South Africa, which will be operational and dinancially sound to provide opportunities for participation of progressive South Africans and other researchers in the following identified areas of research:

1. Constitutional Affairs
2. Local Government and Planning
3. Economy
4. Education
5. Health
6. Social Services
7. Agriculture
8. Mass Media and Culture
9. Women

This will also strengthen our research capacity through the exchange of experiences and views expressed. On the other hand, the establishment of such cooperation, through the centre, with friendly researchers will enable us to avoid mulpiplicity of on-going research efforts on socio-economic aspects of the South African system, being conducted in other universities or Research Institutions around the world.

THE INSTITUTIONAL OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH CENTRE

1. To coordinate, administer and endorse the budget estimates of the research project proposals.

2. To liaise with research and training institutions elsewhere in the country as well as in other countries of the world where such research is being undertaken.

3. Receive and consider the annual and research reports and the audited accounts.

4. To identify policy options for the formulation of strategic long-term, as well as the tactical short-term problems that may arise in the process of restructuring both the South African economy and society.

5. To provide further training courses in development studies for the oppressed black majority already involved with thep public service and parastatals, thus, counteracting training programmes sponsored by the regime in various countries of the world.

6. To provide South Africans with training in specific education and manpower development areas, thus strengthen their efforts in the struggle 4/...

for national independence and equip them for future palnning, organisation and dministration of various government departments andp public service.

7. To create a data bank research materials for the purpose of preservation and use by policy-makers of the liberation movement.

8. To provide information to the general public and emphasize the role of research in society.

9. To mobilize adequate resources for the research activities.

10. To organise workshops, seminars and conferences with a view to train South Africans in and expose them to specific skills.

PROPOSAL DESCRIPTION

The envisaged programme proposal has separate, areas of research and training components. In this respect, there will be a need to compile a data base of research experts in and outside South Africa (using their CV`s), research activities in such institutions. The ideas is to link up researchers and institutions to undertake collaborative work on post-apartheid aspects. It is also planned to roganise in-house seminars, workshops/conferences and consultations on specific issues of importance.

The intention is that the centre should not duplicate existing research efforts but should rather draw up and build on these, including those which it may gain access to, inside South Africa. Most importantly the centre is expected to serve as a focal point for all progressive South Africans who have already received their requisite socio-economic training and who seek to work alongside their fellow South Africans in a common programme of work on a variety of issues pertinent to post-apartheid policy options formulation. It needs emphasising in this respect that the significance of this centre as a focal point will have to understand the development and contributions made by incipient forms of peoples planning processes. Any research programme must be seen as a reinforcement of these incipient forms. In working out the desired models the centre will focus on the identified areas of research.

ANNEXURE VII

MINUTES OF THE HARARE CONSULTATIVE MEETING - JULY 25-26, 1987

1. Chairperson: Cde Pallo Jordan
2. Organisation of Work:
   - 2.1 PLENARY SESSION
   - 2.1.1 Introduction and Review of Current Research
   - 2.1.2 Identification of Areas of Research
   - 2.1.3 Structure, Coordination and Funding
   - 2.2 Group Discussions on Identified Areas of Research
   - 2.3 Plenary Session: Preparations for the Stockholm Meeting

3. INTRODUCTION

3.1 The chairman Cde Pallo Jordan, described the meeting as the beginning of a process that was to lead to the formulation of a comprehensive project proposal on post-apartheid South Africa. The project proposal would be derived from ANC and the broad democratic forces inside the country. SIDA is willing to fund the project proposal. However, it was up to the participants to influence the shape and design of the envisaged project. The extent of SIDA's participation and involvement would also be determined by those present at the meeting. The chairman went on to inform the meeting that a seminar was projected for August 1987 in Sweden, for the discussion and submission of the project proposal. The delegation to Sweden will be composed of South Africans from inside and outside the country.

4. BRAINSTORMING ON CURRENT RESEARCH

4.1 A Social Policy Research Project was established in Durban after the December 1986 Amsterdam Seminar. Paul Daphne is the coordinator. Already there have been consultations with COSATU, UDF, NECC on how progressive organisations should relate to this project. Because research has to be accounatble to the broad democratic movement, these consultations should continue.

4.2 Some circles believe that greater concentration should be directed towards research into the prevailing socio-economic situation, especially the state and capital. In this way, the theory of transition will be better understood. The labour Education Research Centre is engaged in this exercise. Mike Morris coordinates the Centre.

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4.3 ASSA represents progressive social scientists. Among its main area of research is the theory of transition, leading to the post-apartheid period.

4.4 The Democratic Lawyers Association questions the present liberal framework of legal practice and training. The National Institute has been established to develop new forms of legal practices, to conduct research in rural and urban areas and to identify those who need legal assistance. It also studies the development of the organs of peoples power.

4.5 The Freedom Charter and Human Rights Charter have been adopted and form the basis for a new legal philosophy.

4.6 NAMDA initially assessed the Primary Health Care Services and projects currently beinf run in South Africa,

4.7 A future health policy is under debate. A Health Charter is also being considered.

4.8 Primary Health Care is also being looked into. A Conference to discuss this is planned for the later part of 1987.

4.9 National Health Services will be assessed by one academic on Sabbatical, during 1988, in different countries.

4.10 Data on Health organisational structures and trade unions are being looked into with the view to form a working relationship. The stronghold of the state over health workers, especially nurses is cause for serious concern.

4.11 Health under repression is another area of focus for NAMDA.

4.12 Appropriate medical training is under scrunity and emphasis is being laid on community-based training programmes.

4.13 Traditional healing is yet another area for research.

4.14 NECC is working through the education policy units at different universities. Peoples Education Committees are working on tthe production of materials to be used in alternative education. The Education Charter campaign is moving ahead progressively.

The shortage of science teachers was identified as a major practical problem in science and technology training. These needs for post-apartheid South Africa have to be addressed. The other question to ask is, whether we need as many universities as exist at the expense to technical and vocational training.

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4.15 Social Work and Welfare is undertaken by state-subsidized structures. SABSWA is engaged in establishing slternative social elfrae projects. There are considerations for establishing a progressive professional association. In Durban, there are debates about an alternative social welfare policy. The Black Social Work Educatiors Forum has introduced many new dimensions in the curriculum, and influences training by the Joint University Committee on Social Work. Comparative studies into what has been achieved in the countries of the sub-region in this field will be of assistance in formulating social welfare policy options.

4.16 At the UWC efforts have been made towards the restructuring of the curriculum, for teacher training. Some UWC academics serve on NECC sub-committees.

4.17 ASSA is looking into the future possible role of the present Black Universities.

4.18 In the Western Cape agricultural and civic associations need assistance for setting up projects for self-reliance and they look up to the churches for aid. Three farms have been acquired and need funding to achieve the objective for establishing cooperatives. In the field of arts and crafts, funds are also required for setting up cooperatives. Several groups are engaged in research into culture. COSATU has a Cultural Group doing this type of research. WCRP is looking into traditional religious practices and is working towards solutions for religious conflicts. There is need to dvelop a scientific outlook to different religions.

4.19. Research into local government and planning has been generated by the Urban Foundation. Much is being done to collect data on community organisations, regional service councils and urban services.

UCT

UTC is looking into alternative local government system and has established an Enviroment Planning Group.

4.20 Since 1979, a research unit within the ANC has been operative. It is part of the Department of Information and Publicity. It has established a data bank from public documents, newspapers, journals, etc. Social Science Researchs have done most of the research. Lack of funds has been the main constraints.

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4.21 In 1983 the ANC established the Economic Unit to research into the restructuring of the economy for a future South Africa. This Unit has been upgraded into a Department of Economics and Planning.

ANC has regular contacts with many social scientists throughout the world, and participates in various workshops, seminars and international conferences.

4.22 The initial projects of the ANC in research efforts, geared towards a Post-Apartheid South Africa, include the 1982 Socio-economic Survey project on South Africa drawn by economists and submitted to ECA, a skills profile of the Black South African work force, prepared in cooperation with the ILO, a project to examine constitutional policy options, colloquim in the USSR that looked into post-apartheid South Africa and the Religion and Education Seminar that was held in Amsterdam. The imbalances of the South African political economy are also under study, including the macro and sectoral economy.

4.23 These are efforts geared towards the translation of the aspirations in the Freedom Charter into concrete realities.

4.24 A number of South Africans in universities outside the country are also participating in research in various areas. Work has been done in areas such as Education struggles, health under apartheid, etc. Sympathetic social scientists around the world have done research on various topics.

4.25 The Department of Economics and Planning is arranging for an in-house seminar in 1988 to map out strategy for research.

4.26 It was agreed that the Constitutional Policy options are a pivotal issue which required urgent attention. Many quarters from various parts of the world are attempting to influence the future directions in South Africa.

A conference will be held in early 1988 by the Department of Constitutional and Legal Affairs, outside South Africa. The Department will continue to conduct comparative studies on various countries in this field.

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4.27 Culture is one of the negelected areas in the development of talent. Artists have emerged without encouragement and deliberate programmed training. On the other hand the regime has misused artists for its own credibility. The ANC Department of Arts and Culture welcomes the establishment of the Congress of South African Writers.

4.28 Another conference for artists is being planned for 1988 in which artists will determine their role in the process of struggle for liberation.

4.29 The history of the Department of Education within the African National Congress has been linked to the establishment of SOMAFCO, the Dakawa Development Centre, especially the orientation, the rehabilitation and vocational centres. Adult education has been another area of concern.

4.30 The Department has been involved in various conferences, seminars, and workshops. It is now in the process of collating all papers presented in these forums, for dissemination. Many research opportunities have been made available to the Department and there is need to utilise them.

4.31 Likewise the ANC Department of Health has been engaged mainly in the delivery of health care to the ANC communities outside South Africa.

4.32 ANC Health institutions have been established in Tanzania, Zambia and Angola. There is also a health training project operational in Angola. It is a joint ANC-SWAPO venture.

4.32 Health research has been related mainly to the immediate health needs of ANC communities. It has been done in cooperation with the host countries and the World Health Organisation, Africa Region, in areas of Mental Health, Chloroquine Resistant Malaria and Malmutrition.

4.33 The Department has participated in various conferences, seminars, and workshops. ANC health personnel are being trained in different countries and thus are exposed to a variety of health systems models on the basis of which health policy options can be formulated. A number of training facilities are offered for training health personnel but sometimes they are not utilized to the full.

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4.34 The Department of Health envisages research into existing health systems in South Africa and in ANC settlements outside South Africa; organisational and structural aspects of the department; health policy guidelines using the PHC strategy of Health for all by the year 2000, compilation of health manpower needs indetifying at the same time training facilities; the health projects of a community-based nature and comparative studies on health care systems.

4.35 Community-based media has come into existance in South Africa. It is democratically controlled by the communities and reflects what is happening within the communities. Training programmes in crash journalism courses have been started.

4.36 ANC Radio Freedom broadcasts from five African countries. There are a number of ANC publications: SECHABA, MAYIBUYE, FORWARD, VOW, DAWN, and others. Since the clamp down on mass media, there are difficulties in compiling and producing these publications. The evaluation of available information with precision is also not an easy task. There is also the need to democratize the South African media. At the moment only two cooperations control the newspapers.

4.37 In Natal, after the take-over of Ilanga Lase-Natal by Gatsha, 18 journalists are working towards the establishment of an alternative newspaper. Difficulties to be overcome thus far, include lack of full time functionaries, choice of language that would be the unifying factor.

4.38 At the end of the brainstorming on current research it was clear that the meeting was in fact a beginning of a process to facilitate research into post-apartheid South Africa, through persons both inside and outside South Africa. The project under the control of South Africans.

4.39 It was evident that there must be on-going interchange of information on research being condected both inside and outside the country, in order to avoid duplication.

5. <u>ACADEMIC BOYCOTT</u>

5.1 Regarding the blanket cultural academic boycott, the meeting was informed that this was being reviewed as a result of the activities inside the country, where formations were challenging the regime and giving expression to the democratic forces. A blanket academic boycott would be problematic in facilitating interchange of the kind necessary for the envisaged work. A copy of the statement on the Cultural Boycott, by the ANC, would be made available in Stockholm

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6. IDENTIFIED AREAS OF RESEARCH

6.1 State structure of government and constitutional affairs.

6.2 Mass Media Information and Culture.

6.3 Health Education and Social Services.

6.4 Local Government and Planning.

6.5 Agriculture, Economy, Energy.

6.6 Women.

7. Inputs from the group discussions of research topics in each area are attached.

8. STRUCTURES, COORDINATION, FUNDING

8.1 This topic was introduced by an evaluation of the post-Amsterdam meeting. The Social Policy Research Project (SPRP) had been established in Durban. Nothing much had been done in other regions. The question o to resolve was therefore whether it was necessary to set up a new structure or use the SPRP as a coordinating structure for research inside South Africa.

8.2 Amongst researchers there is a proliferation of research projects into a future South Africa. Funding through Universities for research is becoming progressively difficult. Power struggles around the issues of funds was identified as a possible area of controversy.

8.3 Talking about research includes intellectuals of different ideological outlook. Distinctions has therefore to be drawn between research by organisations, by individuals and between organisations.

8.4 Meeting noted that SPRP had narrowed the scope of research activities and consultations. However it agreed that the Natal group had done a commendable job after the Amsterdam Conference by establishing the SPRP. It was then resolved that the SPRP meets with the rest of the delegation from Natal and restructure the SPRP along more representative lines.

8.5 There was unanimous agreement that, inside the country there is a necessity for establishing a coordinating committee. It was further agreed that the experience of the SPRP be utilized for setting up the regional structures in the Western and Eastern Cape, Transvaal and O.F.S. The Western Cape together with Natal would contact the Eastern Cape, and the Transvaal would concentrate on the O.F.S. The regional structures would embrace mass progressive organisations engaged in research work in the six identified areas. This exercise will be accomplished by November 1987 after which an internal Coordinating Committee would have been established. The Regional Units are to use whatever funds are readily available to them for setting up these structures.

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These will be re-imbursed from the post-apartheid resources. An Ad Hoc Committee was accordingly charged with the task of establishing the regional structures, from which would emerge the Internal Coordinating Committee. The members of the Ad Hoc are:

Comrade	Mathole Motshekga (Transvaal)
"	Paul Daphne (Natal)
"	Levi Engelbrecht (Western Cape)

If any member of this committee can not undertake the task assigned, then he/she should delegate the task to a contact person. The members of the ad hoc committee will liase with one another for making preparations for the November meeting.

8.6 Operational meetings, with the Swedes and later with other organisations are envisaged.

8.7 The structure of the coordinating committee will affect the projects implementation, monitoring and the rules of procedure, to be worked out.

8.8 A need for a research institute/centre outside South Africa, as a reference point, was expressed by all participants. The institution would not be formally attached to the ANC. However, there was strong feeling that the centre be attached to one of the Frontline Universities/Institutions, after carefully studying any problems that would lead to its being absorbed into these institutional structure.

8.9 The established research institutions that are not related to the democratic movement would serve as sources of information, without necessarily being part of the arrangement. There will be need to create a working relationship with them.

9. STOCKHOLM PREPARATIONS

9.1 The Swedes expect that constitutions with people from home will have been concluded before the Stockholm seminar. In fact the current consultations are an initiation of a series of anticipated meetings/consultations of an operational nature, with the Swedes and other progressive researchers and organisations.

9.2. Since the regional structures and the internal coordinating committee have not been established, it was agreed that people from home to the Stockholm seminar be included on an ad hoc basis from those present. All regions would be represented.

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9.3 It was further agreed that the delegation to Stockholm would include those present at the Harare consultations, and that this did not exclude others who may be invited to participate. The list of the proposed participants is attached (Annexure III). Names of participants from O.F.S., SAYCO, WOMEN, UDF, COSATU and Eastern Cape (NAMDA representative) would be communicated to the Harare-based coordinator. Logistically however, this might not be possible the meeting noted.

Annexure VIII

THE SECRETARIAT

POST APARTHEID PROGRAMME

Report of the Internal Ad Hoc Co-ordinating Committee

The Committee met in Johannesburg on Wednesday 5th August. This meeting consisted of 3 parts.

a) Discussion of arrangements for attending the Stockholm meeting.

b) Giving regional reports from Cape Town, Durban, Transvaal.

c) Briefing 3 people who came for the last part of the meeting, viz
Eric Molobe - NECC executive
Peter Mokaba - SAYCO president
Para Mothupi - UDF N. Transvaal.

Eric Molobe mentioned that the UDF had discussed the post-apartheid research initiative at a national level. Peter Mokaba said that the issue of post-apartheid research would be discussed in SAYCO structures.

It emerged from these discussions as well as from the regional report that the relationship of organisations to the research initiative was an issue requiring clarification.

b) Natal

The Durban grouping who had been in Harare held a meeting to discuss how to proceed. The issue of how the initiative should relateto organisations was raised but no finality was reached. The Harare grouping decided that it was necessary to have a joint meeting after Stockholm with the Social Policy Research Project steering committee in order to decide how to work together.

The SPRP steering committee have also been briefed on the Harare meeting. This committee includes the regional secretaries of the UDF and COSATU. SPRP has produced a draft interim report and proposal but it was decided to put this on ice until after the Stockholm meeting in order to allow proper discussion in the steering committee, and so as to allow time for the Natal structure to be sorted out.

Apart from the UDF and COSATU regional secretaries, briefings have also been given to SANSCO president, Billy Ramagopa, and to Natal executive of NAMDA

TRANSVAAL AND ORANGE FREE STATE

A number of organisations and individuals have been briefed in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. The organisations include:

1) Fediraw
2) Regional Organiser of NAMDA
3) Health workers Association
4) Chairman and Secretary of UDF (East Rand)
5) Secretary of UDF (Southern Transvaal)
6) NEUSA
7) UDF Executive Northern Transvaal
8) Democratic Lawyers Congress (Transvaal and OFS)
9) Democratic Lawyers Association and both the National and Cape members of the Legal National Caucus
19) Intervasity Law Students Council
11) SANSCO
12) The Delmas Trialists (Popo Molefe, Moses Chikane and Terror Lekota)
13) Father Mkhatswa, Southern African Bishops Conference.

The Transvaal group appointed Mrs Phinda Dube (Research Secretary) and George Mashamba Research Co-ordinator and attached them to the National Institute for Public InterestLaw and Research, P.O. Box 4520, Pretoria and charged them with the duty of organising post-apartheid research in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Mrs Phindile Dube holds the degrees Bachelor of Law (B. Proc) and Bachelor of Laws (LL.B) and Mr Mashamba holds the degree B.A. and B.A. (Honours) and has recently been reseased from prison after serving a 10 years sentence for ANC activities. Mr Mashamba will be based in Johannesburg from the 1st September where a research and legal training centre is being established while Mrs Dube will remain in Pretoria.

The National Institute has already identified and drawn up a list of experts (especially in law who) are interested in the post-apartheid Research. At present Mrs Dube, Mr Mashamba and Peter Maake, who has been appointed as Rural Development Officer are busy identifying and compiling a list of women's youth and other organisations with a view to developing contacts and briefing them accordingly

O.F.S.

In consultation with Vavumile Vilakazi, Terror Lekota and Popo Molefe the National Institute made contacts with the Vaal Triangle Civic Association and established an office in Vereeniging. This office will serve as an administrative centre for post-apartheid activities and as a legal aid clinic. Oupa Matsepe, an attorney in Welkom has been approached and

3/....

requested to develop contacts for this project. Vavumile Vilakazi (Delmas trialist on bail) is helping in the development of contactsin Parys, Kroonstad and Bloemfontein.

Mathole Motshekga

Date

Mathole Motshekga
National Convenor Ad Hoc Committee

ANNEXURE IX

WORKING GROUPS

1. STATE, STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS

Tedd Pekane

Zola Skweyiya

Mathole Motshekga

2. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Jaya Appalraju

Mike Suitcliffe

3. HEALTH, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICES

Nonhlanhla Vilakazi

Emmanuel Nzimande

Tickly Mohammed

Harold Wolpe

Ramorola Angelina Matsie

Randolph Erentzen

John Engelbrect

Chetti Karmani

Manto Tshabalala

4. MASS MEDIA, INFORMATION AND CULTURE

Pallo Jordan

Thabo Mbeki

Barbara Masekela

Lindiwe Mabuza

5. ECONOMY, AGRICULTURE

Max Sisulu

Bano Matlape

Raymond Mokoena

Paul Daphne

Bunny Mackay

Fuad Cassim.

ANNEXURE X.

DISTINCTION MUST BE MADE BETWEEN:

(a) PRIMARY / CO-ORDINATING RESEARCH.

- 6 SECTORAL AREAS
- PURPOSE IS CO-ORDINATION & UNDERTAKING PRESCRIBED FIELDWORK.
- 'ACADEMIC' IN ORIENTATION.

(b) POLICY UNITS

- SERVICE ORGANISATIONS
- POPULARISING LITERATURE / RESEARCH
- DOCUMENTATION / RESOURCE CENTRES
- MUST OPERATE OPENLY
- MUST BE ACCESSIBLE TO ALL PROGRESSIVE ORGANISATIONS & ACCOUNTABLE TO THEM.

IN ORDER TO GET CO-ORDINATION:

AD HOC NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE

APPOINTS 4 FULL-TIME REGIONAL CO-ORDINATORS:

WHO:

(a) ESTABLISH A REGIONAL OFFICE;

(b) ROLE IS TO FACILITATE RESEARCH / MAKE CONTACT WITH THE FOLLOWING:

1. RESEARCHERS ON 'MOVEMENT' PROJECTS
2. RESEARCHERS ON TRANSFORMATION PROJECTS
3. POLICY UNITS.

(c) ARRANGE FORUMS; NETWORKS OF RESEARCHERS / INTELLECTUALS (ORGANIC & OTHERWISE), PROVIDE NEWSLETTER;

(d) IF POSSIBLE CREATE REGIONAL (& NATIONAL) NETWORK OF RESEARCHERS.

POSSIBLE STRUCTURE

RESEARCH

POLICY UNITS

'MOVEMENT' RESEARCH

EXTERNAL RESEARCH CENTRE

'MOVEMENT' POLICY.

SITUATION 1:

(PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATION EXISTS FOR NATIONAL CO-ORDINATION E.G. HEALTH)

RESEARCHERS APPOINTED ACCOUNTABLE & ACCESSIBLE TO NATIONAL ORGANISATION.

SITUATION 2:

(NO NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE ORGANISATION, E.G. PLANNING)

RESEARCHERS APPOINTED FOR PROJECTS. THEY SET UP NATIONAL SECTORAL STEERING COMMITTEE. (MIGHT BE INCIPIENT NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE ORGANISATION).

NATIONAL ORGANISATI

POLICY UNITS (E.G. EDUCATION) - BASED REGIONALLY - CONTROL RESTS WITHIN REGIONS - INCLUDE MIX OF ORGANISATIONAL BUILDINGS, ETC. - [illegible] RESEARCH TO SEAL. LINKING [illegible].

CRITERIA:

1. NATIONAL REPRESENTATION
2. RESOURCES DISTRIBUTED TO EXPERTISE,
3. GO TO PEOPLE/RESEARCHERS

SYMPATHETIC (?) TO MDM.