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FOR INFORMATION



NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

DOCUMENTS

19 AUGUST 1992

SADC

SUMMIT

REPORT

TO: THE NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

FM: TREVOR MANUEL

DATE: 18 AUGUST 1992

SUBJECT: SADC SUMMIT HELD ON 17 AUGUST 1992

Attendance: The summit was attended by the following Heads of State and Government: Presidents Nujoma, Masire, Chissano, Mwinzi, Mugabe and Chiluba. Prime Ministers van Dunem and Dlamini. Ministers Thoahlane and Chimango.

ANC was represented by Cde M C Ramaphosa and the PAC was represented by Cde Makwetu.

1. The Summit was preceded by meetings of the Standing Committee of Officials (where the ANC was represented by Patrick Ncube) and the Ministers Council (where the ANC was represented by Trevor Manuel)

2. A meeting of the Joint Planning Committee was held on 16 August at the level of Heads of State. The JPC was established to deal particularly with issues relating to South Africa. At the meeting, the Liberation movements had the opportunity of briefing the Heads of State on negotiations, mass action and the Patriotic Front. The ANC was warmly applauded for the highly successful campaign of mass action.

The meeting also discussed the relations of member states to South Africa and resolved that the level of relations should not be increased in order to strengthen the hand of the liberation movements in negotiations.

The meeting noted that a study had been concluded on future relations between South Africa and the Region.

3. The following issues were discussed at the Summit:

3.1 The Treaty and Protocol on the establishment of the Southern African Development Community were discussed, approved and duly signed by all Heads of State. The Development Community has now been formally established.

3.2 The Summit received detailed briefings on the prevailing situation in Mozambique and Angola. Summit commended the peace initiatives in the two countries and thanked President Mugabe for his role in facilitating peace talks in Mozambique.

3.3 Summit discussed the role of the region in securing peace and democracy in South Africa and undertook to resolve the institutional form in which the Region can facilitate the process. The idea of monitors from the region to be deployed in SA was endorsed in principle.

3.4 Summit reiterated the view that SA will not be permitted accession to the Development Community until a democratic government is firmly in place.

3.5 Summit confirmed that the drought is of ongoing concern to the region. It commended the Secretariat for having convened a Donor's Conference on drought at which \$600m had been pledged to the region. Summit resolved to initiate extensive preparations which would enhance the ability of the Region to cope with the ongoing drought or to facilitate a rapid recovery programme should the rains arrive.

3.6 The relations between SADC and the PTA were discussed at great length. Summit resolved to commission an independent study to harmonise relations and minimise overlap between the two regional bodies.

3.7 Summit elected President Masire as chairperson for a further term and accepted that the office of chairperson should rotate. The details of rotation shall be resolved at the summit to be held during August of 1993.

4. The Address to the plenary by our Secretary-General (attached) was exceptionally well received.

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STATEMENT
BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
CYRIL RAMAPHOSA,
TO ANNUAL SUMMIT OF SADCC WINDHOEK, 17 AUGUST 1992

CHAIRPERSON, HIS EXCELLENCY, SIR KETUMILE MASIRE!

HIS EXCELLENCY, COMRADE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA,

DR. SAM NUJOMA!

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT!

HONOURABLE MINISTERS!

DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES!

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, COMRADES AND FRIENDS!

I CONVEY TO YOU WARMEST GREETINGS FROM THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND FROM OUR PRESIDENT, COMRADE NELSON MANDELA. KINDLY ACCEPT HIS APOLOGY THAT HE COULD NOT ATTEND THIS IMPORTANT OCCASION.

WE ARE LIVING IN TIMES WHEN AFRICA AND THE THIRD WORLD ARE BEING INCREASINGLY MARGINALISED BY THE CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE NORTHERN HEMISPHERE, TIMES WHICH RENDER THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN THE USA AND CHANGES IN THE FORMER USSR APPARENTLY MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE PROFOUND HUMAN TRAGEDY WHICH GRIPS SOMALIA. THIS DOES NOT AUGUR WELL FOR OUR REGION.

TO OUR CREDIT, WE ARE NOT SITTING BACK AND MERELY BEMOANING THIS FACT. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY, BY THE TREATY WHICH HAS JUST BEEN SIGNED, IS PROOF OF THE REGION'S EFFORT TO BUILD A BULWARK AGAINST THE FURTHER

MARGINALISATION OF OUR SUB-CONTINENT. WE IN THE ANC SALUTE YOUR EXCELLENCIES FOR LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE FOR INTEGRATION. THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY MUST ALSO PROVIDE A VEHICLE TO CONTINUALLY AND PROACTIVELY ADVANCE OUR INTERESTS BOTH WITHIN THE REGION AND IN INTERNATIONAL FORA OF NOTE. THE TIMING OF THIS TREATY, CHAIRPERSON, COULD NOT HAVE BEEN MORE PRECISE. I MUST ADMIT TO HAVING WITNESSED THE SIGNING CEREMONY WITH A LUMP IN MY THROAT -WHILST WE ARE OVERJOYED THAT THE SADC IS NOW FORMALISED, WE WISH WE WERE ALREADY AN INSTITUTIONAL PART OF THE MOMENTOUS OCCASION. WE ARE PLEASED TO NOTE THAT YOU HAVE LEFT A SLOT WHERE THE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA WILL SIGN.

WE REMAIN CONVINCED THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE A DEMOCRATIC, NON-RACIAL AND NON-SEXIST COUNTRY SOON. THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN SOUTH AFRICA HAS SHIFTED IRREVOCABLY IN FAVOUR OF THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY. JUST A FORTNIGHT AGO, IN THE FACE OF THE PROPHETS OF DOOM, WE WERE ABLE TO SECURE THE PARTICIPATION OF MILLIONS OF OUR PEOPLE IN THE MASS ACTION CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY. TOWNSHIPS THROUGHOUT OUR COUNTRY RESOUNDED WITH THE WILL TO WIN A TRUE DEMOCRACY. MILLIONS OF OUR PEOPLE VOTED AGAINST THE APARTHEID REGIME AND AGAINST VIOLENCE WITH THEIR FEET BY PARTICIPATING IN AN UNPRECEDENTED TWO DAY GENERAL STRIKE, CITY OCCUPATIONS, MARCHES AND OCCUPATION OF GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS. THROUGH THEIR ACTIONS OUR PEOPLE DEMONSTRATED ONCE AGAIN THAT THE DAYS OF APARTHEID ARE NUMBERED.

WHEN THE ANC BROKE OFF TALKS WITH THE APARTHEID REGIME AT THE END OF JUNE, OUR DECISION WAS INFORMED BY THE EVALUATION OF THREE

SETS OF CIRCUMSTANCES. FIRSTLY, THE ONGOING WANTON VIOLENCE WHICH CONTINUES TO DOG THE LIVES OF THE MAJORITY OF SOUTH AFRICANS. PROMINENT IN THE VIOLENCE ARE THE CONTINUED MASSACRES LAUNCHED FROM HOSTELS, THE TRAIN MASSACRES AND THE COMPLETE DISREGARD OF HUMAN LIFE BY THE PERPETRATORS OF THIS VIOLENCE.

WE CHARGED THE REGIME WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE VIOLENCE BY ACTS OF OMISSION AND COMMISSION. WE REMAIN SEIZED OF THIS VIEW. SECONDLY, THE BLATANT REFUSAL BY THE REGIME TO IMPLEMENT AGREEMENTS LONG STRUCK, AS IN THE CASE OF THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS SOME 450 OF WHOM REMAIN INCARCERATED. IN THE FACE OF THIS THE REGIME DEMANDS A BLANKET AMNESTY IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE THE HEINOUS CRIMES OF ITS OPERATIVES ARE NOW BEING EXPOSED. WE REMAIN CONVINCED THAT THIS MATTER CAN ONLY BE PROPERLY ADDRESSED BY AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY. THIRDLY, THE ANC TOOK STOCK OF THE FAILURE OF THE REGIME TO COME TO TERMS WITH THE FACT THAT SOUTH AFRICA MUST BECOME A DEMOCRACY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED NORMS. THIS FAILURE RESULTED IN THE IMPASSE AT CODESA II.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS REMAINS COMMITTED TO A NEGOTIATED TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE MAJORITY IN SOUTH AFRICA. OUR RECORD IN THIS REGARD IS UNIMPEACHABLE. OUR COMMITMENT CAN BE TRACED BACK TO THE MANDATE GIVEN TO OUR PRESIDENT, COMRADE MANDELA, BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANC IN 1986 TO BEGIN EXPLORING THE BASIS FOR THE COMMENCEMENT OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE REGIME. THIS COMMITMENT ALSO FLOWS THROUGH THE HARARE DECLARATION OF 1989 WHICH PLACED BEFORE THE WORLD A CONSOLIDATED PACKAGE FOR

NEGOTIATIONS; WE HELD THE TALKS IN THE BELLY OF THE BEAST AT GROOTE SCHUUR AND PRETORIA IN 1990; WE SET THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE ALL PARTY CONGRESS WHICH CONVENED AS CODESA I. WE WANT TO SEE NEGOTIATIONS RESUMED. WE CANNOT, HOWEVER, CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS WITH A PARTY WHICH NEGOTIATES IN BAD FAITH AND REMAINS HELL-BENT ON RETAINING POWER AT ALL COSTS. THUS WE TOOK STOCK OF THE THREE CONTRIBUTING CIRCUMSTANCES AS OUTLINED EARLIER. WE REITERATE OUR WILLINGNESS TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS ON CONDITION THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME RESPONDS TO OUR 14 DEMANDS RELATING TO THE VIOLENCE AND AGREES TO THE ELECTION OF A SOVEREIGN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHOSE DECISIONS WILL NOT BE SUBJECTED TO THE VETO OF ANY OTHER BODY AND AGREES TO THE INSTALLATION OF AN^{INTERIM} GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY.

OUR CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY IS AIMED AT EXERTING MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON THE REGIME TO ACCEDE TO OUR DEMANDS. THE PHENOMENAL SUPPORT FOR OUR CAMPAIGN OF UNPRECEDENTED MASS ACTION MUST SURELY BE A SIGNAL TO DE KLERK THAT OUR PEOPLE ARE NOT PREPARED TO WAIT ANY LONGER BUT WANT PEACE AND DEMOCRACY NOW. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE ATTAINMENT OF THESE DEMANDS ARE NOW WITHIN OUR GRASP. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE REGIME WILL HAVE TO BE CONTINUOUSLY PERSUADED, CAJOLED AND NUDGED BY PRESSURE. IT IS IN THIS REGARD THAT WE APPEAL TO THE MEMBER STATES OF SADC ACTING BOTH COLLECTIVELY AND INDIVIDUALLY TO APPLY PRESSURE ON THE REGIME TO PLACE NEGOTIATIONS BACK ON TRACK. GIVEN THE VESTED INTERESTS OF THE REGION IN SECURING DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA, WE MUST ALSO APPEAL FOR A CONTINUING INTEREST TO ENSURE THAT NEGOTIATIONS REMAIN ON COURSE. WE SHOULD COLLECTIVELY SEEK THE MEANS TO

INSTITUTIONALLY INVOLVE THE REGION, THROUGH AN APPROPRIATE ORGAN, TO OBSERVE AND SUPPORT OUR EFFORTS TOWARDS SECURING THE TRANSFER OF POWER.

THERE ARE TWO KEY ELEMENTS IN OUR SCENARIO TO SECURE THE TRANSITION FROM APARTHEID TO DEMOCRACY. THE FIRST IS THAT THE TRANSITION MUST BE SWIFT, BOLD AND TRANSPARENT TO SECURE LASTING PEACE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH. WE REMAIN AT ODDS WITH THE REGIME ABOUT THE LENGTH OF THE TRANSITION. SECONDLY, WE MUST ENDEAVOUR TO MAXIMISE THE UNITY OF THE OPPRESSED. ON THIS SCORE, SEVERAL GAINS WERE MADE LAST YEAR WITH THE CONFERENCE OF PATRIOTIC FORCES WHICH WE HAD JOINTLY CONVENED WITH THE PAC. SOME OF THOSE GAINS WERE ROLLED BACK BY EVENTS SOON AFTER THAT MILESTONE CONFERENCE. NOTWITHSTANDING THIS, THE ANC WAS ABLE TO ACT JOINTLY WITH OTHER PATRIOTIC FRONT MEMBERS DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS AND THE MASS ACTION CAMPAIGN. THE CAMPAIGN BROUGHT TOGETHER A BROAD FRONT OF ORGANISATIONS RANGING FROM CHURCHES, BUSINESS AND TAXI ORGANISATIONS, TRADE UNIONS, TEACHERS AND STUDENTS. THE BALANCE OF FORCES IS CLEARLY SHIFTING MORE AND MORE IN FAVOUR OF A DYNAMIC BROAD COALITION OF FORCES, WHICH WILL ENCOMPASS THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FORCES.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE IN THE OVERALL BEST INTEREST OF THE ENTIRE REGION. THERE ARE HOWEVER MANY DIFFERING EXPECTATIONS OF PRECISELY WHAT BENEFITS WILL ACCRUE TO THE REGION. AT THE SADCC CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE HELD IN MAPUTO DURING JANUARY, OUR DEPUTY PRESIDENT, COMRADE WALTER SISULU, ARTICULATED THE ANC PERSPECTIVE ON THIS MATTER. I WOULD

LIKE TO REITERATE THAT UNDERSTANDING HERE,

WE RECOGNISE AND ACCEPT AN HISTORIC OBLIGATION TO CO-OPERATE WITH OUR NEIGHBOURS IN OVERCOMING THE IMBALANCES WHICH CHARACTERISE THE EXISTING REGIONAL ECONOMY AND IN ADDRESSING THE CONSEQUENCES OF APARTHEID DESTABILISATION. HOWEVER, GIVEN THAT WE SHALL HAVE BEEN LEFT AN APPALLING LEGACY BY APARTHEID, OUR CONTRIBUTION IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE SUB-REGION IS LIKELY TO BE LIMITED - AT LEAST INITIALLY.

THE ANC REMAINS OF THE SAME VIEW. FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE, THE POST-APARTHEID DIVIDEND WHICH WILL BE REAPED FIRST WILL BE PEACE AND POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE REGION. THE END OF A REGIME WHICH ARMS, CLOTHES AND FEEDS BANDITS TO DESTABILISE NEIGHBOURING STATES, DESPITE INTERNATIONAL CONDEMNATION, WILL SURELY RENEW THE PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE WAR-RAVAGED COUNTRIES.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY IS PREDICATED UPON CONSTRUCTING THE CONDITIONS FOR EQUITY, BALANCE AND MUTUAL BENEFIT. PRINCIPLES WHICH ARE FUNDAMENTAL TO THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY ADOPTED BY THE ANC AT ITS WATERSHED POLICY CONFERENCE IN MAY 1992. THIS VIEW IS DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED TO THE NOTIONS OF A LOCOMOTIVE OR POWER-POINT FOR GROWTH ARTICULATED BY THE 'NEW DIPLOMACY' OF THE APARTHEID REGIME. ALL EMPHASIS IS PLACED ON THE SHORT TERM ADVANTAGE OF THE REGIME. EVEN THE ASSISTANCE RENDERED BY SPOORNET TO FACILITATE DROUGHT RELIEF, IS USED BY THE REGIME TO COCK ITS SNOOT AT THE WORLD AND TO REINFORCE THE MISGUIDED

NOTION OF A POWER-POINT FOR GROWTH. IT SHOULD ALSO BE APPARENT THAT THE CURRENT ONE-WAY TRADE FLOWS ARE UNSUSTAINABLE, AND THE TAP IS LIKELY TO BE TURNED OFF AS AID FLOWS DECLINE. WHAT, TO OUR MIND, IS FAR MORE IMPORTANT IS TO ENSURE TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO THE REGION, THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDUSTRIAL BASE IN THE REGION , DEVELOPING A GROWTH PATH FOR ALL STATES IN THE REGION, AND TO DEVELOP THE INTEGRITY OF CURRENCIES IN THE REGION TO FACILITATE GREATER INTERCHANGEABILITY. WE ARGUE THAT THE REGION CAN ONLY GROW BY A STRATEGY FOR INTEGRATION THROUGH MULTI-SECTORAL CO-ORDINATION OF ACTIVITIES.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS PLEADS WITH THE MEMBER STATES TO ACT TOGETHER AS A REGION. WE APPRECIATE THE FACT THAT THE WARS OF DESTABILISATION AND RAVAGES OF DROUGHT HAVE EXERTED A HEAVY TOLL ON THE SUB-CONTINENT. HOWEVER, WE ARE DEALING IN CIRCUMSTANCES OF EXTREME INEQUALITY; THE FACT THAT 73.4% OF THE REGIONAL GDP ACCRUES TO SOUTH AFRICA MUST SURELY IMPACT ON THE NATURE OF AGREEMENTS WHICH CAN BE STRUCK BETWEEN MEMBER STATES AND THE APARTHEID REGIME. ACTING AS A REGION MEANS, AT ONE LEVEL, A STRENGTHENED ARM IN NEGOTIATIONS ON A RANGE OF ISSUES WITH THE PRESENT INCUMBENTS OF POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH ALSO ALLOWS FOR THE MEDIUM TERM OBJECTIVES TO BE TAKEN ACCOUNT OF IN STRATEGISING; AT ANOTHER LEVEL, ACTING AS A REGION WILL MINIMISE THE PROSPECTS OF ENTRENCHING THE AWESOME POWER OF THE APARTHEID REGIME, BOTH POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY, WHICH WILL SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE THE ATTAINMENT OF MUTUAL BENEFIT AND EQUITY. ONCE THE DIE HAS BEEN CAST, IT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO REVERSE THE INEQUALITY AND THE DEPENDENCY SYNDROME, EVEN WITH A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN PLACE.

WE ARE PLEASED TO NOTE THE RELATIVE SUCCESS OF THE SADCC INITIATED DONORS CONFERENCE ON DROUGHT WHICH WAS HELD IN JUNE OF THIS YEAR, 1992. THIS IS THE BEST ENDORSEMENT OF THE GAINS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA ACTING AS A REGION. OF COMMENDABLE NOTE IN THIS EXERCISE WAS THE ACTIONS BY YOU CHAIRPERSON, WHO AS HEAD OF STATE OF BOTSWANA, DID SO MUCH TO MOBILISE DROUGHT RELIEF FOR THE REGION WITHOUT ANY BENEFITS ACCRUING TO YOUR OWN COUNTRY FROM YOUR EFFORTS. WE WANT TO COMMEND YOU, YOUR EXCELLENCY, AND THE PEOPLE OF BOTSWANA FOR THE OUTSTANDING MORAL LESSON IN FORGING A REGIONAL IDENTITY AND REGIONAL CO-OPERATION.

IT IS WORTH REPEATING THAT WE ARE FUNDAMENTALLY OPPOSED TO THE SUSTENANCE OF THE HEGEMONY WHICH THE APARTHEID REGIME STILL SEEKS TO CONSTRUCT IN THE REGION. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT GROWTH IN THE REGION WILL BE ATTAINED VIA AN ARDUOUS, BUT NECESSARY ROUTE OF MUCH GREATER INTERACTION. WE IMPORE MEMBER STATES NOT TO BECOME ENSNARED IN THE WEB SPUN BY THE APARTHEID REGIME IN WHICH LONG TERM ADVANTAGE IS SACRIFICED ON THE ALTAR OF SHORT-TERM BENEFIT.

THIS CERTAINLY IS AN AWESOME CHALLENGE WHICH WE FACE JOINTLY. WE, AS SOUTHERN AFRICANS, ARE ALL CHARGED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY TO ENSURE THAT OUR REGION IS NOT FURTHER MARGINALISED OR OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS ELSEWHERE ON THE GLOBE. WE HAVE BUT THIS ONE OPPORTUNITY TO BRING STABILITY AND GROWTH TO THE REGION. IN UNDERSTANDING THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THIS OPPORTUNITY, WE NEED TO CONSIDER OUR SHARED PRINCIPLES AND RESOURCES WHICH WE SHARE TO DEVELOP THE COMPARATIVE EDGE OF OUR REGION IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY.

IN CONCLUSION, WE REMAIN INDEBTED TO THE MEMBER STATES FOR THEIR
TIRELESS EFFORTS IN ADVANCING THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH
AFRICA. IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT WE PERCEIVE THE TRUISM OF THE
ADAGE, 'OUR LIBERATION AND YOURS ARE INEXTRICABLY INTERTWINED'.
TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA, WE EXPRESS OUR
PROFOUND GRATITUDE FOR THE WARM HOSPITALITY ACCORDED TO OUR
DELEGATION.

CHAIRPERSON, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I THANK YOU
FOR YOUR ATTENTION!

ENDS.ENDS

PATRIOTIC

FRONT

SUMMIT

PATRIOTIC FRONT SUMMIT REPORT

UNITY OF PF ORGANISATIONS

Agreed that the Liaison Committee be joined by representatives of those parties present at KwaMahlangu but which do not currently serve on the Liaison Committee, in order to prepare a discussion document with the following Terms of Reference:

1. How to deepen the unity of the PF organisations at grassroots level;
2. How to address/redress problems in regard to the unity of PF organisations that have arisen;
3. The formulation of a Minimum Programme arising from our approach to the struggle as a whole;
4. How to establish effective coordination mechanisms between all PF organisations (including examination of the Mass Action Forum in the Transkei);
5. The possible formation of a Task Force to deal with questions of infiltration by the regime via the PF (this was raised by Venda);
6. To consider the suggestion of holding workshops in all regions to discuss, amongst other things, methods of organisation, intimidation and how to prevent it, and to develop an understanding at grassroots level of the relations between our various organisations;
7. The accountability of bantustan administrations.
8. The position of the PAC.

Agreed that the above document should be circulated to the PF organisations at KwaMahlangu in preparation for a PF meeting of senior level representation and/or the next PF Summit.

Agreed that bilateral talks between the ANC and other individual parties should be entertained in so far as such talks affect members of the PF.

- Note:
- a) To establish an on-going PF structure with the representatives of all parties can reinforce a trend in thinking that the PF should emerge as a separate organisation in its own right. For this reason I have formulated the agreement reached about expanding the Liaison Committee as a move that is connected only to the formulation of a paper on unity and not as a general decision.
 - b) To discuss such questions as the Minimum Programme before we have considered or decided (and reached agreement for this from the PF Summit type of forum) which additional structures should be included from the broader PF formation such as civics, churches, etc is back to front.

- c) Is the ANC to hold back its own suggested plans for regional workshops pending the outcome of this expanded Liaison Committee?
- d) The whole issue of making bantustan administrations accountable and sensitive to the needs of the people was thrown around in a very loose way leading even to the suggestions by Sam which implied that the PF organisations at regional level should jointly carry out this administration or Thenji who suggested that the Transkei type of Mass Action Forum could be calling on the regime for additional funding to the bantustan administration. It is necessary that this issue be clarified soon. There should be consultation on this with the ANC Land Commission types.
- e) The insistence by the Transkei that the question of the PAC be reexamined was tantamount to insisting that the ANC assist Holomisa by engaging in talks with the PAC. The proper dimensions of this issue need to be examined. It is not an issue that can be side-stepped and so would have to be taken up bilaterally.
- f) There is an urgent need for the ANC to clarify or formulate or finalise its position on the joint election strategy before this meeting on unity so that we don't go there with different approaches to what is a logical follow up to a general discussion about unity.

ELECTIONS

Agreed that each PF organisation at Summit draw up a position paper on this question; that these position papers be submitted to the ANC for processing such that a document is drawn up. This document then be circulated to the PF organisations in preparation for a Summit meeting where this is discussed.

Note:

1. Who or what ANC structure will carry out this processing and how this will be endorsed at national and regional levels of the ANC needs to be decided upon.
2. There were no timeframes for this agreed to at KwaMahlangu and we need to assess whether this indeterminate perspective is in our interests. I don't think it is given that the regime is likely to use October to push for elections in March 1993.

UNITY TYPE PROBLEMS RAISED BY INDIV PARTIES

LABOUR PARTY

Certain actions and statement cannot be explained. There needs to be a clear statement from the ANC about how it sees the LP in the struggle and the relation between the ANC and LP. In Kimberley by-elections, the local ANC took out a half page advert calling on people not to vote: only 21% of the registered voters went to the polls. Thereafter, the media onslaught took up the issue saying that in spite of ANC and SACP support, the 'coloured' population supports the NP. Up to now there has been agreement, that without reenforcing racialism, there are specific concerns of the 'coloured' voters causing them still to need to be won over. On 11/7/92 on the front page of Rapport, Saki Macazoma is quoted as saying that "we don't was Rajbansi and Hendrickse at the UN". Why was the LP not at the UN? There was no invitation to, communication or consultation with the LP about this. If Madiba comes to Cape Town, the LP should be informed of possibility for consultation. The LP gives notice of its commitment to host the next PF Summit in PE. In the Northern Areas of PE, during and in the name of mass action, 2 LP members were attacked by people purporting to be ANC and on Saturday 15/8, the houses of 3 LP members were burnt down by the civics.

UPF

During mass action, Ramodike was sentenced to death in mock trial by ANC members. Some of the mass action was directed at traditional leaders "who don't even know what mass action is". In one district, all the chiefs were sentenced to death. Inadequate government funds are allocated to the bantustan administrations because of PF membership and as a result it is not possible for them to given sufficient services to our people.

MASS ACTION

Our current approach in intensifying our action only where the PF exists should now give way to directly engaging against the "no-go areas" such as Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu.

Agreed that mass action was a success and all those involved should be congratulated; it restored our strength and vitality. The Summit reaffirmed its belief that mass action is a necessary pillar of our struggle for democracy. It noted problems and shortcomings with a view to avoiding their repetition in the future.

NEGOTIATIONS

Agreed that the whole question of negotiations and the way forward should be further discussed and this needs to be taken back to organisations to that each party should draw up a paper reflecting its perspectives included a number of issues listed below. These papers should be examined by a small group with a

view to formulating a proposal on this which could be brought to a Summit meeting.

Issues:

1. When negotiations are resumed, is it correct to renegotiate the participants? When examining this, we need to take into account not only COSATU, civics but also the ultra right and other forces close to the regime.
2. What do we mean by a leaner, trimmer CODESA format?
3. Position on regions and decentralisation.
4. Role of the UN (monitors and/or mediators)
5. Role of Goldstone (especially in the light of the attempts to cast it in the role of mediator.)

Agreed to recall and reaffirm decision adopted by PF meeting on 23 June that regime must meet demands prior to the resumption of negotiations.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Agreed that the ANC would circulate the names of the political prisoners to PF organisations in order that all the PF organisations publicise the list and intensify the campaign around this issue.

PEACE ACCORD

Agreed that the Peace Accord must be amended. The key to this is that it must be given far greater independence from the state particularly through being given its own budget. It should fully empower intervention of UN monitors so that their hand is strengthened and that they have clear terms of reference.

Agreed that we cannot stick to the 14th September unless by this date an amended version has been agreed upon and that it is this agreement that would be necessary prior to such a meeting for signing the NPA again.

Agreed that the existing Alliance's Operations Groups finalise a draft amended version of the NPA and that this be circulated to PF members and that thereafter another PF Summit be called to discuss this and agree on a position.

Note:

1. Madiba undertook to raise with Thabo the concern expressed that as a result of the formulation of the UN Resolution, the UN monitors would operate only through the NPA which would be unacceptable to us.

2. Your suggestion to form a Drafting Committee for an amended version of the NPA would have facilitated the inclusion of the Transkei and the necessary coordination between our Peace structure and the Negotiations Commission in formulating our amendments. Given that this suggestion was allowed to drop, some mechanisms to achieve both of the above will be necessary.
3. Special attention needs to be given to the composition of the existing NPA structures especially in terms of the personnel that comprise the Local and Regional Dispute Resolution Committees. This was raised by Inyandza in terms of the fact that in the E. Tvl these are basically tools of the regime. But such an observation can be applied to a must wider area if not in the majority of cases.
4. This again raises the question of involvement by other organisations not at KwaMahlangu who are members of the broader PF and signatories to the NPA. There needs to be some inclusion of them in this process. How will this be achieved?

RUGBY

Agreed that we wait until the outcome of the meeting of the sporting bodies to consider this issue.

Agreed that it is necessary to broaden the forum that discusses sport in future.

LAND TRANSFERS

Agreed that ANC Secretary General convene a meeting of senior representatives of the PF organisations at KwaMahlangu within the next 10 days (ie. before 29 August 1992) to discuss this issue and to formulate a common strategy around this.

Note:

1. Although it was also agreed that this meeting would consider the question of the proposal by Ramodike for a joint governing structure in the N. Transvaal, as Madiba pointed out such a joint governing structure would involve Gazankulu and we would first need to decide as to whether to relate to ~~them~~.
2. While as was pointed out Working Group 4 only agreed to a moratorium on land transfers to the 'independent' bantustans, the issue of land transfers to 'self governing' bantustans was not agreed to; it was not the issue that was placed on the table.