



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

DATE: 31 August 1992 - 2 September 1992

VENUE: Johannesburg

TIME: 10:00

DRAFT AGENDA

- . Opening
- . Apologies
- . Adoption of Agenda
- . Adoption of Minutes of Previous NEC
- . State of the Nation
- . Negotiations Commission
- 6.1 Report
- 6.2 Transition to Democracy Act
- 7. Statements by NEC Members on Matters Affecting ANC
- 8. Mass Action
- 8.1 Assessment
- 8.2 Way Forward
- 9. Elections Strategy
- 10. Peace Process
- 10.1 Report on National Situation
- 10.2 UN Monitoring
- 10.3 NPA Amendments
- 11. NWC Report
- 12. General
- 13. Closure

## PROGRAMME

Monday 31 August 1992 :

11h00 - 13h00

13h00 - 14h00

14h00 - 17h00

Opening

Apologies

Adoption of Agendas

Adoption of Minutes of Previous NEC

State of the Nation

Discussion

Lunch

Negotiations Commission

Report

Transition to Democracy Act

Tuesday 1 September 1992 :

9h00 - 13h00

13h00 - 14h00

14h00 - 16h00

Statements by NEC Members on matters  
affecting ANC

Mass Action

Assessment

Way Forward

Lunch

Elections Strategy

Wednesday 2 September 1992 :

9h00 - 13h00

13h00 - 14h00

Peace Process

Report on National Situation

UN Monitoring

NPA Amendments

Lunch

14h00 - 17h00 NWC Report

General

Closure



## DOCUMENTS

1. Minutes of Previous
2. NWC Report



MINUTES  
OF  
PREVIOUS

NEC

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Minutes of the meeting held 8 - 10 June 1992

PRESENT

As per register.

APOLOGIES

Apologies were accepted from the following comrades:

J. Modise (ill), R. Kasrils (will be late), T. Mbeki (burglary in flat), K. Asmal (CODESA), M. Phosa (CODESA) R. Molekane (will be late) and S. Smith (ill).

OPENING

Comrade President opened the meeting and welcomed all NEC members. He appealed to all NEC members to come on time to meetings. He welcomed Cdes George Mathuse and Solly Rasmeni, the Western Transvaal secretary and chairman respectively, as new members of the executive.

CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETING

The minutes of previous meeting were confirmed as a correct record of the proceedings.

MATTERS ARISING FROM THE MINUTES

5.1. Media Leakages

The President explained that NAT has investigated the matter and a report was given to him. He has not placed this matter before the officials, the NWC or the NEC because of the sensitivity of the matter. The investigations will continue and once there is strong evidence against those who are involved in the leakages the strongest disciplinary action would be taken.



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The house later agreed to put this matter under the item dealing with the Code of Conduct. Comrade Gwala also raised the suspension of regional security members, who were allegedly investigating the region with instructions from some NWC members at HQ. This matter was also referred to the discussion under Code of Conduct.

#### Amendments

Cde. Ndlovu said that the minutes omitted to state that a committee had been proposed to look at the issue of the King,

Buthlezi and the Kwa-Zulu government. The minutes will be amended accordingly.

#### Transport

Comrades Tony Yengeni and Jeff Radebe asked about the distribution of cars. It was agreed that this matter should be addressed.

#### On Self Defence Units

The officials have been asked to discuss this matter.

On \_Cde. Haniâ\200\231s membership to the NWC

The issue would be discussed under the NWC report item.

#### Sports

This matter was referred to decisions of the policy conference.  
Emancipation of Women

This matter would be discussed under the NWC report.  
Financial Resources

The Treasurer-General will give a report later.

5.9.

#### Seminar On Administration

A seminar for administrators was held and the need for training were identified.

#### 5.10. Thami Zulu Report

Secretary-General explained that the NWC discussed the matter and there was no agreement on the release of the report. The meeting agreed to rediscuss the matter under general.

The minutes were adopted subject to comments and corrections.

#### REPORT BY TREASURER-GENERAL

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#### Funds raised during the President's trips

The Treasurer-General gave information about money donated by various countries during the President's trip abroad. The total amount raised by the President was approximately \$47-m.

It was agreed that the information should be treated with discretion.

#### Malaysian Housing Project

The manner in which the Malaysian Housing Project is being implemented in the regions was creating problems. It was clear that there was no coordination. It was agreed that a thorough assessment should be conducted immediately.

On the question of Cde Barbara about the selection of certain regions and exclusion of others, it was agreed that the Projects

Department will prepare a report for the NEC to discuss this on Wednesday.

#### Internal Refugees

The problem of supporting internal refugees especially in Natal

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was raised. The Treasurer General said the matter was raised with the UNHCR in Geneva and they are still searching for other ways of assistance. On additional financial assistance to regions, Cde Steve explained that they had made representations on behalf of the regions to the OTG. The President then raised the problem of financial resources and again appealed to regions to find ways of raising their own funds. The meeting agreed to discuss this point when discussing the Organising report.

#### ANALY F C ATION

Two presentations were made by Comrades Ray Suttner and Joel Netshitendze. This was followed by a very long discussions and debate in which a number of comrades participated. Cde Joel and Ray were requested to summarise the views that were put forward.

##### 8.1. Summary by Cde Joel

It was necessary for the meeting to raise issues very sharply. This will impact on our strategy and tactics.

There were a number of points of agreement. In our analysis, we have not done much to study and understand our enemy, partly because we do not have information and partly because departments have not presented their reports.

We agreed that negotiations are a terrain of struggle. The regime and the ANC pursue antagonistic objectives.

We did not relate negotiations and mass action sufficiently. Nevertheless, it was agreed that mass action should not only address issues relating to negotiations.

The ANC should give more concern to the grievances of the people.

We need to further discussions on negotiations and seizure of power.

8.2.

The transfer of power through negotiations in CODESA is possible if we are strong enough. At present we are not.

Our constitutional principles should be marketed internationally so as to rally support for them.

The meeting was self-critical about approaching negotiations in the wrong way, creating the impression that everything is going fine in negotiations, leading to the demobilisation of our people. But we must not be self critical to the point of neglecting the positive achievements of CODESA II.

Questions to be attended to:

a)

b)

Would it be correct to create the impression that freedom is around the corner or should we concentrate on building our forces?

Does the principle of building our forces rule out tactical compromises in the negotiations process?

- The above is related to sunset clauses which the Negotiations Commission need to elaborate on;

- The Negotiations Commission should present a well considered opinion on the above;

Summary by Cde Raymond

Cde Ray said the debate uncovered a number of weaknesses, both in paper and in the discussions. We have not come up with answers of how we see the process unfolding to transfer of power. There is need to articulate our aims, objectives and our destination more clearly than we have done. We must consolidate our position without disguising our differences. Such discussions need to be a regular feature of our meeting.

### 8.3. Presidentâ\200\231s Comment

Thereafter the President complimented both Comrade Joel and Ray for their presentations as well as their summaries. He welcomed the debate and criticism that characterised the discussion. He said the views expressed were of vital interest to all of us. What was not clear though was how comrades appreciate the implications of mass struggle, mass action and mass mobilisation.

There was a serious weakness which manifested itself in comrades not honouring their obligations for example, NEC members have not been ready to implement the decision to be deployed in the various regions in the country. This has affected the strength of our membership. While at the same time it is expected that we will fight an election at some point.

The President asked whether we expect organised and disciplined mass action and the building up of the organisation to take place if we fail to work at grassroots level. The answer to all our problems is readiness to go to the various areas in the cities and country villages to ensure that we have an organised and disciplined membership.

Some comrades who lectured us on certain issues have no idea of the implication of mass action and mass mobilisation. A way must be found to overcome this. It is unacceptable that comrades defy their own decision.

The President went on to state that there is a clear conflict of demands between ourselves and the regime. Therefore, the allegations that we have the same objectives as the government is unacceptable. In the same way comrades must learn to make constructive proposals to solve our problems rather than project the image that they are more militant than others in meetings.

There was also the question of sunset clauses. The President indicated that these clauses will facilitate nation building and mutual confidence between the various national groups in the country. He indicated that this has partly been implemented with regard to our approach to the Bill of Rights, the question of

percentage of how that Bill of Rights will be written and amended and on the question of adopting the constitution.

He supported the majority view that negotiations should go on despite the problems that exist. It would be naive to argue that we never anticipated that there would be deadlocks. Even the deadlock has been handled very well by our negotiators. Other issues that were raised by cde Joel will be discussed by the NWC, the President said.

The President accepted the correction made by Suttner with regard to Comrades participating in the negotiations process.

#### DISCUSSION ON THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY ACT OF 1992

Cde Valli explained that the Policy Conference agreed that we cannot avoid an interim constitution. It should be of such a nature that it is an amended 1983 constitution and must be transitional. It was then decided that we refer to this as the Transition to Democracy Act of 1992. It should

be drafted by us prior to any negotiations at CODESA. He asked cde D. Omar to do the presentation.

Cde Dullar Omar said the Constitutional Committee chose to amend the present constitution rather than draw a whole new interim constitution. They tried to take out offensive parts and brought in those elements necessary to legalise our scenario on the transition.

Cde Dullar then spoke to those aspects that need the attention of the house for change or deletion. These were, among others, :

- the flag, preamble etc.
- single chamber parliament, CMB and legislature
- decisions through two thirds majority
- time frames for each phase

Afterwards Cde Joe Slovo suggested that we ask questions for

clarification and then discuss principles like the amendment of the constitution or to adopt a new Act. This proposal was accepted. But

after the initial attempt to launch the discussions it became clear to everyone that this needs a special meeting. It was then decided that there will be a special NEC sitting for this purpose. In line with a Policy Conference decision it was agreed to have two conferences: a broad-based conference of PF forces to discuss regions, and a special national conference of the ANC to map out an integrated strategic perspective for the transitional period.

#### OTHER ENGAGEMENT

Some comrades were excused to attend to the Vaal problem outside the meeting place. Other comrades were attending a bilateral meeting.

#### DISCUSSION ON ORGANISATION

Cde Steve Tshwete presented his report. A number of comrades raised several issues affecting this department. Some of these were:

- The report did not reflect what is going on in the regions.
- Membership figures alone were not sufficient, what is the situation of data-base which keeps membership figure?
- What progress has been made in the work with minorities.
- How many organisers were there in each region?
- The report does not make recommendations.
- The report only reflects problems faced by the ANC and is silent on problems facing the OD.
- What are the future plans of the OD to boost the strength and growth of the movement?
- How do branches interact with civics and to what extent?
- There was little mentioned on mass organisation and building.
- Deployment of NEC members has not fully started.

- There were serious problems with MK Cadres in the regions and also with SDUâ\200\231s. What has the OD done to give a solution?

- MHQ must look seriously into situation in the army.  
A change of the head of the army was raised.

- Is the OD as presently structured capable of delivering the goods required? The functioning of the department itself was questioned.

- Many structures have been set up without guidance.

- MK Cadres are disobeying authority from political leadership. Some have resorted to criminalism. Nothing is being done to absorb them.

- MK Cadres have become destructive in certain regions.

- There are many problems related to transport in the regions.

- The role of marshals and their structures was raised.

- OD report said nothing on Peace Accord.

Cde Steve Tshwete responded to some of the issues raised in the discussion. After that the meeting requested that a list be drawn up of

all recommendations from the discussion. These are:

1. The SGO and NWC should look at functioning and personnel of OD before the end of June.

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Handbooks for secretaries and other branch officials to be developed by OD in conjunction with regional executives.

3. DPE to attend to skills training for regional leadership on an ongoing basis, as a matter of extreme urgency.

4. OD needs to develop a better statistical base.

5. OD needs to develop a basis for assessing the quality and effectiveness of ANC structures, as opposed to sheer numbers.

6. OD needs to review the deployment of NEC members to regions and clarify this matter.

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Need to address the question how and whether OD is able to control and direct the activities of marshals and clarify the question of their relationship to security.

SGO, OTG and OD to address the question of transport and examine the report of the Transport Department with a view to re-allocating vehicles to regions within 10 days.

OD to ensure that it works collectively and must consider restructuring.

OD, together with MHQ, to address the question of SDU's with a view to monitoring and evaluating their functioning.

OD and NWC to attend to urgent evaluation of the NPA, ensuring that regions have adequate input on their experiences in this regard.

12. The restructuring of the Negotiation Commission should allow more effective participation of regions.

WOMEN'S LEAGUE

Cde Shope opened the discussion. This was followed by contributions from the floor. Cde Kader Asmal proposed that the League should attend NWC meetings but should not be full members. This proposal was agreed to.

Cde Gugile said in their region they had invited both the secretary and chair to be part of the REC but they have not made use of it. Cde Collins remarked that the Women's League report does not bring up problems at regional level, structural problems which affect them.

The N. OFS representative said they gave an office to the WL but they have never used it. They sit in both the RWC and REC. Cde Kaizer mentioned that they assisted the WL to establish their REC and hold a conference. But after that it seemed as if it was their burden to see to it that they are functioning. Cde Mazwi said that women often do not attend meetings. Cde Sokupa stated that there are structural problems that need to be addressed and the WL HQ was not doing enough.

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In response Cde Baleka said that these questions reflect a need to have a workshop on the WL. They have asked Cde Raymond to handle it.

#### YOUTH LEAGUE

Cde Peter Mokaba raised a number of problems affecting the Youth League and youth in general. The problem of resources, funds and discipline. Cde Walter Sisulu then proposed that the WL and YL should have a full day discussion with the NWC.

Cde Jeremy supported the proposal and further proposed that prior to the meeting affected departments should meet the Leagues and work out a set of composite proposals that can be brought to the NWC, including subs, administration, general question of autonomy, fund-raising and activities. This report should be tabled before the NWC for decision making. This to be done before June. Regions were expected to make written submissions. The house agreed.

#### ELECTIONS COMMISSION

Cde Pallo led the discussion on this matter and spoke to the report presented to the meeting. He mentioned that we must understand that the elections are for the Constituent Assembly. We are not concerned about the shape of government to come but the constitution and the institutional arrangements that will come into being. This impacts on our organisational capacity, the need for integrated approach using expertise relating to elections and the mass approach which the ANC has developed over years of mass struggle.

He dealt with the phases of the elections strategy: The preparatory phase and the second one that deals with the actual elections themselves. The first phase entails voter education. The second phase involves the gathering of strategic information.

Cde Pallo stated that structures proposed have been accepted by the NWC. What is required is to identify the members, decide on personnel and how broad the electoral forum should be. Another decision required was how we are going to conduct the elections: as an alliance-tripartite or PF-type.

Opinion polls will have to be conducted. There were offers to the ANC, but there are problems with funding as this cannot come directly

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to us as ANC. Cde Pallo asked the NEC to clarify the role and status of Matla Trust.

Thereafter Cde Mac Maharaj spoke to a related document on this matter. Then the meeting decided to postpone this discussion for a special NEC. The meeting adopted the general structure as proposed by the NWC. The officials recommended five names (two from NWC) of comrades to be assigned to full time electoral work. The comrades are: Kader Asmal, Popo Molefe, Terror Lekota, Cheryl Carolus and Sister Bernard Ncube. For the Secretariat they suggested comrade Kader Asmal, Terror Lekota and James Stuart. They further suggested that Cde Popo should head the group and Cde Terror be his assistant.

The President noted that adjustments to the secretariat will be attended to by the officials. One of the five comrades will head the secretariat and, as Cde Joel proposed, one of the former DP members will be included in the electoral team. The following departments will be added to the Electoral Commission: NAT, Research, Local Government, SGO, MHQ and the President's office.

#### NWC REPORT

The NWC report was presented and adopted by the NEC. The following matters in the report were discussed:

15.1. Commission of Inquiry into demonstrations by the ANC Women's League PWV Region

Many comrades participated in this discussion. A number of differing views were expressed, but at the end the meeting came to a consensus that the following should be adopted:

15.1.1, The suspension of PWV League REC and Cde W. Mandela from WL NEC would remain in force

until the full disciplinary hearing is completed. ANC HQ to run the PWV office.

Disciplinary proceedings should take place, as speedily as possible, as recommended by the commission.

15.1.3. Pending these proceedings it is necessary to reach agreement with Comrade Winnie on her activities as NEC member. The terms of this agreement to be finalised by NWC. Comrade Winnie agreed in the meeting to abide by this. Terms will apply equally to other members facing disciplinary charges.

15.1.4. A letter to Comrade Winnie should be written asking her to apologise in writing to Comrade Terror regarding allegations about Mrs Falati and girlfriend. This apology should be with Comrade Terror in the morning.

## 15.2. Recommendation from MHQ

Proposals on restructuring were put before the meeting. Thereafter Cde Ngoako, supported by Cde Marion and Pallo, strongly opposed the proposal to have Cde Masondo as Commissar. Cde Phosa opposed the position of Moloi. At this stage Cde Mac reminded the house that the previous day opposition to Cde Joe Modise to remain as army commander was raised. He then proposed that the MHQ report needs to be brought processed by the NWC. The NEC cannot be expected to simply endorse proposals from a department. The house agreed to this.

## 15.3. Outstanding Matters from NWC Report still requiring Decisions

15.3.1. Replacement of Comrade Chris Hani on NWC.

15.3.2. Setting up of Religious desk.

15.3.3. Proposal from Regional Secretariat meeting for inter-regional contact.

## 16. OUTSTANDING MATTERS FROM THE AGENDA

16.1. Departmental Reports

16.2. Women's League (State of Organisation)

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16.3. Youth League (State of Organisation)

16.4. Implementation of Decisions of Policy Conference

16.5. Programme of Action Adopted at Policy Conference

16.6. Code of Conduct for NEC members

16.7. Statements by NEC members affecting the ANC

16.8. Thami Zulu report

17. CLOSURE

The meeting was closed.

NWC

REPORT



## AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

### NWC REPORT TO THE NEC (June - August 1992)

#### Introduction

This report largely deals with the implementation of the decisions taken by the NEC at its meeting of 8 - 10 June 1992 but will also include other matters the NWC dealt with during the period under review.

#### Malaysian Housing Project

In the last NEC concerns were raised regarding the manner in which the Malaysian housing project was being implemented in regions. It was proposed that the entire project should be reviewed with a view to seeing whether it could be applied to the benefit of more regions. The Secretary General's Office enquiries into this project have shown that the project is in an advanced stage and can thus not be changed at this stage. It is however felt that there should be thorough consultation with regions on future projects of this nature. The Projects Department has reported that, since this matter was brought to their attention, consultation with regional secretaries in most of the regions has taken place in an attempt to ensure closer working relations in the future. It was also noted that regions had not co-operated fully on this and other projects and that they did not respond to issues raised with them.

A copy of the report is attached hereto and marked Annexure "AY

#### Strength and Weaknesses of the Enemy

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The NEC decided that we should regularly examine the strengths and weaknesses of the enemy. A document will be circulated at the NEC and discussed.

#### Sunset Clauses

The Negotiations Commission has been discussing this matter and is in the process of finalising a proposal.

#### International Campaign

The Department of International Affairs held a successful consultation meeting with all our Chief Reps where international mobilisation was discussed. It was decided that the Anti-Apartheid Movement Conference that was called for by the National Conference in July 1991 should be held before the end-of-the-year. Arrangements are already underway to ensure that this conference takes place. A copy of the report of the

Chief Reps consultation meeting is attached hereto as Annexure "BB"

#### Transition to Democracy Act

The National Working Committee recommends that the Transition to Democracy Act proposed by the Constitutional Committee and the Negotiations Commission should be released for 1 general debate and discussion amongst our structures.

This draft act will be discussed under the Negotiations Commission Report.

## Leagues' Attendance of NWC Meetings

The decision by the NEC to allow the Leagues' to attend NWC meetings has been implemented. One representative from each of the Leagues now attends NWC Meetings.

## Leagues' Proposals on Subscriptions, Administration and how they function

Time constraints have made it difficult to convene the meeting which the NEC proposed should be held between the Secretary General's Office, the Organising Department and the two Leagues before this NEC meeting. A meeting has now been arranged to take place soon after this NEC meeting. A report will be presented to the NWC.

## The Restructuring of MHQ

The NWC discussed the proposal from the MHQ and decided that there was a need to restructure MHQ broadly with regard to its current and future functions.

The NWC decided to appoint a Commission consisting of the following comrades: Deputy Secretary General (convenor) , J. Modise, C. Hani, R Kasrils, M. Sparg, J. Jele, N. Ngwenya, J. Netshitendze A. Stofile and C. Mvelase to look into the restructuring of MHQ. A report will be presented to the NWC in due course.

## Restructuring of the Organising Department

Following the proposals from the NEC, the Organizing Department, Regional Secretaries, the Secretary General and Deputy Secretary General held a meeting where the restructuring of the Organising Department was discussed.

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An interim proposal is attached hereto and Marked Annexure new

Training for Regional Leadership

The Department of Political Education is in the process of

inalising- training material and handbooks for Regional eadership.

Marshalls - Relationship to Security and Organising Department.

The Organising Department is working on a paper on this matter. It is expected that the paper will be finalised soon.

Deployment of NEC Members

The NWC has approved the NEC deployment plan attached hereto marked Annexure "D".

The NWC also approved the guidelines along which the deployment of NEC members should be arranged. The said Guidelines are attached hereto and marked Annexure "E"

The deployment of NEC Members will be discussed in meetings which the fficials will hold with those NEC members who are in their teams during the meeting of the NEC.

Transport

13.1 Allocation of Cars to Regions

The Transport Department has allocated new cars to all

the Regions. This move has alleviated the serious problem regarding shortage of transport in all the regions.

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The Regional Secretaries at their recent meeting reported that whilst this move has addressed their transport problems to a large extent it has not yet fully resolved the transport problem regions have.

#### Car Scheme

Regional Secretaries have proposed that the ANC should adopt a car ownership scheme for its staff members which will address problems such as:

- = High maintenance cost

- > Reckless handling of cars

A draft proposal on the guidelines that can be incorporated

into a new car ownership scheme will be presented to the NWC.

#### Evaluation of Self Defence Units

The NWC appointed Comrades Sydney Mufamadi, Ronnie

Kasrils, Terror Lekota and Siphwe Nyanda to a sub-committee that should look into this matter and finalise a report. A report from these Comrades is awaited.

[It should be noted that the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the President to investigate the situation in the Vaal will impact on the manner in which self -defence units have been operating and will be instructive in evaluating how self - defence units are functioning.

#### Competition amongst Regions

A Memorandum on how regions can emulate each other is being completed and will be submitted to the Organising Department and thereafter to the NWC for approval.

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#### PWV Women's League

There has been considerable delay in implementing the decisions of the NEC regarding this matter. The delays have been caused by a number of factors which will be covered in the report of the sub committee which was appointed by the NWC to implement this matter.

Comrades Alfred Nzo, Steve Tshwete , Ronnie Kasrils and Trevor Manuel were appointed to attend to the implementation of the NEC's decisions. A more detailed report will be presented by the said Comrades.

#### Tri-partite Alliance

We have reason to believe that the Tri-partite Alliance has emerged strengthened from the unprecedented activities of the Campaign for Peace and Democracy. Various structures such as the Tri-partite Alliance Secretariat, the Tri-partite Strategising Forum, the Tri-partite Negotiations Forum and the Tri-partite Summit co-ordinated their activities effectively and deepened the process of consultation all-round.

The Actions Councils established for co-ordinating the activities of the Campaign for Peace and Democracy functioned very well well prior to the week of mass action. It is hoped that this level of co-operation amongst the Alliance partners will deepen further and strengthen the Alliance.

#### Patriotic Front

The Patriotic forces in CODESA held a summit meeting on the 18th August 1992. Issues such as unity of Patriotic Front organisations, elections, mass action, negotiations, political prisoners, peace accord and land transfers were discussed.

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The liaison committee was charged with the responsibility of preparing a discussion document which should deal with the formulation of a minimum programme setting out the Patriotic Front's approach to the struggle as a whole.

A copy of the Patriotic Summit report is attached hereto and Marked Annexure "F".

It became clear at the Patriotic Front Summit that we as the ANC needed to determine how we should relate to and help to build the distinct components of the Patriotic Front. A discussion document that can help us initiate this discussion is enclosed herewith and marked Annexure "G"

#### Inter-regional Summit

The NWC discussed and approved the proposal from the secretaries meeting that all regions should hold an Inter-Regional Summit every year to review the movements activities of the year and to plan for the following year.

The first Summit is scheduled for the 1 - 4 December 1992. It is expected that the Regional Chairpersons, Regional Secretaries, Sectional Heads of the Organising Departments, other relevant Departments, the Secretary General and the Deputy Secretary General will attend.

#### Regional Secretaries Meetings prior to each NEC

The NWC has agreed that the Regional Secretaries and the two Secretary Generals should meet prior to every NEC to discuss

regional reports and other activities.

#### Civil Service Pilot Team

The NWC agreed that a Civil Service Pilot Team be set up with the following Terms of Reference:

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- Determine the ANC's perspectives on the Civil Service by holding a broad National consultation in two months.
- Co-ordinate training offers.
- Prepare a report on the restructuring of the Civil Service in a democratic dispensation.

The Civil Service Pilot Team will be composed of the following Comrades - Zola Skweyiya, (Convenor) Cheryl Carolus, Barbara Masekela, Pallo Jordan, Joe Nhlanhla, Anthony Mongalo, Eddie Funde, Simon Makana, Sindiso Mfenyana, Josiah Jele, and Stanley Mabizela.

The Commission of Inquiry into the Treatment of People detained by the ANC

The Commission has completed its proceedings and will be tabling a report to the President soon.

NEC Members Leave of Absence

The NWC noted that a number of NEC members, especially those who are in the full time employ of the ANC usually leave the Country or Headquarters without informing the Secretary General. The NWC approved the form attached hereto and marked Annexure "H" and ruled that every NEC member would be required to complete this form to obtain permission to be absent.

Attendance of NWC meeting by Comrade Marion

Sparg

The NWC approved the proposal from the Officials that Comrade Marion Sparg should attend NWC meetings to assist the Secretary General with the implementation of NWC decisions.

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## The Restructuring of the SGO

The SGO has been restructured to enhance better co-ordination of the work of the ANC. The new SGO structure is attached hereto marked Annexure "I".

## Sports

Following the NEC's decision in June to terminate Negotiations with the regime and exert maximum pressure to get the regime to meet our demands the question of the re-imposition- of the Sports Boycott was discussed. However the NEC decided that before the Sports Boycott was re-imposed we should hold discussions with the various sports organisations. Extensive meetings were held with various sports organisations who expressed an understanding for our position and supported our demands. They however expressed concern at the possible re-imposition of the sports moratorium arguing that they had made a lot of progress in eliminating apartheid in their various sporting codes. Regions were asked to discuss this matter against a proposal from the various sporting bodies on how they as sporting bodies could support our Campaign for Peace and Democracy and help to exert maximum pressure on the regime to give into our demands. The majority of regions that replied to the NWC request supported the proposals that were submitted by the sports organisations and agreed that scheduled sporting events such as Rugby Tours, Olympics at Barcelona and Soccer Tours could proceed under certain conditions. The NWC in the end accepted the conditions that the sporting bodies were prepared to operate under and agreed that the sporting events should proceed.

The proposals from the sports bodies as approved by NWC are enclosed herewith marked Annexure "J"



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#### The Campaign against State Murder and Corruption

A coalition of forces that are against state murder and corruption was formed and has met on a number of occasions to structure a campaign to highlight the activities of the State with regard to murders that are committed by security forces and the corruption that continues in State Departments.

The ANC has played an important role in setting up this coalition.

#### Drought

The NWC has decided that a drought summit of national leaders from political, business and non-governmental organisations should be convened. It was also decided that ANC leaders, especially the Officials, should visit some of the areas worst affected by the drought.

#### Southern African Development Community

Comrades S.G. and Trevor Manuel represented the ANC at the SADCC Summit which was held in Windhoek, Namibia in August 1992. At this Summit the Southern African Heads of State signed an agreement to establish the Southern African Development Community.

#### Evaluation of Regions and Departments

The NWC has approved a proposal to embark on a major evaluation process to assist the manner in which our departments and regions are operating.

Task Forces will be set up and will embark on extensive interviews with Comrades in all departments and in all regions

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in the coming months and have a report ready for the NWC by the end of October.

A memorandum which set out the entire evaluation process is attached hereto marked Annexure "K".

Political Prisoners â\200\224

NWC endorsed a Patriotic Front Summit decision that the of names of political prisoners should be published in papers to intensify the campaign for their release.

risoners whose release we are calling for is attached hereto and

marked Annexure "L"

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The NWC approved the establishment of an ANC staff Provident Fund to which all staff members have to belong. The Provident Fund is a contributory Provident Fund with employer contributing 50% and the employee contributing 50%. All the major insurance companies were approached for a quotation and Sanlam emerged with the best package for our Provident Fund.

The benefits of the Provident Fund are set out are set out in Annexure "M" attached hereto.

### 31.2 Salary Increase

The NWC has agreed that all staff members be granted a

general salary increase of 15%. The NWC has also agreed that the staff Provident Fund contributions should be

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reduced by 1.5%. This will all amount to a salary increase of 16.5% to all staff members.

NWC  
REPORT

ANNEXURES



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THE JOINT MALAYSIA - ANC HOUSING PROJECT â\200\230A 0

#### BRIEFING NOTE

The following constitutes a status report on the development of the joint Malaysian Government - ANC housing project and is based on meetings, reports and discussions held with representatives of the communities, technical support groups and ANC officials involved in the project during a visit to Cape Town and Durban by Comrades I. Coovadia and Z. Mvusi.

#### CAPE TOWN :

The ANC has presented a revised project proposal for the whole frame of the Malaysia Project. Whereas, the project was to have involved development in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban, the revision calls for a re-allocation of the Durban and P.E. budget frames to include the Richmond Farm, Durban, project and a new project for the Pretoria area. The Pretoria option was agreed in principle with the Malaysian Government, pending the presentation of a concrete proposal by ANC. However, it was insisted that a project still be carried out in Cape Town. The YTL construction company representing the Malaysian Government was to present a concrete proposal to be approved by ANC.

The YTL proposal was presented to Cde Ismail Coovadia, Chiet Representative, Malavsia, on Friday, 21st August, in Kuala Lumpur, and can be summarised as follows:

1.00 The erection of 60 low-cost housing units at the hostel complex known as Masonwabe Park, Gugulethu, Cape Town. This complex has been occupied by displaced residents of the informal settlement known as Tambo Square. Independent surveys have failed to confirm the number of residents at the complex.

2.00 The occupants of the hostel complex are to be housed in tents while the demolition of the hostels and the erection of the 60 new units are carried out during a period of 6 - 9 months. The house-plans and building specifications have been drawn up by the CONDEV

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construction company, a subsidiary of the the giant construction company Murray and Roberts, who are in fact the owners of the hostel complex.

3.00 YTL will contract CONDEV to carry out the building contract during the stipulated contract time, commencing 1st November, 1992, whereupon the completed project will be delivered to ANC. ANC will decide on the distribution of the completed housing units.

COMMENT:

On a visit to Cape Town by Cdes Coovadia and Zama Mvusi, ANC national coordinator for the Malaysia Project, several aspects came to light. Firstly, the regional officials were not aware of any subsequent developments on the Cape Town component since being informed that the budget frame was being re-allocated. The ANC, however, had in the past been directly approached by CONDEV to assist in the eviction of the occupants from the hostel complex.

The occupants had left the Tambo Square after a period of conflict when they had taken the side of the then discredited black "town councillors" against the other members of the community. Their present occupation of the hostels was at the advice and guidance of the same councillors. They are aware of the imminence of a housing project of which they will be the direct beneficiaries through their direct contact with senior CONDEV employees. Their representative informed that civic organisations and ANC branch officials were fully involved in this provision of housing to their community.

The technical representative of the Region, Cde Basil Davidson, strongly advised against the implementation of this particular project, given their past experience with CONDEV on the question of the forced eviction of the hostel occupants. He also emphasised the dubious credentials of the so-called officials from the civics and the ANC "branch". Informal discussion with other comrades from the regional office also confirmed this opinion. Comrade Basil was to discuss the whole issue with other members of the Regional Executive Committee who would then present a formal recommendation and proposal for the continuation of the Cape Town component of the Malaysia Project.

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In telephonic conversation with CONDEV. subsequent to the visit to Cape Town. ANC has been informed of a new proposal for the implementation of the Masonwabe Park project from YTL. It is now proposed that the hostel not be demolished during the construction period and that a piece of land adjacent to the hostel be acquired. As such, the 60 housing units will be erected on this land. CONDEV foresees no problems in the purchase of this land and has every intention of commencing work on site on the 1st. November. 1992.

RICHMOND FARM, DURBAN :

A Progress Report has been presented to ANC HQ on the development of the Richmond Farm project where 620 starter housing-units are to be erected. Revised project documentation has been presented by the B.E.S.G. project team and the community committee to Malaysia and the ANC Chief Representative and national coordinator.

A major obstacle to the smooth implementation of the project at this stage is the acquisition of the land by the members of the community. It was hoped that this problem had been overcome and that purchase of sites by the residents was proceeding. However, it is now apparent that all efforts are being made by the KwaZulu town authority to frustrate this process.

Various attempts are being made by the community committee supported by the B.E.S.G. project team :

1.00 Legal advice has been sought. Residents will swear affidavits to prove that they are bona fide residents of the area since the mid-seventies. Aerial photographs, already in possession of the community, are proof of the occupancy level at Richmond Farm at the time and directly contradict documentation presented to the township authority by other parties who are attempting to block the sale of sites to the residents. The option of bringing legal action against the township authority is being seriously considered by the community.

2.00 The possibility of high - level contact by ANC with Inkhata is ruled out at the present moment given the adverse political climate

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prevailing in the area. This option is subject to review pending further developments.

The "development" option is also being considered, whereby the land is acquired by SUNFLOWER, a training subsidiary of the Murray and Roberts construction company. The physical implementation of the project will be carried out by SUNFLOWER under supervision of the technical representatives of the community and will incorporate the training component of the project. All indications are that this is presently a most viable option.

The Kwazulu Finance Corporation (KFC) has been approached to administer the revolving credit scheme which will enable the residents to own their own houses through the project. KFC has indicated a willingness to lobby the Kwazulu government at senior level on behalf of the community and unlock the deadlocked plot sales.

The PERM Building Society has informally indicated a willingness to lend finance to the Richmond Farm Community Trust on a soft-loan basis to purchase the land. This option is presently also being investigated.

COMMENT :

It was agreed that the situation will be reviewed during the month of September and will be presented in a Progress Report to ANC and the Malaysian Government for decision. It was stressed that the ANC National Executive Committee and the local REC should be kept updated at all times so as to be able to intervene on behalf of the community whenever the need arises. Also, until a formal contract is signed to appoint B.E.S.G. as the project coordinator on behalf of YTL, all communication should be routed through the ANC national coordinator in Johannesburg and the Mission in Malaysia.

Even though the 1st November, 1992 has been indicated as a start - up date for the physical implementation of the project on the ground, this is not practically feasible given the mandatory holiday in the construction industry from the 15th December to the first week of January. This will be

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communicated to the Malaysian Government by the Chief Representative upon his return to Malaysia.

ZAMA MVUSI  
Building and Technical Services

28 August. 1992

Copies:  
Office of the Deputy President

Office of the Secretary - General  
Office of the Treasurer - General

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DRAFT PROPOSAL C

## RESTRUCTURING OF THE ORGANISING DEPARTMENT

### OUR PERSPECTIVE:

1. The strategic thrust of the ANC in the immediate term is two-pronged, viz:-

1.1. to build a strong viable organisational and political infrastructure in all 14 regions; and

1.2. to use that infrastructure as a transmission point to the bigger South African population.

2. The Organising Department is central to the realisation of these objectives. However, it has to operate in co-ordination with all other sections of the movement, particularly the Secretary-General's office which is the engine-room of the whole organisation.

3. While a properly structured and functioning Headquarters is fundamental to the ANC's organisational and political work, the pivotal element in our links with the mass of the people are the regions and

cranches. It is at this point where concrete ail-round leadership has to be given.

4. For us to be able to strengthen our infrastructure and maximise support for our positions and goals we shall need to work more energetically and systematically in.the following sectors:-

the Youth

the Women

to

the working class and rural masses  
the black middle strata, including its religious leadership.

the Whites, Indians and Coloureds in general and specifically the  
business and professional sectors

Arts, Culture and sports.

Particular attention needs to be paid to those sectors in which we are weak, for instance, the middle strata and the white, coloured and Indian communities.

5. The Organising Department at Headquarters should not only co-ordinate the work of the regions. Basing itself on regional experiences and the policies of the movement, it also has to work out national strategies and ensure their implementation. The relevant areas of its work, all of which should feed into the central task of building the ANC, are as follows:

5.1. Propaganda work which includes dissemination of newsletters and other forms of propaganda, policy documents to certain targeted sectors and formations, including a systematic exposure of the regimes machinations. In this work, maximum creativity is necessary; and we should not rest content with the traditional forms of media that we have always issued.

Intense cadre training to boost our performance on the ground. There is need to ensure a strategic targeting of various layers of the movement, in order to help build regional and local leadership, and a cadreship that will endure into the future.

Conducting campaigns that capture the minds of the people beyond the confines of the Movement and its allies. Attention needs to be paid also to the day-to-day grievances of the people. While these campaigns should help shift the balance of forces in our favour and alleviate the conditions of the people, the movement should ensure that it gains organisationally from these mass activities.

Close monitoring and even forestalling the current wave of violence. The National Peace Accord should be seen as one terrain to deal with these problems, and its effectiveness should be continually improved. Other initiatives involving the mass of the people should be employed.

Co-ordinating, joint planning, and acting with democratic and patriotic forces. Building a broad movement for democracy and isolating the regime is amongst the most crucial tasks of the moment. At the same time, links with mass democratic structures need to be strengthened all the time.

#### STRUCTURE:

The current structure of the Organising: Department is not capable of accomplishing these objectives. Some of the major problems are:

1.

Co-ordination between the sections is lax and by and large each section is on its own despite several attempts to remedy the situation. The problem is further compounded by the fact that the core factor in the constitution of the Department are 10 members of the NEC who in addition to their departmental work are more often than not allocated other leadership chores outside the department.

While the work of the OD is intertwined with that of the SGO, there has not been any formal participation of the Secretaries in the work of the OD.

Regional input into the work of the department is minimal. This applies both to the system of written reports as well as regional participation at the strategising level.

Lines of communication between the regions and Headquarters need to be streamlined. Among others, the relationship in this regard between the OD and the SGO should be properly streamiined.

In the circumstances proper planning, preparation and implementation

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become shoddy.

In order to come to terms with this state of affairs we would like to propose for the consideration and adoption of NWC the structure set out below:-

#### PLANNING COMMITTEE

This should comprise the following:-

##### 1.1. Heads of OD Sections:

1.1.1. Peace Process

1.1.2. Political Education

1.1.3. ~ Campaigns

1.1.4. Mass Organisation

1.1.5. Mass Communication

1.1.5 Building the ANC and head of the Department

##### 1.2. Other ANC structures:

1.2.1. The Secretary General/Deputy Sec. General to sit in all the Planning Committee. That arrangement should assist, inter alia, in the formulation of smooth communication lines between the Head Office and the Regions.

One (1) permanent representative from the ANCWL

One (1) permanent representative from the ANCYL.

TOTAL: 10

The Planning Committee will have the following tasks:

1.3.1. To map out the strategic objectives of the OD in line with Conference, NEC and NWC resolutions which are relevant to the

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departmental work.

1.3.2. To ensure inter-sectional planning and coordination.

1.3.3. To receive and discuss sectional programmes of action and supervise their implementation at regional and national levels.

1.3.4. To assess and evaluate the impact of such programmes on implementation to determine whether or not the objective was attained.

1.3.5. To receive and evaluate regional and other reports in order to give guidance and assistance to the regions.

1.3.6. To compile regular reports for presentation to the NWC, the NEC and Conference.

1.3.7. To determine the deployment of NEC members outside the department for such duties as may be necessary for the attainment of certain objectives assigned to the Dept by the organisation as a whole. .

1.3.8. To convene a broader ORGANISING FORUM which shall be composed of a regional organiser and the regional secretary from all regions for a more elaborate assessment of our organisational thrust.

1.3.9. To continually monitor the state of organisation in all regions and regularly send appropriate representatives to the regions to assist in developing structures.

## 2. REGIONAL WORK

Regional work will be the main focus of BUILDING THE ANC SECTION which will be headed by the Head of the OD. Drawing from members of the

NEC/NWC and other cadres in the department, this section will be charged, among others, with the task of assisting in the work of the regions on the



spot. Constant monitoring of the regions will determine the concrete programme to be worked out in this regard.

The tasks of the cadres deployed in these regions will be:

#### 2.4.

To assist directly and guide the regions to which they are deployed in the building and consolidation of all ANC structures.

Together with the REC's to formulate a strategic recruitment drive for the regions.

To visit as many branches as it is possible in order to get a true flavour of work done at that level.

To update the regions about all aspects of work of the Department and Head Office.

To assist in the training of all personnel in the regions particularly the administrative personnel.

To compile reports on the progress or otherwise of the regions for consideration by the PLANNING COMMITTEE.

### 3. DATA PROCESSING UNIT

This will be composed of 6 comrades from the 6 sections comprising the Department and its tasks will be:

#### 3.1.

To process regional and other reports for the attention of the PLANNING COMMITTEE.

To advise the PC on all matters needing special attention in the regions, media and elsewhere.

To recommend propaganda material for mass distribution or

postal dissemination to individuals and certain formations.

3.4. To arrange poll opinion programmes to give the Dept an insight into how the ANC is impacting on the population. :

3.5. To recommend seminars and workshops at all levels to boost

the operational capacity of the regions and the Dept.

3.6. To assess and keep membership records.

#### 4. ADMINISTRATION:

An administrator and relevant staff to ensure the proper functioning of the department as a whole.

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#### 5. NATIONAL ORGANISING FORUM:

The OD will from time to time convene a National Organising Forum involving the Head Office OD structures, SGO and other departments as well as regional representatives. The Forum will address organisational strategies. ensure briefings by HQ structures and the sharing of regional experiences, etc.

#### 6. CONCLUSION

All minor details are deliberately left out of the draft and will be embodied once the major structural issue outlined above has been considered for amendment and approval.



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The Chairpersons and Secretaries of Regions are automatically deployed alongside those NEC members who will be doing work in their regions.

#### DEPLOYMENT OF N.E.C. MEMBERS

##### Introduction:

In certain regions conditions might militate against door to door recruitment. Preference in such circumstances would be for house meetings which would, in addition, be used to target professionals etc.

Those comrades who are suggested for work within the farming community would also have the additional task of attending to the professionals.

#### REGIONS NEC MEMBER ACTIVITY

Door-to-door

House meeting:

J. Nkadimeng  
Mafumadi

Jordan Farmers  
Door-to-door

Motsoaledi

Mlangeni Door-to-door  
Shope House meeting:  
Kasrils Farmers

Pahad House meetings

Mandela  
Malebana-Metsing

Door-to-door  
Door-to-door

Masekela  
Molefe

Lekota  
Carolus  
Marcus

E.

S.  
Pp.  
Z.  
J.

Moosa  
Nair  
Zulu  
Macozoma

Gwala

Ishmail Ebrahim  
Sister Bernard Mncube

Nyanda  
Mokaba  
Skweyiya  
Slovo

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Door-to-door  
Farmers

Farmers  
Door-to-door  
House meeting

House meeting  
House meeting  
House meeting  
Farmers

House meeting  
House meeting  
Farmers

House meeting  
House meeting  
Farmers

N. CAPE

W. CAPE

Transkei

NEC MEMBER

J. Cronin

A. Kathrada

ACTIVITY

House meetings  
& Door-to-door

Tshwete  
Hani

Door-to-door &  
Farmers

1 "  
Door-to-door &  
House meetings

Mompoti

Manuel  
Nhlanhla

Netshitenzhe

Omar  
Sachs

House meetings  
& door-to-door  
n  
Door-to-door &  
Farmers

House meetings  
& door-to-door  
n  
House meetings  
& Farmers

Mhlaba  
Botha

Maharaj

Sisulu

Mkwayi

Stofile  
Suttner

Sparg  
Asmal

Door-to-door &  
House meetings  
House meetings  
& Farmers

House meetings

Door-to-door &  
House meetings  
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Door-to-door &  
House meetings  
House meetings  
& Farmers  
House meetings  
House meetings  
& Farmers

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## Report Back

In order to monitor the deployment closely the Comrades will report back to the officials every month as follows:-

### President

- i. J. Nkadimeng
2. S. Mufumadi
3. P. Jordan

4. E. Motsoaledi
- Be A. Mlangeni
6. T. Mbeki

Z J. Modise

8. S. Tshwete

9. C. Hani
- Deputy President
- i. G. Shope

2. R. Kasrils

3. A. Pahad

- 4 W. Mandela

5. R. Malebana-Metsing
6. R. Mhlaba

- 7% T. Botha

8. M. Maharaj

9. W. Mkwai
- National Chairperson
- il. C. Carolus

2. P. Molefe

3. T. Lekota
- Secretary General
1. B. Masekela
  - a G. Marcus

- 3s V. Moosa

4. B. Nair

5. M. Zulu

6. J. Nhlanhla
- 7 T. Manuel

8. J. Netshitenzhe
9. D. Omar

10. A. Sachs

- li. R. Suttner

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Deputy Secre General

- z. S. Macozoma
2. H. Gwala
3. E. Ishmail
4. Sister B. Mncube
- 5s S. Nyanda
6. A. Sisulu
- 7 A. Stofile
8. A. Nzo
9. J. Slovo

Treasurer General

1. Z. Skweyiya
2. P. Mokaba
3. J. Cronin
4. A. Kathrada
- Be K. Asmal
6. R. Mompoti
- 7 Â« M. Sparg

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GUIDELINES FOR NEC MEMBERS DEPLOYED IN  
REGIONS

1. Contact the regional secretary, and establish firm lines of communication between yourself and the region at all times.
2. Arrange an initial consultation with the Regional Executive Committee.
3. Get to know the REC and ensure you receive a thorough briefing on the situation in the region. Familiarise yourself with the political situation, the structure of the region, membership and the general profile of the region.
4. Discuss the political programme of the region with the REC.
5. Ensure that you are available, in the first instance, for a thorough discussion on political strategy with the REC.
6. Discuss ways in which you could be useful in the region in various public political events and in the general programme and various organising efforts.
7. This could include addressing a series of meetings and rallies, including house meetings where applicable, as well as "walk-about" to ensure you become known in the region as one of the representatives of the NEC responsible for that region.
8. Planning and participation in fund-raising efforts on behalf of the region should be a feature of your work in the region.
9. In this regard, it is advisable to draw up a tight programme with the region, in the light of busy schedules of most NEC members.
10. Besides the programme agreed upon between the region and yourself, ensure that you are on constant call should the region require your assistance in any emergency or problem situation. You should be in constant , close contact with the region.

11. Provide regular monthly reports to the Officials, through the Office of the Secretary General, detailing the work undertaken by yourself in the region.

12. To start the entire process the Officials will have meetings with their team to plan.

13. Quarterly meetings will be necessary to evaluate the success at the work done.

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## 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:

- x. 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);

Ba 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;

Zs 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 ls back to front.

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Cc) Ts 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 give 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 so that each party should draw up a paper reflecting its perspectives including a number of issues listed below. These papers should be examined by a small group with

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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)

. 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.

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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.

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 much wider area if not in the majority of cases.

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.

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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 dw.

While as was pointed out Working Group 4 only agreed to a moratorium on land transfers to the â\200\230independent: bantustans, the issue of land transfers to "self-governingâ\200\231 bantustans was not agreed to; it was not the issue that was placed on the table.



Building the Patriotic Front: Towards a re-evaluation  
By Raymond Suttner

It is usually impossible to engage in serious political struggle without, at some stage or another, entering into alliances. All struggle is essentially about alliances or fronts, between groups and classes whose long term interests do not always coincide. The differences between those who form an alliance may be non-antagonistic or, even, antagonistic, in relation to

objectives which are not the subject matter of the specific alliance  
[Joe Slovo, Notes on Patriotic Front, 1991]

This general statement on alliances must be located within the context of the overall imperatives of both sides conducting or resisting the national democratic struggle.

On the side of the regime it has been essential, since February 1990, to reconstitute its base, to seek membership and allies outside its traditional support base and to win over many people who have traditionally been seen as part of the ANC's constituency.

On our side, it has always been our strategy to build as broad a base as possible, as national and as democratic in character, and to narrow that of the regime as far as possible.

This is the context within which we need to understand our original initiative in building the PF and against which we must assess the extent of progress in realising its goals.

The Patriotic Front and the fragmentation of apartheid state power

When we look at the state and state power we do not confront one monolithic instrument, over which the NP has total control. The state comprises a number of areas where power can be exercised. Some, such as the Security forces, may not be totally under the control of the government of the day. These distinct elements of the state may operate with varying degrees of cohesion or division.

The arena of state power in South Africa also includes state institutions, created to provide an institutional base for collaborative groupings. Here we are concerned in particular with the bantustans and the tricameral parliament and its corresponding state structures.

Out of these political bases, political formations, such as Inkatha, Inyandza, Ximoko have emerged. Although these institutions and the corresponding political formations were originally conceived as instruments for collaboration, especially since the release of Cde President Mandela, we have succeeded in detaching some of these forces from their connection to the NP. They still retain their institutional bases within the state apparatuses and at least partial control over whole regions, particularly in the

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Building the Patriotic Front: Towards a re-evaluation of the bantustans.

Within this group, there are forces that are more or less progressive and reliable as allies of the democratic forces. There are some individuals who have a popular following and in some cases the political formations that have been detached have actual organised support.

These together with the ANC/SACP and TIC/NIC comprise the PF forces at Codesa. These are essentially alliances formed at the top, which have been initiated because of the positions of particular leaders or organisations within the state apparatus.

The relationship is based on limited agreement on certain political goals. There is no broad agreement on strategy and tactics to achieve this or unity in action over other issues.

Patriotic Front constructed â\200\234from belowâ\200\231

There is a second component of the PF as originally conceived and created in 1991. This is an alliance constructed at the bottom. At the centre of this component is the Tripartite Alliance, joined by various MDM and even broader forces of â\200\234civil societyâ\200\235.

Within this component of the PF there is broad agreement on political tendencies and among many there is a strong history of united action.

These are also formations with a distinct social base, a base that is independent of and antagonistic towards state apparatuses, whether of the regime itself or of its collaborative structures. Many of the formations in this alliance or that are potentially part of it are not directly political organisations. Their power derives from their social base that is primarily working class, but also comprises distinct sectors, eg. health, women, civics, church.

The establishment of the PF in 1991

It needs to be recalled that the PF was established within the context of impending and actual negotiations. The model of the Zimbabwean PF was adapted, with ANC and PAC and later Azapo as main convenors, after which other organisations and bantustans were invited.

But the PF later came to assume a different form (ANC/bantustans) when the PAC and Azapo did not take part in Codesa.

In practice, the motivation for support of that platform by PAC and Azapo was to try to elevate themselves to the same status as the ANC. This was partly facilitated by

## Building the Patriotic Front: Towards a re-evaluation

organisations like the OAU. But it became clear that for PAC and Azapo, achieving the CA was less important than gaining equal status with the ANC - consequently contradictions emerged and the alliance was broken.

The commitment of the Bantustan leaders was partly towards the Constituent Assembly and certain agreed elements of a democratic order, but partly also to secure a constituency and their own survival.

The creation of the PF in 1991, exaggerated the importance of the

PAC and Azapo at the start and then exaggerated the role of the bantustan leaders and parties through the Codesa process. Codesa also downplayed the importance of our historical MDM allies.

Our current campaign of mass action has thrown this problem into a sharp light. During the campaign, the contradictions between us and our bantustan allies have become more visible. Two broad fronts with apparently divergent character have now emerged: the front for negotiations and the front for campaigns. The urgency of looking at this question afresh is heightened by the need to address the question of a front for elections.

How does the ANC relate to the two components of the PF?

The key question of the moment is how the ANC relates to each of these components. Concentrating purely on the PF from above, assumes that the engine for change is provided by elites. It also abstracts this relationship from mass organisation and denies mass action as an engine for change.

At the same time, we cannot ignore the continuing need to split the ruling bloc and ensure that the PF Codesa forces continue to bite the hand that feeds or has fed them. At the very least, it is important that they have one foot in the PF camp, even if the other remains with the regime.

Yet the character of this relationship needs to be fundamentally determined by the main engine for change and these are the mass formations that form the other component of the PF. Unity in action is the key element in building the power needed to dislodge the apartheid regime. This means we are speaking primarily of unity at the bottom. Primarily but not exclusively, because we cannot ignore the significance of relationships with the PF forces based in state apparatuses. In fact we need to strengthen these, even with the more reactionary elements, as part of the process of isolating the main enemy, the apartheid regime.

The relationship between these two components of the PF (the â\200\234Codesa PFâ\200\235 and the

## Building the Patriotic Front: Towards a re-evaluation

â\200\234People's PFâ\200\235) and within the distinct components is dynamic. Our capacity to impact on the â\200\234Codesa PFâ\200\235 will be determined by:

- \* The character of the divisions or degree of cohesion within the state apparatuses at various times

- \* The power that we mount from the bottom: The relationship that we have with the PF, based in state apparatuses is negotiated and the character of those negotiations (as with all negotiations) is conditioned by the battalions that we have behind us. The recent rolling mass action has clearly affected our capacity to relate to the more reactionary bantustan officials and demand of them freedom of political activity amongst other things. This is particularly true insofar as this strength has been demonstrated within their own regions of authority.

Obviously we have to weigh up to what point such demands are pressed. Do â\200\234excessive demandsâ\200\235 risk driving such forces back to the enemy camp? Perhaps the point is that the denial of freedom of political activity will force them into conflict with our supporters. Allowing such freedom is a basis for cooperation and the possibility of a more enduring alliance.

â\200\234The PF from belowâ\200\235 is also not yet a cohesive force. As has been mentioned before, one of the problems in the developments since February 1990 has been our neglect of this broad alliance. The present ongoing rolling mass action is helping reconstitute and expand that alliance. But it is a process that is by no means complete nor irreversibly in motion. We need to ensure that there is continuing consultation between these forces and ourselves to develop this relationship

Reflecting on what we have done

One of the problems of our relationship with the Codesa PF is that it has been almost exclusively at a national leadership level. This has meant that we have had access to these individuals and not the members of their organisations or the people in the areas under their control. This has also meant that we have not been able to consolidate and transform these relationships at the level that counts most for us.

It follows that we need to use the access that our Codesa PF partners have to state power to ensure that there is freedom of political activity and that we are able to organise such people. Insofar as people are organised in formations initiated by bantustan or tricameral partners, we need to be able to interact with them, and aim to transform their character.

There has been a tendency to assume that certain bantustan leaders, and chiefs will

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Building the Patriotic Front: Towards a re-evaluation  
and put across our political message.

It is also only by looking at what happens on the ground that we are really able to know whether these other forces are opportunistic in their alliance with us (i.e. only protecting their own positions) or whether they are undergoing a process of genuine transformation. We need to insist that our Codesa PF allies enter into working relations with our regional formations.

We need also to understand that the bureaucracies of the bantustans are a resource base for the future South Africa. We have an ongoing interest in transforming them and drawing on their administrative skills.

We can also never lose sight of the population density of these areas and the fact that half of the population of South Africa are located there.

#### Building a People's PF

The process of working with the base of the organisations located in civil society is crucial for our longer term project of transforming society. It is there that we will be able to strengthen and win support for our conceptions of the way forward to transform society. Together with other forces of civil society, in the PF from below this will be the core of a process of establishing hegemonic leadership in civil society.

A lot more work needs to be done here. It is true that organisations like SANCO have made a number of tactical errors. But we need to develop an ongoing relationship with such formations, with continuous discussion and consultation. The same goes for educational formations. While respecting their independence they need to benefit from a relationship with leading political formations.

The relationship with the Codesa PF has continued to be purely one of agreement on limited goals. Even the most recent meeting has not emerged with any programme for achieving these or agreed common action. This means that the possibility of unity in action has not been encompassed within the relationship.

Another matter that needs to be rectified is working with a model of the PF which is borrowed from Zimbabwe. In this regard, we need to deal squarely with the position of PAC and Azapo. It was and is correct to try to win these forces over and work with them. It is now clear that we do not need them at any cost, especially now that they are engaged in spoiling tactics, that aid the enemy (eg their position on mass action).

While we do not abandon attempts to draw them into unity, we need to be much less accommodating than we have in the past. It is clear now that these are very minor

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## Building the Patriotic Front: Towards a re-evaluation

organisations and that is the status that they need to be accorded.

For the Patriotic Front to develop and advance it needs to be based on South African historical realities. Whatever its weaknesses the UDF-type of model, a unity of political and non-political organisations that was at the core of the rising of the 1980s, needs to be looked at as the most likely basis to take us to victory.

The proposed conference on Peace and Democracy, with organisations of civil society at the centre is the type of base that we need to concentrate on primarily (though not exclusively, as said repeatedly). However, the building of the Front is not an event but a process and a people's front must be built at every level, with special attention needed now to the local and regional level.

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African National Congress

NEC Member's Leave of Absence Form

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At whose invitation will you be going :

Contact address during Absence :

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Secretary General

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| M.C. Ramaphosa

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| Deputy Secretary General

| Jacob Zuma

Overall Co-ordinator

Marion Sparg

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| Assistant Overall Co-ordinator

Sindiso Mfenyane

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Personal Admin. Political

Assistant in Co-ordinator Suugres

Annelise \* Vacancy \* Vacancy \* Vacancy

Anderson

Personal

Assistant

Vacancy \*

Political Co-ordinator  
\* Vacancy

Liasion with Organisations  
\* Vacancy

DIP, Nat, Research  
\* Vacancy

Organising, Elections  
MHQ

Constitutional Structures  
Co-ordinator  
\* Vacancy

\* Vacancy

DEP, DIA  
Negotiations

Welile Nhlapho

Youth League

Womens League  
Emancipation  
\* Vacancy

Policy Departments

Ellen Hajie

N.B. The division of departments along

NEC/NWC  
Khulu Mbatha

Regions  
\* Vacancy

Regions  
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Admin. Co-ordinator

Correspondence, Office Administration

| Sbongile Mahlangu

Personal Secretary to S.G.  
Gugu Mtshali

Service Departments

Personal Secretary to Deputy S.G.  
Tina Radebe

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Computer Operator x 2  
Dineo Nchwe and one vacancy \*

Fax, Telex Operator  
Mmabatho Nhlanhla

Reception  
N. Ngwenya, A. Motlhamme

|\_ | Filing, Photocopy Clerks  
C. Ramokgadi, D. Abe,

Catering  
B. Nkala, T, Magxaki

Driver - Protocol

\* Vacancy

Mailroom

D. Kekana, B. Mashanini

Personnel Co-ordinator  
Sophie De Bruyn

Admin. Secretary  
Patrick Msomi

Housing  
Thandi Cele

Training  
\* Vacancy



MEMORANDUM

Introduction

The Staff Committee of the NWC recently decided that there was a great need for the performance of ANC Structures, particularly the departments and regions, to be evaluated.

This decision was arrived at after realising that several structures of the movement are not operating effectively and that in a number of respects some structures are not operating at all. It was felt that these weaknesses needed to be identified and addressed with immediate effect.

It was decided that the best way of identifying these weaknesses should be through a performance appraisal process which should look at the way our departments and Regions function.

The view that has emerged is that the ANC should develop a culture of continuously evaluating the performance of its structures and its staff on a regular basis so as to route out weaknesses that may settle in the organisation and later become the norm.

The Staff Committee is of the view that the evaluation process should be done in phases, beginning with a self evaluation phase whereafter we should consider whether it would be necessary to bring in experts or consultants to assist us in evaluating our structures.

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It has been concluded that the process of evaluating the performance of our structure could best be achieved by setting up an internal ad-hoc evaluation structure that would work in a defined manner to identify the weaknesses that prevail in our Organisation.

It was also felt that the evaluation process itself would be a valuable management exercise itself for the organisation. This is seen as an important benefit of the entire evaluation. While our organisation has many political skills, we are still sadly lacking in basic managing skills at the highest level. The evaluation would serve as an introduction to the kind of management practice our organisation requires to function effectively.

While the detail has not yet been considered, it was agreed that one would have to use a different approach in evaluating regions, as compared to the system outlined below, which would be used to evaluate departments. For example, the regional evaluation would not simply be an "office" evaluation but would have to attempt to look at the functioning of the entire region and all the structures therein - branches, sub-regions etc.

At an initial meeting of the designated task force leaders, it was also felt that if the evaluation is to serve a useful purpose, it needed to be situated within a context. It could not simply proceed as an open-ended process. We needed to be clear on what objectives we hope to achieve at the end of the process. For example, we needed to consider what impact the prospect of elections in the near future would have on organisational structure.

The point was made that HOD had set up a committee some time ago, consisting of Comrades Raymond Suttner, Frene Ginwala and Trevor Manuel to draw up a paper which would attempt to look into the future, and outline what consequences this would have for the structure of our organisation. This committee needed to meet and fulfill its task as a matter of urgency.

However, in order to kick off the evaluation process, it was decided that a preliminary workshop needed to be held. The date was provisionally set for 15 September 1992. Those to attend would include as many members of the NWC

as possible, task force leaders and members and representatives from the regions. The workshop would be organised jointly with various comrades working in outside organisations who specialise in organisational strategy etc. The details of the workshop are still being finalised by the SGO. After the workshop strict time frames would be agreed upon to ensure that the process was completed in as short a time as possible.

Why we need to Evaluate Performance:

Many will agree that the ANC has not been operating as best as we want it to both at departmental and at regional level. This can obviously be ascribed to a host of reasons.

Several weaknesses have been identified over the past year but very little has been done in terms of addressing them.

The weaknesses arrange from:

- poor management
- no motivation amongst several staff members
- lack of skills
- lack of clear objectives
- conflict among staff members
- low staff morale
- ineffective structure
- no follow up on decisions taken etc.

Given that there are these problems and weaknesses it becomes absolutely essential that a way be found to address them effectively so as to ensure that the organisation functions in the way that will enable it to achieve our overall strategic objective.

Performance evaluation has become a normal practice in many organisations and companies and has been found to be a device that can help in identifying weaknesses in the structures of an organisation, pin-pointing areas of inefficiency, identifying staff problems and single out problems that would ordinarily never surface. Organizations that have accepted a performance

evaluation systems as part of their method of operation assert that the evaluation process has positive outcomes for both the organisation and the staff members.

A method for appraisal of the way the organisation is functioning is thus necessary. However an appraisal would be counter productive if it would not lead to the resolution of the problems that would have been identified. The ANC would therefore have to embark on a performance evaluation process which can be guaranteed to lead to effective action being taken to correct the weaknesses that will have been identified by the evaluation process.

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There are several kinds of evaluation methods. For now we need look at two types of Performance Evaluation. One would be aimed at making periodic judgments and the other would be the continuous evaluation process that goes on during the day-to-day - week-by-week performance of the job.

The first kind is what is often referred to as the "Annual Review" and it comes at the end of the year. That is the only time a staff member can find out how well he or she is doing his/her work. The effects could be inadequate.

The second kind which would be a periodic one, could be done on a quarterly basis and provide information that could result in remedial changes in the organisation's direction without letting things going too far astray.

In situations where things run in a very stable and predictable fashion with few changes taking place during the course of the year, a once-off annual performance evaluation may be adequate for the needs of the organisation and it's people. However, where there are changes taking place on an ongoing basis and where structures keep changing it becomes necessary that performance should be evaluated on a more regular basis.

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It is common cause that the ANC operates in a field where dynamic changes are taking place on a daily basis and where the political environment is shifting continuously. It is therefore recommended that evaluation of the performance of structures and people should be conducted on a regular basis and in this regard it is believed that

quarterly reviews would be adequate and best suited for the type of work that the ANC is involved in.

#### The Structure of the Evaluation Process

The NWC Staff Committee proposes that the first phase of the evaluation process should be conducted by a task force composed of comrades who would be able to conduct the evaluation with minimum delay. The Task Force would consist of eight units under the leadership of eight comrades. It is proposed that the leaders of the units as set out in Annexure "A" attached hereto, should lead the task forces to evaluate the departments and regions. Each task force leader will work with two other comrades.

How the Performance Evaluation will be conducted:

##### 5.1 Interviews

The evaluation will be done by the task force members conducting interviews with the leadership of the departments or regions and thereafter with staff members in each department or region.

It is proposed that in the department the task force should first interview the head and deputy head of the department and thereafter interview a representative group of staff members in the department. In the region it is proposed that the task force should first interview the Chairperson and Secretary and possibly other Officials in the region and thereafter interview a representative group of staff members in the region.

The reason for conducting two interviews at different levels is to ensure that staff members in the departments and region are able to

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speak as openly as they possibly can about problems in the department or region, which in certain instances they might not be able to do if the head of the department is present in the same interview. This would also enable the head of department or the leadership of the region to focus more attention on the weaknesses of some of the comrades in the region or the department.

Procedure that should be used by Task Force

The task force members will be required to ask specified types of questions about the way the department or region functions. Task force members will be expected to listen to what the staff members will be saying and ensure that the interview involves the sharing of ideas on the activities of the department or region. Task force members will be expected to avoid entering into arguments with the comrades they interview. They will be expected to encourage communication and ensure that the whole process is conducted in a positive manner without trying to demoralise or downgrade the comrades they will be interviewing.

Areas that the Evaluation should focus on

The evaluation process would need to be focused on measuring the performance of the departments, regions and the staff members in each structure. To achieve this objective the task force would need to focus attention on a number of issues such as:

5.3.1. Objectives of the Department / Region

53.1.3 Find out what the function of the Department/region is. Find out if the department / region has stated

overall objectives for both the long and short term.

53.12 To find out if the department / region has a program of action to achieve its stated objectives.

83.13 To see whether decisions of the national conference,

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5.3.2

5.3.3

Staff

5.3.2.1

5.3.2.2

5.3.2.3

5.3.2.4

5.3.2.5

5.3.2.6

NEC, NWC are implemented as they relate to the work of the department / region.

Find out about the number of staff in the department / region.

Find out about staff requirements

Find out if staff members have job descriptions and whether staff members are performing in line with job descriptions.

Find out if there is sufficient staff motivation and satisfaction.

Find out if there is departmental / regional staff development programs

Find out about the commitment of staff and staff discipline.

Style of work of the Department / Region

5.3.3.1

5.3.3.2

5.3.3.3

Find out if the department / region holds regular departmental or regional meetings.

Find out if there is team work.

Find out if there is clear lines of communication all round between the decision making structures and

the membership as it relates to the work of the department or region.

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How will it be used

An evaluation process of this nature obviously becomes of no use if the results thereof will not be used to the benefit of the organisation.

It is hoped that once the task forces have completed their work a meeting will be held to produce a consolidated report. The task forces will be required to make recommendations on how the weaknesses that will have been identified in the organisation should be addressed. The consolidated report would be submitted to the National Chairperson who heads the Evaluation Commission. The NWC + NEC would need to consider the report.

#### Conclusion

The evaluation process described above should be seen as the beginning of a culture which we believe is absolutely essential if the ANC is to emerge as the type of organisation that should continue giving leadership to our struggle to achieve a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society.

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CONTRIBUTIONS

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EMPLOYEE : 5% OF SALARY \ KL  
E.G. R2 000 SALARY = R100 PER MONTH

EMPLOYER CARRIES BALANCE OF COST

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EXAMPLES OF ESTIMATED PROCEEDS

MEMBER EARNING A SALARY OF R 2 000 PER MONTH =.

AGE 50 ESTIMATED PROCEEDS R 287 000-  
AGE 40 ESTIMATED PROCEEDS R 2192000

R 14 268 000

AGE 30Â°

ESTIMATED PROCEEDS |



DEATH BENEFITS

2 X ANNUAL SALARY  
PLUS

SPOUSEâ\200\231S PENSION  
(50% OF SALARY)

PLUS

CHILDREN'S PENSION  
(33,3% OF SALARY)

EXAMPLE - DEATH BENEFITS

MARRIED MEMBER WITH 2 DEPENDANTS

EARNs R2 000 PER MONTH

LUMP SUM : R48 000

PLUS

SPOUSES PENSION R1 000 PER MONTH

CHILDRENS PENSION R1 332 PER MONTH

(2 CHILDREN)

R2 332 PER MONTH

BT



DISABILITY BENEFIT

75 % OF SALARY

PLUS

5 9% ANNUAL INCREASE

PLUS

CESSATION OF EMPLOYER'S CONTRIBUTION

PLUS

CONTINUATION OF LIFE ASSURANCE

EXAMPLE : DISABILITY BENEFITS

MEMBER EARNS R2 000 PER MONTH

DISABILITY INCOME AFTER  
3 MONTHS WAITING PERIOD

R1 500 PER MONTH  
PLUS  
5% ANNUAL INCREASE  
PLUS  
CESSATION OF EMPLOYER'S CONTRIBUTION  
PLUS  
CONTINUATION OF LIFE ASSURANCE

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FUNERAL BENEFITS

COVER AT DEATH OF:

MEMBER

SPOUSE

DEPENDANT CHILD 15 - 21 YEARS :

DEPENDANT CHILD 6 - 14 YEARS:

DEPENDANT CHILD UNDER 6 YEARS:

R2 000

R2 000

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Beta. Eric Mongezi: Booysen. Samson:  
Dayimani. Mnyamezeti: Dlabathi, Phutumile;  
Dorana, Mtunzi; Dyan, Zilindile; Fariana,  
Ringo: Gonya. Siphon; Jacobs. Vuyani Petrus:  
Gerhardt, Dieter Felix: Kanana. Vuyisiie;  
Kolweni, Samson: Lucas, Mthetheieli;  
Madikane, Dickson: Majoda, P; Majola,  
Desmond; Maledi, Butisi Damani;  
Mampnanga, Takalani David; Manginda.  
Patnck; Masuku, Sibusiso Senele; Matshili,  
Wilson; Abrahams, Moegamat Yusuf;  
August, Lucky; Bakauli, C; Bandla, Arthur;  
Blackie, Simpiwe; Blani, Stanley; Boss  
Mncedisi Eric, Nelson Z; Boss, Thobile;  
Chidi. Joseph: Cilana, Toto Headman;  
Dabula, Vuyisile; Danster, Christopher;  
Desemele. Mhiawuli William; Dick, Boy-Boy  
Michael: Duma, Sinadu; Dyasi, Msokoli  
Macondi; Garendeka, Sicelo; Goni, Vuyisile  
Daniel; Gqwetani, Genjikile; Gusha, Thabo  
Felix; Jama, Thembile; James, Linda;  
Nkona, Nosi; Nkuna, Elliot Malindan;  
Ntombela, William Mzazile; Ntshidu,  
Monwabisi; Nyushu, Monde; Petros, Lunga;  
Phewa. Bhekani W; Qatana, Samuel; :  
Qhuza. Mbuyiseli; Rasaye, Zolami; Rawula,  
Pumzile P; Rikhotso, Mfemana; Sabelo,  
Bethwell: September, Ndoyisile Morri;  
Shongwe, Linda E; Siboza, Charles B;  
Sindane, Sibusiso; Sithole, Eric; Skosana,  
George; Somi, Vivian; Sosibo, Thandinkosi  
P.: Tana. Zalisile George; Tshibo. Mthunzi;  
Tshitshana, Lekhotla J; Twala, Sannah;  
Tyaliye, Fanakele; Tyemela, Andile;  
Watermeyer, Abednego; Willie, Msokili Alfred; .  
Wonci Similo Lennox; Zangga, Mzwabantu;  
Zono, Kotamile: Jantjies, Skumbuzo; Jawa,  
Mongesi B: Jwili, Joseph; Ketye, Siphiso;  
Kona, Michael; Lebepe, Stanford; Lwayo,  
Michael M: Mabanga, Samson T: Madasi,  
Zwelinzima; Madolwana, Luthando;  
Magaguie, Meshack: Maguga, Daniel  
Zenzile: Mahlaba, Nkosinathi; Mahleza,  
Enoch: Majikela, Zola; Majola, D |;  
Makeleni. Banwabisi; Makeleni, Mziwoxolo  
Chris; Malhalela, Mpande Joseph;  
Mamabolo, Philemon; Mamzini, Noah;  
Mathebe, Lungile; Mauku, Philemon;  
Maxasa. Mbambezeli; Mbambo, Signet;  
Mbotyana, Mandlundlia; Mcanda, Vuyo;  
Mdayi. Mzumkisi Christopher; Mdiza.  
Mfundo: Mdumge, Muhle; Mehlo. Tebogo;  
Mjacu, Mtutuseli; Mnguni, Tamsanga; Moloi,

' Rodney; Mrwebi. Nkosinathi; Mzimeia.  
Fanmini; Maugeazo. George: Mbonane, Oupa  
Josias: McBride, Robert Jonn; Mfihlo,  
Zamxolo Patric; Mgedez., Tjeluvuyo;  
Mnyamana. Nico Ledube; Mokhesi, Francis  
Don; Mpshe, Johannes: Mqgaio, Mzwandile;  
Ndabeni, Jardboard; Ndlovu Zebulon;  
Nethsitunguiwan, Phineas; Nggandu.  
Mtutuzeli Botto; Nomnganga, Dilizintaba L:



Ndabangaye, Sithembiso; Ndamana, William;  
Ndevu. Mase; Ngesimani, Mbuzeli; Ngubo,  
Stanford; Nhieko, Simon; Nkata, Fukama;  
Batyi, Mxolixi; Bena, Victor; . Bhawoodien,  
Saaaid Ahmed; Blom, Mbuyiseli; Bosig, Krieg;  
Buka. Simon; Buthelezi, Johannes;

Cetwayo, Tutu; Chicken, Mackenzie;  
Chiloane, A; Dakuse, Andile: Delhlazo,  
Ndayithi; Dhala, M J; Diale, P; Dukashe,  
Andile: Duma, Enoch; Faku Wonke; Frans,  
Gladman; Gawe, Donald; Gishe, S; Gosani,  
J; Ggezengele, M M; Gumede, S L; Gxekwa,  
Gilindoda; Haba, Mlandeli; Heteni, Vuyani;  
Hlangwana, Zanethemba; Hiati, Nkosinathi S;  
Jacobs, Jassiem; Jakavu, Mandienkosi;  
Jamela, Mabongo; Jaxa, C; Jwambi,  
Bonakele; Kabeng, D; Kana, Luyanda;  
Kana, Thando; Kani, Wakile; Katsikatsi,  
Mzwabantu; Kgalema, Petros; Kharplethu, F;  
Khasu, Ephraim; Khumalo, Muzikayise;  
Khumalo, Phillip Moobi; Kogina, Lungile;  
Lebeko, Peter: Livingstone. Mabokela; Lali,  
MM; Lucky, KP Z; Lukhele. S; Lunga,  
Petros; Mabelane, Adoiphina; Maboya, B:  
Mabuti, J; Madonselia. Absolum; Magaba, T  
H; Magwasha, C; Mahapoale, Jacob;  
Mahlana, Tabo; Mahlangu, Patric; Maho,  
Norianana; - Majikwa, M: Maijola, P;  
Makgabutiane, J; Makgalemele, Liphapang;  
Makgogoana; Makhbello, S; Makhonza, S E;  
Maakhubu, Victor; Malaza. L: Maledi,  
Mzimkhulu; Mamani, Pumsile;: Mamayo,  
Justice: Mamaklo, John J; Mangaliso, Paul;  
Mangcotwya, S; Mange, P; Mangeotywa, M;  
Manguzi, G; Maotoana, Jacob; Maphanga, C  
C. Maponya, Thomas: Maghubela. Vuzumzi;  
Maqoko, Basayi; Maqoma., Xolile; Marelane,  
K: Masebuku, N; Maseki, J; Mashabane,  
Clement; Mashumu, Paulus; Masilo. J;  
Mathebu, Gilbert; Mathenjane, Kleinbooi;  
Mathews, Hermanus: Matlala, Mzikayise;  
Matsebe, P; Matsepe, TV; Matsosela.  
Nyathe: Matuvana. Wellington; Mbambo,  
Signet; Mbasane, Patrick; Mbaza, A; Mbusi,

Mseki: Mekhosonke. Patrick; Melude, Loui  
Metambeke. Michael: Metane, Thembinkos  
Mguni, Khataziie: Mhlawuli, Thebo; Mhionc  
S Mbhekeni: Mila. Z; Minnies, H; Mira,  
Johannes: Mjingwana, Syivia; Mjo  
Zwelinkosi; Mkhwanbi, M; Mnikathi, R  
Sibusiso; Mnqweni, DW; Mnyakeni  
Johannes; Moawa. Robert; Mocoenyane,  
Modiga, Albert: Mofokeng, J; Mofolo, O:  
Mohiala. J; Mojafa. Steven; Mokone, N J;  
Molaba, Elias; Moloko, Thembinkosi;  
Momp. Alfred B; Monde. P; Mosieleng, C  
Motau, Seun; Motsamai, Lazarus; Motsep:  
V: Moxoli, B G; Mpali, Adger; Maalo, Sifilz  
Mshilo, Zamxolo; Mshushisi, Aubrey; Mthv  
Elliot; Mtongoshe. X; Myolisi, Zola: Mzuki  
Candry; Nchabeng, Samuel; Ndaba, Robe

Ndaku, Bongani; Ndoda, Mxoleli; Ndudozc  
Lunga; Netshiye, J; Ngatyane, Chris;  
Ngema, Eunice; Ngento, K: Ngozo, Oupa;  
Nkosi, D; Nkukwana, Xolile; Nobathana,  
Bonakele; Nogemane, MT; Nontshinga,  
Samuel; Ntantiso, Mxolisi; Ntantasana, Z:  
Ntiatlane, J; Nyiki, A; Pasha, t  
Pelele, BW; Phakathi, Simon K; Phofofoio  
Phoshiane, W; Peter, Monde; Petros, Lun:  
Qebe, Bhotwe; Qhezeengeie, M; Quiu,  
Mayuba H; Ramba, Mzwandile Butsi;  
Rambeni, Sonwabile; Rapudi, SC; -  
Rasebotsoa, S; Ratone, Elias; Ratoo,  
Mzwandile; Ratsayane, M; Retsha, Albert  
Saku. X; Sawuli, Mandla: Sebe, Mtutuzeli:  
Shongwe, Alfred: Sibisi, Manas; Sihoga,  
Johannes; Silybane, R; Sishuba, P;  
Sobekwa, Mkokeli: Sobota, Johannes:  
Sojezi, M J: Solo, Nhunhu A; Statai, Aron  
Schota, Johannes; Sefatsa. Mojaleta Reg  
Setlaba, Paul Tefo; Simama, Mzimkulu;  
Tembisile, S; Thabethe, Siphwe; Thabo,  
Thage, G; Thembinkosi, M Tyali, Zandile Vv  
Thenta, Nolula; Tontsi, Lulamile; Tsana,  
Gideon; Tswana. Josiah; Tshabalala, D;  
Tshabalala, G; Tshabalala, Kenny;  
Tshabalala, M Van Staden, George;  
Xhalabile, Earnest; Zaku, Winky; Zamuxa

â\200\230M; Zeyo, Abraham; Ziqubu, Vusumuzi; .

Zitha, J; Zonamzi, B M; Zamxaka, Aubrey  
Monele: Mncube, Mthetheleli; Nondula,  
Mzondeleli: Mokgatle, Zonga; Tyai: Oupa,  
Sehen: Mzimeni Danster; Monwabisi  
Khundulu; George Mekomane; Israel  
Machasa.

THESE ARE JUST 380 OF THE REASONS  
WHY TALKS HAVE STALLED

Release All Political

Prisoners Now

Â£4

Due to circumstances beyond our control (which would include a lack of co-operation on the part of the Dept of Correctional

Services), this list is not exhaustive. Any additional information is welcomed,

and should be forwarded to the ANC Legal Dept.

Address: 51 Plein Street, Shell House, Johannesburg, 2001. Tel: (011) 330-7183/4. Fax:  
(011) 333-4509.

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PROPOSALS FROM SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTS BODIES  
ON HOW TO ASSIST IN HASTENING THE ESTABLISHMENT  
OF DEMOCRACY AND PEACE IN OUR COUNTRY

All sportspersons to wear stickers/armbands PEACE AND  
DEMOCRACY at all sports events and functions until the road  
to democracy is established.

Place advertisements in all major South African newspaper  
condemning the violence and urging all political groups to  
establish and effect without unnecessary delay the road to  
true democracy. Delaying this process is of great concern to  
Sport in our country as it is directly undermining and

threatening our programme of sports participation and sport  
development.

Print leaflets and fliers expressing our concern at the  
present impasse for distribution to the public.

Arrange with sportspersons to make public statements and/or  
their stand for peace and democracy.

Draw up a mission statement re-above points for distribution  
to sports organisations.

Place advertisements in official programmes-brochure  
reiterating above points.

Proceed with pre-arranged programmes as presently planned  
but state that no further international sports exchanges are  
arranged until road to peace and democracy is firmly  
established. However, international obligations as mandated  
by the respective international federations be respected.

Display all material produced by the National Peace Accord  
at all major fixtures and functions.

SOUTH AFRICAN FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION (SAFA):

1. After the International Football Federation (FIFA) formally  
accepts South Africa at the FIFA Congress in Zurich the SAF  
Delegation will announce this and condemn the killings in  
Boipatong and call for peace and democracy.

When the Cameroon national football team arrives in South  
Africa on Sunday, 5 July the South African and Cameroonian  
football delegations observe a moment of silence at the  
airport for peace and democracy.

Request a message from the Government of Cameroon calling  
for peace and democracy.