AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

National Executive Committee

16 - 18 February 1993

Documents 1

CONTENTS:

1. Agenda	Page 1
2. Programme	Page 2 - 3
3. Minutes	Page 4 - 10
4. NWC Report	Page 11 - 17
5. Annexures:	
5.1 ANC - IFP Report	Page 18 - 19
5.2 Budget	Page 20 - 21
5.3 Reaching the People	Page 22 - 26
5.4 NEC Deployment	Page 27 - 32
5.5 OD Restructuring	Page 33 - 45
6. Elections Commission	
Report	Page 46 - 101
7. Code of Conduct	Page 102 - 10

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

16 - 18 FEBRUARY 1993

DRAFT AGENDA

- 1. Welcome
- 2. Apologies
- 3. Adoption of Agenda
- 4. Opening by President
- 5. Adoption of Minutes
- 6. NWC Report
- 7. Negotiations Report
- 8. Elections Report
- 9. Code of Conduct
- 10. General

N.B. The meeting will be divided into commissions on some issues to facilitate speedy and efficient decision-making.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Date: 16 - 18 February 1993

Venue : Johannesburg

PROGRAMME

Day	One	(Tuesday	16	February))
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10h00	•	11h00	Welcome Apologies Adoption of Agenda Opening by President
11h00		11h30	T E A *****************
11h30		13h00	Adoption of Minutes NWC Report
13h00		14h00	LUNCH ************************************
14h00		15h30	Report from Negotiations Commission
15h30		16h00	T E A ********************
16h00		18h00	Negotiations Commission Report cont.

Day Two (Wednesday 17 February)

09h00		11h00	Negotiations Commission Report cont.
11h00		11h30	T E A ******************
11h30		13h00	Negotiations Commission Report cont.
13h00		14h00	L U N C H *********************************
14h00	•	15h30	Elections Commission Report - Input
15h30		16h00	T E A **********************************
16h00	•	16h30	Elections Commission Report - Clarification
16h30		18h00	NEC breaks into three commissions to discuss report

Day Three (Thursday 18 February 1993)

09h00	- 11h00	Elections Commission Report cont - Commissions continue meeting
11h00	- 11h30	T E A ****************
11h30	- 13h00	Elections Commission Report - Plenary Session to discussion commission reports
13h00	- 14h00	LUNCH ************************************
14h00	- 17h00	Code of Conduct
17h00		CLOSURE ****************

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

MINUTES

23 - 25 NOVEMBER 1993

1. Present:

As per register

2. Apologies:

E. Motsoaledi, T. Yengeni, A. Boesak

3. Adoption of Agenda/Programme:

The meeting was opened by the President. He apologised for starting with the meeting late. He then reminded the participants that this was a special meeting to discuss the issue of negotiations with particular emphasis on the forthcoming bilateral between the ANC and the government. The meeting was also going to deal with the issue of violence.

The President pronounced the programme of the 3 day meeting which was accepted by the house.

4. Input by President:

The President welcomed the new NEC members attending for the first time and congratulated those who had been re-elected in the various regions. In his introduction of the discussion on negotiations the President recalled that the NEC had adopted a scenario which included the possibilities of sunset clauses. The NEC charged the NC to elaborate these clauses. They were then presented to the NWC. The document before the house was a synthesis of the views put forward.

(There was also a separate paper on the input by the President)

5. Strategic Perspectives - Presentation and Discussion:

After the main document was read, time was allocated to deal first with comments, clarification of concepts and concerns of comrades who criticised the way the document was publicised and processed. The document was then discussed paragraph by paragraph. Thereafter it was agreed that the drafting committee should take into account observations made in the meeting and that Cde Albie Sachs join the team in producing the final document.

The amendments and recommendations made were to be incorporated in the final document that was adopted by the meeting. (See final document in NEC Documentation of 16 - 18 February)

The President closed this part of discussions by saying that this document was now being adopted as a policy document of the organisation.

Day Two:

The day started with a comment from the President with regard to late coming to meetings.

6. Report on Missions Abroad:

The TG, Cde T. Nkobi gave a report on missions to Pakistan, China and Nigeria and money received. Some concern was raised in connection with the limited funds the organisation can raise. The

President spoke about discipline and the fact that departments continue to employ staff without reference to the SG and TG.

The President reported about the telephone conversation he had had with British PM, Mr Major, who wanted a briefing on the current situation.

7. Discussion of Report on Matters Related to Record of Understanding and Preparation for Bilateral:

Four commissions were established to deal with the following items:

- 1. Elections related issues
- 2. Free political activity
- 3. CAB
- 4. TEC, Regional Authority and re-incorporation of TBVC states.

The meeting then went into the business of discussing the reports from the 4 commissions.

8. Day Three / Report on NPA:

The meeting opened with a report from the Peace Desk on violence and NPA related matters. This discussion was led by Cde S. Mufamadi. He reported on the meeting of the NPS the previous day held in Johannesburg. That meeting was an attempt to prepare for a meeting of the PA signatories. The IFP opposed the idea. Later the ANC and IFP delegation, after meeting in closed doors, reported to the meeting that they had reached agreement that there would be a bilateral meeting between the two, but it would be preceded by thorough preparations through a joint committee.

The issue of holding a meeting of the signatories was de-linked from the bilateral between ANC and IFP. The chairperson would determine the date of the meeting in consultation with the leaders of signatories, preferably as soon as possible.

Also raised was the question of the role of international observers. The SACC and LHR had put forward a proposal for the establishment of an internal peace keeping force. The ANC needed to consider this seriously - the structure, international technical back-up, command structures, training, composition etc. A response from us was expected.

Cdes Ruth Mompati and C. Carolus wanted to know how the national Peace desk links or relates to regions. A full report on this and other matters was to be presented by Cde Sydney to the NWC.

The house then discussed the meeting between the ANC and IFP. It was agreed to mandate the NWC to set up a team that would involve the regions concerned. Cdes J.Z, T. Mbeki, S. Mufamadi and B. Kgositsile were to be included in the team. They were to be joined by the PWV and a member of the Youth League.

This was followed by a discussion on whether and how we were involved in the violence that was taking place, especially where there were allegations that our people are killed by our own people. The meeting resolved that a sub-committee be set up by the SG to make investigations. That sub-committee of the NWC will have to take up reports of those commissions that were already set up to investigate violence in the country e.g. Vaal Commission.

Thirdly, the meeting discussed the involvement of the state security services in violence. It was then proposed to set up a special team to pursue revelations on state involvement in violence, e.g. Harms commission. The SG would make a follow-up and see to its implementation. Cde Cheryl Carolus was to work with the SG on this matter.

Fourthly, the meeting agreed that we should campaign for a peace keeping force. But Cde JM and P. Jordan later raised reservations to this matter. Their argument was based on the fact that if we have a peace keeping force now under the present government and before Interim Government, it might create serious problems. It was then agreed that the NWC tackles this issue.

9. NWC Report:

9.1. Commission on Detainees:

From the NWC report the question of the report on former detainees was raised. This was in regard to the appointment of a committee of inquiry to follow up matters as recommended by the first commission i.e. allegations made against the security department and people who either died or disappeared in exile.

The officials had proposed the names of Margaret Burnham (USA), Dr S. Motsuenyane and David Zamchiya (Zimbabwe). The meeting endorsed the names with M. Burnham as chair.

9.2 TZ Report and Stuart commission Report:

Also related to the above subject, the meeting agreed that the T. Zulu and S. Stuart Commission reports be discussed by the NWC as a matter of priority.

9.3. Replacement of Cde C. Hani on NWC:

The SG raised the issue of replacing Cde C. Hani on the NWC. In terms of the constitution this matter was to be resolved through an election (secret ballot). But because of time it was postponed to the next NEC meeting.

10. General:

10.1. Strategic Perspectives document

Cde C. Carolus asked about the Strategic Perspectives document which had not yet been distributed to the meeting. The President responded by saying that it will be distributed before comrades leave and that if there are any concerns, they should be conveyed to the NWC.

10.2. January 8 Statement:

On the January 8th statement it was agreed that the inter-regional summit meeting in the first week of January, will make an input to the final statement.

11. Closure of Meeting by President:

The president closed the meeting by saying we have been able to keep our image of an organisation committed to peace throughout the period of violence. This was confirmed by the ICJ, OAU and Amnesty International. He also condemned the use of violence to settle problems among comrades.

He said he was worried about the economic situation in the country, particularly about the 7-million unemployed. He was going to exchange veiws with the GS of Cosatu and SACP before he brings the matter to the officials and NWC.

He called upon us to campaign for the date of elections to be set so that we have an elected IG. He said we should insist that if there is no agreement on this, there is no point in having bilateral talks.

Lastly, he underscored the point that we should try to move away from the politics of a resistance movement into the politics of an organisation that is up-front in trying to solve problems on the ground such as housing, unemployment, education, Aids, etc. and in seeking solutions which will ensure the support of all communities and political organisations.

NWC REPORT

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

16 - 18 FEBRUARY

NWC REPORT NOVEMBER 1992 - FEBRUARY 1993

Note: This Report will cover the most important issues dealt with by the NWC during the period under review.

1. COMMISSIONS:

1.1 COMMISSION ON FORMER DETAINEES

This commission has begun its work under the chairmanship of Sam Motsuenyane and is expected to produce a report in the second week of May.

1.2 PWV WOMEN'S LEAGUE DISCIPLINARY HEARING

It has been decided that Comrade George Chaane will chair the disciplinary hearing. Preparations are underway for the hearing itself. No date has yet been set.

1.3 COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO MISSING FUNDS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

The work of this commission is also proceeding under the chairmanship of Comrade OR Tambo. Other members of the commission are Andrew Mlangeni, Sindiso Mfenyane. Hearings will commence soon.

1.4 COMMISSION ON CONFLICT IN VAAL

This commission has completed its report and is expected to present it to the Office of the Secretary General this week.

1.5 COMMISSION ON MK Tengun

This commission is not progressing well due to the time commitments of many of its members, including its chairperson, the Deputy Secretary General, who has been involved in both the bi-laterals with the regime and the IFP bi-laterals.

Stroot, Blies Lefall Rt, Vusi

2. GOLDSTONE INVESTIGATION OF MK

The NWC discussed this matter on 6 January and decided that the matter be referred to the NEC for decision. Opposing viewpoints were heard in the NWC. While it was generally agreed that we had already agreed that the Goldstone Commission should investigate all armed forces, including MK, it was felt that the investigation of MK on a unilateral basis would not be wise. It was felt that focusing such attention on MK at this point in time would not be in our best interests. However it was also stated that refusing to co-operate with Goldstone on such an important matter would also not bode well for our public image.

3. ANC-IFP BI-LATERALS

These bi-laterals are proceeding. Problems are still being experienced with the attendance of Natal Midlands region. A more detailed report is attached hereto. (Annexure 1)

4. BUDGET

The Department of Economic Planning has recommended that we should not campaign against the Budget which will be presented to Parliament on 17 March. This NEC is required to take a decision on the matter. A more detailed report is attached hereto. (Annexure 2)

5. DOOR-TO-DOOR CAMPAIGN

The Organising Department has submitted a proposal for a door - to-

door campaign entitled "Reach the People" to be launced by March 1993. The proposal could not be dealt with by the NWC because of problems of time. This NEC is required to consider the proposal. A report from Campaigns Section is attached. (Annexure 3)

6. DEPLOYMENT OF NEC MEMBERS TO REGIONS

This matter has been re-examined by the Organising Department in conjunction with the Officials, following the difficulties experienced with previous deployment. A report on the new deployment is attached hereto for endorsement by this meeting of the NEC. (Annexure 4)

7. RESTRUCTURING OF ORGANISING DEPARTMENT

The restructuring of the Organising Department, as per NEC decision, has been finalised by the Organising Department with the Office of the Secretary General. The final document is attached for decision by this NEC. (Annexure 5) The NEC will note that the two departments have agreed that communication between head office and regions needs to be streamlined. A proposal on this matter will be presented to the NWC, after the neccessary consultation with regions.

8. INTER-REGIONAL SUMMIT

This summit, originally scheduled for December 1992, has been postponed several times now because of the failure of regions to produce the requisite reports. The summit will now take place on 8 and 9 May before the next NEC meeting. The Organisational Department has been requested to produce a report on the State of Organisation in the regions basing themselves upon the 1992 regional conference reports and other regional reports submitted since conference dates. A draft report will be submitted to regions for their consideration before the commencement of the summit.

9. EVALUATION TASK FORCE

This task force has been unable to begin its work because of the difficulties in finding NEC / NWC members to lead the various teams in the task force. These difficulties are being addressed by the Secretary General and it is now expected that the task force will begin its work in March and produce a report by the end of April. This work of this task force has become all the more urgent because of the serious concerns raised in recent meetings of the extended NWC about the state of our organisation.

10. STAFF MATTERS

As was announced at the last NEC meeting in November, 50% bonuses were issued to all staff members in December because of financial constraints. The Officials have decided in principle to pay salaries to staff of External Missions, including MK. The NWC Staff Committee is awaiting detailed information from the external missions before implementing the decision. It has also been agreed to re-examine the question of staffing quotas in regions and head office.

11. ANNUAL REPORT

Departments have been asked to submit annual reports by the end of February 1993. An annual report for the whole organisation is expected to be out by April. This will cover the period from national conference in July 1991 to December 1992.

12. COST-SAVING MEASURES

Due to the severe financial constraints experienced at present, a number of drastic cost-saving measures are to be embarked upon. Details will be announced in due course.

13. FINANCIAL PROCEDURES

The Office of the Treasurer General is presently working upon new financial procedures which will ensure that we receive regular audited financial statements. The firm Coopers and Lybrand have been appointed as our auditors. The NEC is required to endorse this appointment.

14. DEPARTMENTAL BUDGETS

Departments have been requested to submit budgets for 1993 which will be approved by the National Working Committee in due course. The question of budgets for regions is still under consideration.

15. INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

The Department of International Affairs has organised an international solidarity conference which will run from 19 - 21 February. A copy of the draft agenda is attached. (Annexure 6)

16. DATES FOR NEC MEETINGS

NEC members are reminded of the dates for NEC meetings for 1993:

- 10 12 May
- 9 11 August
- 8 10 November

16. MK

The extent of MK control over cadres and arms caches arose for discussion in the NWC following the arrest of comrades in Natal in recent weeks. This matter requires further discussion and clarification in this meeting of the NEC.

17. SANCTIONS

This matter was addressed at the NEW YORK conference last year. The NWC confirmed the position that had been adopted at the Policy Conference that sanctions would only be lifted when Interim Government was in place. However this position did not take into account the two-phase scenario of Interim Government which was developed after the Policy Conference. This requires that our position on sanctions should be further clarified. This NEC is required to take a decision on this matter.

18. REPLACEMENT OF COMRADE CHRIS HANI ON NWC

This matter was deferred from the last meeting of the NEC in November and is now long overdue. This NEC is now required to elect a new member of the NEC to the National Working Committee.

Report ends.

NWC REPORT ANNEXURE "1"

ANC - IFP BILATERALS REPORT

THIS REPORT WAS NOT READY AT THE TIME OF PRINTING!

NWC REPORT ANNEXURE "2"

BUDGET

MATTER FOR NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE DECISION

DATE: 09 FEBRUARY 1993

SUBJECT: ANC APPROACH TO THE BUDGET

BACKGROUND: The Budget will be presented to Parliament on 17 March. As part of our overall preparation, the DEP made a presentation to the National Working Committee on 18 January. A number of questions were posed in order that we may frame an ANC response to the budget. These questions must still be answered.

We have recently received the response of Labour to the budget (attached). Of particular note, their response is muted relative to previous responses.

There are two particular questions which affect us now:

1. The deficit can be covered in four ways viz. Shrink the expenditure levels; print more money; the state can borrow to finance the deficit, with the deficit retained at the present levels; or, the revenue base must be enlarged.

The impact of the latter is that there will be tax increases. The DEP would propose that we adopt an approach becomewhere between the retention of the deficit level and increasing revenue. Does this meet with NWC approval?

2. Shall we campaign against this budget?

The DEP recommends that since the ANC will soon be heirs to this fiscal crisis, it is not in the interests of medium-term stability to inculcate the idea that the ANC possesses a magic wand.

Suggesting that we should not campaign does not mean maintaining a silence on this important issue. There are many weaknesses which we can raise, the only suggestion here is that we do not engage in a campaign of mass action.

NWC REPORT ANNEXURE "3"

DOOR TO DOOR

CAMPAIGN

(REACHING THE

PEOPLE)

Organising Department Campaigns Section

REACHING THE PEOPLE

1. The Need to reach the people

One of our biggest weaknesses has been the failure to link-up with the people of our country in their homes and at the neighborhood level. This has effected our capacity to build a mass based ANC.

The majority of our people perceive the ANC "as their organisation" in something of an abstract manner. They know we have led the struggle against apartheid repression and that our leaders and cadres have sacrificed for their freedom. Apart from the activists, however, who make up the numbers on marchers and at rallies, most people do not really know the ANC: what we stand for, our policy, why they should vote for us etc.

Our structures and activists have been relying almost solely on rallies and demonstrations as a way of getting our message across.

As important as such activities are nothing can substitute for door-to-door and house-to-house activities. This is the main way in which a people's organisation reaches out to the people and seeks to build roots amongst them. This is the way that activists are able to get to understand the problems of the people; identify their grievances and the burning issues of the day; win their respect and confidence; intimately explain the policy and programme of the organisation; recruit new members for the organisation; and lay the basis for leading the people in mass action and creating the foundation and machinery for successful election campaigns.

This Campaign is central to the Programme of Work for the Organising Department for this year. It envisages an integrated approach between Building the ANC, developing mass work amongst our people, general campaigns and laying the foundations for the Election Campaign proper.

1.2. Door to door:

Door-to-door activity is the first step of a process. It needs to be followed-up by repeated visits for further discussions and should pave the way for house meetings at which several people from the neighbourhood are addressed by our speakers. This provides the conditions for dynamic street or block structures of ANC supporters and members. It is on this basis that effective neighborhood campaigns can be launched to link up with local, regional and national campaigns.

Such a baseline approach will provide a solid foundation for the building of ANC as a powerful, grassroots organisations; for secure neighborhoods where the people will be empowered to ensure peace and security; for waging and winning the coming national election.

2. Implementation:

Door-to-door work must be considered the staple work of a branch and the membership. Branches must gear themselves to cover their neighborhood. Obviously prior knowledge is required. Cadres must not venture into hostile territory. Cadres should be organised into pairs and regularly cover the territory assigned to them. They must be properly motivated and prepared for their assignments.

This will require work-shops involving role-play. Work-shops will deal with points such as how to make a first impression on the door-step; how to introduce oneself; how to seek entry and involve the householder in discussion; what issues to deal with; and how to project the ANC. Cadres will became more skillful and experienced on the job.

Full records of visits must be kept and used in report-back assessments and for follow-up work. Follow-up activity will involve a range of activities: clarifying problems; signing-up members; organising house meetings; inviting people to various forms of activity.

Follow-up work can entail visits from more senior comrades and ultimately from leadership figures. For instance at a certain stage members of the Regional Executive and National Executive Committees can be utilised to appear on the scene especially during an election

campaign. But this will only be successful as a climax to the grass roots canvassing by cadres on the ground.

2.1. Activity aimed at reaching the people:

Door to door and house to house work will become part of an overall campaign involving local campaign struggles, leaflet and graffiti blitzes, rallies and marches. Such activity will be part of an overall campaigns programme which will be split into three phases.

Phase 1: Organisational consolidation/Preparation

Concentration on getting our structures in order from branch to regional level and the motivation of our members. Central to this must be the activation of existing branches; the re-activation of lapsed branches; and the creation of branches where none exist. Also involved in this phase must be the strengthening of the alliance and the developing of links with the MDM forces on the ground. Tasks that will have to be attended to are:

- defining the role and tasks of RECs and BEC
- defining the role and function of the regional ODs
- finalising the job description for organisers
- clarification of the relationship between the SGO/OD/RECs
- organisation of marshalls
- implementation of proper membership system
- strengthening of alliance/MDM/broader front structures
- motivation of membership
- preparation of OD functionaries
- development of local campaigns
- creation of functional sub-regional offices
- creating structures where there are none with particular emphasis on the rural areas

Time frame - 3 months - February to end of April 1993

Phase 2: Reaching the people

On the basis of getting our structures to function effectively and our members motivated we will begin the all round task of Reaching The People. Activities involved in this process have been referred to in parts one and two above. With the door to door work as the central feature

from which all other campaigning activities will radiate.

Time frame - the campaign to "Reach the People" will be launched on May 1st. Its duration would be up to the time that an election campaign proper would be launched. If the date for an Election was announced as 1st February 1994 and we needed 4 months of all out election campaigning beginning on 1st October, Phase 2 would therefore last from 1st May to 30th September (i.e. 5 months)

Note: Phase 2 is easily adapted to whatever time frame is envisaged. If negotiations drag on and an election only becomes feasible later in 1994 then Phase 2 expands and encompasses whatever other forms of action might be deemed fit to bring pressure on the regime in order to secure a successful outcome of the prolonged negotiation process.

Phase 3: Elections

This is the period of the full blown election campaign.

3. Follow-up:

Only the bare-bones of a Campaign to "Reach the People" have been outlined for endorsement. This campaign requires thorough discussion and planning at all levels. It should serve the purpose of both building the ANC as a mass-based organisation and laying the foundations for our election programme. Such a campaign should be launched by March, 1993.

11th February 1993

NWC REPORT ANNEXURE "4"

DEPLOYMENT OF NEC MEMBERS TO REGIONS

National Working Committee

Subject Matter:

Deployment of NEC members to the regions

Decision required from NWC: Approval

Organising Department

Deployment of N.E.C. Members

Introduction:

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

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.

What is expected of NEC members deployed to regions?

NEC members deployed to regions are expected to relate to the REC of the region concerned, in arranging visits and the manner of their deployment.

They should monitor the functioning of the region and its branches, their relationships to one another, the functioning of the various structures and officials.

They should also assess the relationship between the ANC and other members of the tripartite alliance and other allied organisations, reporting to the SGO and Organising Department (OD) on their findings.

While it is desirable to respond to requests of the particular region concerned to speak at rallies and similar gatherings, the main function of the NEC members is to assist in the organisational development of the region concerned. It is therefore preferable to spend time meeting and strategising with the structures, visiting and seeing how things work, rather than attending big events as a draw card.

Election Campaign

Naturally NEC members are expected to throw their full weight into the development of an election campaign in the areas concerned. This means the development of our all round organisational capacity but also

the orientation of that capacity towards the specific requirements of elections.

Reporting Structures

In order to monitor the deployment closely, members of the NEC will provide written reports to the Officials every second month, copies of those reports should be submitted to the SGO and Organising Department. These should, where possible, be coupled with verbal reports, especially where there are problems.

Reporting to the Officials should be done as follows:

OFFICIAL	REGION
President	E. Transvaal N. Transvaal
Deputy President	S. OFS Milland N. OFS
National Chairperson	Border E. Cape
Secretary General	N. Cape W. Cape Transkei
Deputy Secretary General	S. Natal N. Natal Natal Midlands
Treasurer General	W. Transvaal PWV

REGIONS	NEC MEMBER
Northern Transvaal	John Nkadimeng Sydney Mufamadi Peter Mokaba Jutude S Elias Motsoaledi
Eastern Transvaal	Andrew Mlangeni Getrude Shope Ronnie Kasrils Aziz Pahad
Southern Orange Free State	Rocky Malebana Metsing Popo Molefe Barbara Masekela
Northern Orange Free State	Terror Lekota Gill Marcus
Southern Natal	Valli Moosa Billy Nair M. Zulu Saki Macozoma
Natal Midlands	Zola Skwyiya Salakon Harry Gwala Ebrahim Ishmail Ebrahim
Northern Natal	Siphiwe Nyanda Baleka Kgositsile Joe Slovo
PWV	Jeremy Cronin Joel Netshitenzhe Thabo Mbeki Mac Maharaj
Western Transvaal	Joe Modise Steve Tshwete Ahmed Kathrada Albertina Sisulu
Northern Cape	Ruth Mompati Trevor Manuel Joe Nhlanhla

REGION	NEC MEMBER
Western Cape	Arnold Stoffile Dallah Omar Albie Sachs Cheryl Carolus
Eastern Cape	Pallo Jordan Raymond Khlaba Thozamile Botha
Transkei	Chris Hani Wilton Mkwayi Alfred Nzo
Border	Raymond Suttner Marion Sparg Kader Asmal

NWC REPORT ANNEXURE "5"

RESTRUCTURING OF ORGANISING DEPARTMENT

Organising Department

Proposal

Re-structuring the Organising Department

February 1993

1. OUR PERSPECTIVE:

- 1.1. The strategic thrust of the ANC in the immediate term is two-pronged, viz:-
- 1.1.1. to build a strong viable organisational and political infrastructure in all 14 regions: and
- 1.1.2. to use that infrastructure as a transmission point to the tripartite alliance, MDM forces and the larger South African population.
- 1.2. 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.
- 1.3. 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 branches. it is at this point where dynamic all-round leadership has to be given.
- 1.4. 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

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 sport

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.

- 1.5. The Organising Department at Headquarters must spearhead and co-ordinate the organising 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:
- 1.5.1. Building the ANC into a strong mass organisation which functions democratically and which enjoys the active support of the masses of our people. Building an organisation which gives political leadership at national, regional and local level to the wider community.
- 1.5.1.1. Establishing a proper functioning membership system which is capable of making the organisation self-sufficient financially and which can also give us a profile of our membership. The latter is crucial to building organisation, broadening our base, and targeting different sectors of our people. A proper functioning membership system is critical to our functioning as a democratic organisation. Follow up of members through a proper system of renewals not only guarantees revenue, but enables us to build units of the organisation at grass roots i.e. the branches.
- 1.5.1.2. Creating an organisational structure for the marshalls, which ensures they carry out their task in a uniform manner with proper lines of accountability, formulating a code of conduct and seeing to their training.

- 1.5.2. 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.
- 1.5.3. 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.
- 1.5.4. We need to use mass communication as a tool to build the ANC, popularise our policies and campaigns and counter the enemy's propaganda.
- 1.5.5. 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.
- 1.5.5.1. Seeing to the creation, proper functioning and accountability of self defence units based within our communities.
- 1.5.6. 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.
- 1.5.6.1. Seeing to the creation and functioning of a Religious Desk which would enable us to impact on the different religious communities
- 1.5.6.2. Establishing a sports desk at national and regional level which would enable us to draw in wide sections of our communities.

2. STRUCTURE:

The current structure of the Organising Department must be strengthened to accomplish these objectives. Key to the new structure are the following:

- 2.1. Co-ordination between the sections has to be strengthened
- 2.2. A Data Processing Unit needs to be created. This will be composed of comrades from the different Sections of the Organising Department and cdes from the Secretary General's Office. The tasks of this unit will be:
- 2.2.1. To process regional and other reports for the attention of the Planning Committee
- 2.2.2. To advise the PC on all matters needing special attention in the regions, media and elsewhere
- 2.2.3. To recommend mass communication material for mass distribution or postal dissemination to individuals and certain formations.
- 2.2.4. To process poll opinions to give the Department an insight into how the ANC is impacting on the population.
- 2.2.5. To recommend seminars and workshops at all levels to boost the operational capacity of the regions and the Department.
- 2.3. 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 streamlined
- 2.4. Regional input into the work of the Department needs to be strengthened. This applies both to the system of written reports as well as regional participation at the strategising level.
- 2.5. We would like to propose for the consideration and adoption of the NWC the structure set out below:

PLANNING COMMITTEE

This should be convened by the Head of the Organising Department and should meet once a month. It should be made up of the following:

2.5.1.	Heads of OD Sections
2.5.1.1.	Building the ANC
2.5.1.2.	Peace Process
2.5.1.3.	Political Education
2.5.1.4.	Campaigns
2.5.1.5.	Mass Organisation
2.5.1.6.	Mass Communication
2.5.1.7.	Data Processing Unit
2.5.2.	Other ANC structures
2.5.2.1.	The Secretary General/Deputy Secretary General to sit in all the Planning Committee meetings.
2.5.2.2.	One permanent representative from the ANCWL
2.5.2.3.	One permanent representative from the ANCYL
2.5.2.4.	One permanent representative from the National Elections Commission

2.6. The Planning Committee will have the following tasks:

- 2.6.1. To map out the strategic objectives of the OD in line with Conference, NEC and NWC resolutions which are relevant to the departmental work
- 2.6.2. To ensure inter-sectional planning and co-ordination
- 2.6.3. To receive and discuss sectional programmes of action and supervise their implementation at regional and national levels.
- 2.6.4. To assess and evaluate the impact of such programmes on implementation to determine whether or not the objective was attained.
- 2.6.5. To receive and evaluate regional and other reports in order

to give guidance and assistance to the regions

- 2.6.6. To compile regular reports for presentation to the NWC, the NEC and Conference
- 2.6.7. 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 Department by the organisation as a whole.
- 2.6.8. To participate fully in the Inter-Regional Summit for a more elaborate assessment of our organisational thrust.
- 2.6.9. To continually monitor the state of organisation in all regions and regularly send appropriate representatives to the regions to assist in developing structures.

3. Regional Work

Regional work will be the main focus of BUILDING THE ANC SECTION which will be headed by the Head of the Organising Department. 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:

- 3.1. To assist directly and guide the regions to which they are deployed in the building and consolidation of all ANC structures.
- 3.2. Together with the RECs to formulate a strategic recruitment drive for the regions.
- 3.3. To visit as many branches as it is possible in order to get a true flavour of work done at that level.
- 3.4. To update the regions about all aspects of work of the Department and Head Office
- 3.5. To assist in the training of all personnel in the regions particularly the administrative personnel

3.6. To compile reports on the progress or otherwise of the regions for consideration by the Planning Committee.

4. Administration

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

5. 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.

NWC REPORT ANNEXURE "6"

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

From APARMUD to PEACE, Denocramy
AND Development

FILE COPY

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE 19 - 21 February 1993 Johannesburg, South Africa Preparatory Committee

AGENDA AND PROGRAMME

FEBRUARY 19, 1993

08h30 - 09h30	Registration
09h30 - 10h00	Chairperson: Mr Thabo Mbeki National Anthem Chairperson's Remarks Welcome to Delegates
10h00 - 10h45	Keynote address: President Nelson Mandela
10h45 - 11h30	Tea
11h30 - 11h45	Conference Progamme and Procedures
11h45 - 12h45	Messages of Support
12h45 - 14h00	Lunch
14h00 - 14h30	First Plenary - South Africa in Transition to Democracy: Mr Jacob Zuma
14h30 - 15h30	Discussions



FEBRUARY 19, 1993 (continued)

Page 2

15h30 - 16h00 Tea

16h00 - 16h30 Second Plenary - Elections Campaign: Mr Popo

Molefe

16h30 - 17h45 Discussions

17h45 - 19h00 Dinner

19h00 - 21h00 Concert

21h15 - 22h00 Guests meet Artists

22h15 Transport to Hotels

FEBRUARY 20, 1993

09h00 - 09h45 Third Plenary - Obstacles to Democratic Transition: Mr Sydney Mafumadi

- Violence

- Creation of climate for free political

activity

09h45 - 11h00 Discussions

11h00 - 11h30 Tea

11h30 - 12h00 Fourth Plenary - Building a New South Africa: Cheryl Carolus, Tito Mboweni and Shaheed

Arts and Culture

- Education: * Training

* Technical Education

- Health

Housing

- Human Rights

 Investments: * Busines 	SS
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* Finance

* Job Creation and labour

- Land and the Environment

- Local Government

- Women

- Youth and the Protection of the Child

12h00 - 13h00	Discussions
13h00 - 14h30	Lunch
14h45 - 16h00	Sectoral Discussions: Practical Programmes
16h00 - 16h30	Tea
16h30 - 18h00	Sectoral Discussions (Continued)
18h30 - 28h30	Cocktails/Dinner - Cowart: - Cowart: Transport to Hotels

FEBRUARY 21, 1993

09h00 - 09h30	Fifth Plenary - Foreign Relations Democratic South Africa: Aziz Pahad
09h30 - 10h30	Discussions
10h30 - 11h00	Tea
11h00 - 12h30	Sixth Plenary - Programme of Action
12h30 - 13h30	Lunch
13h00 - 14h30	Adoption of Declaration Closure National Anthem

14h45 -15h00 - 16h00 Departure to Regina Mundi Ecumenical Service

16h30

Transport to Hotels/Airport

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