

# AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS



NEC DOCUMENTS - 17 JULY 1991



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**AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS**

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15th July 1991

TO ALL MEMBERS OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (NEC)

Dear Comrades

All NEC members are required to be at the Presidents House in Orlando West Extention by 8.15 hrs, on Wednesday 17 July 1991.

Transport will leave from the hotels at 7.30 to Diepkloof.

Yours in Struggle

7p. *AB Brumby* -----

SECRETARY GENERALS OFFICE  
Administration



NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

DRAFT AGENDA

Venue: SOWETO

Date: 17 - 18 July 1991

1. Opening by President
2. Apologies.
3. Adoption of the Agenda.
4. Introduction of New NEC members.
5. Position of a Deputy Treasurer General and appointment of Deputy Treasurer General.
6. Evaluation of the National Conference.
7. National Working Committee:
  - a) The responsibilities of the NWC and review of ANC Departmental structures.
  - b) The election of the NWC
  - c) The conditions of being a full-time functionary of the NWC and style of work of NWC.
  - d) Style of work.
8. Interpretation of constitution regarding Women and Youth League's dual membership on NEC.
9. Resolutions/Decisions of conference.
10. Programme of action.
11. Review of ANC structures at H.Q.
12. Future date of NEC meeting.
13. General.
14. Closure.







# AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

## NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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**AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**  
**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING**  
**DRAFT AGENDA**

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  - 7.2 The election of the NWC
  - 7.3 The conditions of being a full-time functionary of the NWC
  - 7.4 Style of work of NWC
8. Interpretation of Constitution regarding Women Youth League's dual membership on NEC
9. Resolutions/Decisions of Conference
10. Programme of Action
11. Future date of NEC Meeting
12. General
13. Closure



# NEC MEMBERS' LIST



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION:
1. \_Introduction of NEC Members; and
  2. The resolution of the problem of the Comrades who hold dual positions.

INFORMATION REQUIRED: Information is required from Comrades who hold dual positions regarding their status on NEC.

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BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Clause L (3) (d) provides that "if any regional Chairperson or Secretary is elected to the NEC in his/her own right, such person shall vacate the regional position".

The following Comrades who occupy positions of Regional Chairpersons were elected to the NEC in their own right:

Joel Netshitenzhe - Northern Tvl.

Ruth Mompati - Northern Cape

Arnold Stofile - Border

Jacob Zuma - Southern Natal

Harry Gwala - Natal Midlands

In terms of the Constitution they ought to vacate their seats as regional chairpersons.

The affected comrades are required to inform the NEC how their status on the NEC will be rationalised.

# ANC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE JULY 1991

## OFFICE BEARERS

President	Nelson Mandela
Deputy President	Walter Sisulu
Secretary General	Cyril Ramaphosa
Deputy Secretary General	Jacob Zuma
Treasurer General	Thomas Nkobi
National Chairperson	Oliver Tambo

## ELECTED MEMBERS

1. Kader Asmal	43. Albertina Sisulu
2. Thozamile Botha	44. Zola Skweyiya
3. Cheryl Carolus	45. Joe Slovo
4. Jeremy Cronin	46. Marion Sparg
5. Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim	47. Arnold Stofile
6. Harry Gwala	48. Raymond Suttner
7. Chris Hani	49. Steve Tshwete
8. Pallo Jordan	50. Mcwayizeni Zulu
9. Ronnie Kasrils (ANC Khumalo)	
10. Ahmed Kathrada	
11. Patrick "Terror" Lekota	
12. Saki Macozoma	
13. Mac Maharaj	
14. Rocky Malebane-Metsing	
15. Winnie Mandela	
16. Trevor Manuel	
17. Gill Marcus	
18. Barbara Masekela	
19. Thabo Mbeki	
20. Raymond Mhlaba	
21. Wilton Mkwayi	
22. Andrew Mlangeni	
23. Joe Modise	
24. Peter Mokaba	
25. Popo Molefe	
26. Ruth Mompati	
27. Mohamed Valli Moosa	
28. Elias Motsoaledi	
29. Mendi Msimang	
30. Sydney Mufamadi	
31. Billy Nair	
32. Sister Bernard Ncube	
33. Joel Netshitenzhe (Peter Mayibuye)	
34. Joe Nhlanhla	
35. John Nkademeng	
36. Sphiwe Nyanda (Gebuza)	
37. Alfred Nzo	
38. Dullah Omar	
39. Aziz Pahad	
40. Albie Sachs	
41. Reginald September	
42. Gertrude Shope	

Masakela

Molefe

Valli

Mafumadi

Mayibuye

Slovo

Nzo

Nkademeng

Nyanda

Suttner

W. Mankela

Shabo

Hani

Modise

Jordan

Mhlankhla

Tshwete

Cheryl

Ebrahim

Kasrils

Lekota

Mac Maharaj

Manuel

Mlangeni

Skweyiya



## EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS

All regional chairpersons and secretaries, the Youth and Women's Leagues' Presidents and Secretaries are ex-officio members.

• Denotes person was elected into the NEC as well. Regional chairs and secretaries elected into the NEC have to resign their regional posts. This means that initially the NEC will be less the number of regional officials elected until new ones in the regions are elected.

### Women's League

- 1. Gertrude Shope
- 2. Baleka Kgositsile

### Youth League

- 3. Peter Mokaba
- 4. Rapu Molekane

### PWV

- 5. Kgalema Motlanthe
- 6. Barbara Hogan

### Eastern Transvaal

- 7. Mathew Phosa
- 8. Joe Nkuna

### Western Transvaal

- 9. Zacharia Molekane
- 10. David Davids

### Northern Transvaal

- 11. Joel Netshitenzhe
- 12. Collins Chabane

### Northern Cape

- 13. Ruth Mompoti
- 14. Mane Dipico

### Western Cape

- 15. Christmas Tinto
- 16. Amos Lengisi

### Eastern Cape

- 17. Benson Fihla
- 18. Gugile Nkwinti

### Border

- 19. Arnold Stofile
- 20. Lucille Meyer

### Transkei

- 21. Ezra Sigwela
- 22. Pumzile Mayapi

### Southern Natal

- 23. Jacob Zuma
- 24. Sibusiso Ndebele

### Northern Natal

- 25. Willis Mchunu

- 26. Michael Mabuyakhulu

### Natal Midlands

- 27. Harry Gwala
- 28. Moses Cele

### Northern OFS

- 29. Mxolisi Dukwana
- 30. Nakana Masoka

### Southern OFS

- 31. Caleb Motshabi
- 32. Thabo Mokhethoa



# DEPUTY TREASURER GENERAL



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

ISSUE FOR DISCUSSION: Evaluation of National Conference

DECISION REQUIRED FROM NEC: Evaluation of Conference

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BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This is the first NEC after the holding of the 48th National Conference of the ANC. It seems proper and desirable that the NEC should evaluate the Conference so that the lessons that were learnt from the Conference are not lost but are recorded for future reference.

The following are some of the issues around which the discussion can revolve:

- Did the conference deal adequately with the key political questions of the day? (e.g. Building the ANC, Negotiations, Violence, Sanctions etc);
- To what extent did Conference succeed in completing its work?
- Was the structure of the Conference, particularly the use of commissions, satisfactory;
- Has the ANC emerged stronger, more unified and with greater inspiration;
- Were the practical arrangements sufficient? (i.e. venue, food, accomodation, documentation etc);
- What do you think could have been done better?
- We have been criticised for having too many closed sessions do you think we should open more or all sessions to the press guests?



# NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE



## AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

### NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

ISSUE FOR DISCUSSION: National Working Committee

DECISION REQUIRED FROM NEC: Approval for the restructuring framework proposed.

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### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

#### 1. Election and work of National Working Committee

Clause M of the Constitution makes provision for the composition, election and the areas of responsibilities of the National Working Committee (NWC);

The provisions of Clause M (c) would seem to suggest that when the NWC is elected the members thereof should be allocated specific departmental responsibilities which are consistent with the areas of specialisation demanded by the struggle.

#### 2. The Current Status of ANC Departments

The current Departments of the ANC came into existence at the Kabwe 1985 Conference. All departments were made accountable to three offices, namely The office of the President, the Office of the Secretary general and the Office of the Treasurer General. See Appendix B for further details.

#### 3. The Secretary General's Recommendations to 1991 Conference

The Secretary General's report reviewed the work of a number of departments and recommended that the incoming NEC should reconsider the structure of a number of departments as they had to adapt to work in an environment of legality. The SG's recommendations which can be taken as having been accepted by Conference meant that a process of restructuring should be undertaken.

#### 4. Meeting with heads of Departments

The Secretary General and his Deputy held a meeting with the heads of departments when it was agreed that any restructuring

process would include their full participation.

5. Recommendation by Office Bearers

The Office Bearers met to discuss this matter and concluded that a NWC could only be elected after restructuring of departments had taken place. To this end the Office Bearers requested three of them to propose a restructuring framework to the NEC, which framework is set out in Appendix C .

6. Restructuring Framework

It is proposed that the framework set out in Appendix be adopted and be used by the Heads of Department and Office Bearers as a framework for restructuring the departments of the ANC whereafter a report should be submitted to the next NEC Special meeting to enable it to elect the NWC and allocate departmental functions to its members.

7. Categorisation of Departments

It is proposed that Departments should in the first instance be categorised in accordance with the function they perform rather than the office they are accountable to. Departments should be categorised as set out in Appendix .



African National Congress  
National Consultative Conference  
June 1985

**Report of Commission on National  
Structures, Constitutional Guidelines  
and Codes of Conduct**

National Structures  
Constitutional Guidelines  
Code of Conduct  
Umkhonto we Sizwe Military Code



**REPORT OF COMMISSION ON NATIONAL STRUCTURES,  
CONSTITUTIONAL GUIDELINES AND CODES OF CONDUCT  
ADOPTED AT THE SECOND NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE  
CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS —  
JUNE 1985**

**NATIONAL STRUCTURES**

**Organisational Structures**

1. The highest organ of the ANC is conference. Conference shall be held every five years, save that when the need arises, the NEC may call an extraordinary conference.

2. The highest executive body of the ANC is the National Executive Committee (NEC).

3. The executive body of the ANC in between sessions of the NEC is the National Working Committee (NWC).

The coordinating bodies with executive powers in between meetings of the NWC are:

a) The Politico-Military Council (PMC) which is charged with the task of handling and directing all internal work of the Movement.

b) The External Coordinating Council (ECC) which is charged with the task of handling and directing the work of the Movement externally.

5. There are three main offices under which all departments immediately fall. These are:

- a) The Office of the President.
- b) The Office of the Secretary General.
- c) The Office of the Treasurer General.

5.1 The three basic Offices are headed by the three main officials of the ANC. These are:

- a) The President General of the Movement.
- b) The Secretary General of the Movement.
- c) The Treasurer General of the Movement.

5.2 Main functions of the three main officials:

**a) President General**

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

- i) Present to the conference and NEC a comprehensive statement of the state of the nation/organisation and the political situation generally;
- ii) Preside over meetings;
- iii) Make pronouncements for and on behalf of the NEC outlining and explaining policy or attitude of the Congress on any question;
- iv) Be Commander-in-Chief of the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

**b) Secretary General**

The Secretary General is the Chief Administrative Officer of the Congress. He shall:

- i) Be custodian of the minutes of the NEC/NWC as well as other records of the Movement;

- ii) Conduct the correspondence of the NEC and NWC and send out notices of all conferences, NEC and NWC meetings;

- iii) Convey the decisions and instructions of the National Conference, NEC and NWC to the lower organs of the Movement;

- iv) Prepare yearly reports on the work of the NEC and NWC and such other documents which may from time to time be required by the NEC and NWC.

**c) Treasurer General**

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

- i) Keep such books of account as may be necessary to record clearly the financial position of Congress;

- ii) Submit annually to the NEC a report on the financial situation of the Movement;

- iii) Together with the President General and the Secretary General constitute the Supreme Finance Committee of the ANC.

5.3 The Secretary General and the Treasurer General shall each have an Assistant chosen by the NEC from amongst its members, who shall:

- i) Assist them in their respective activities;
- ii) Deputise for them in their absence, save that in the event of death or permanent incapacity, the NEC shall as soon as possible elect a replacement from its ranks.

5.4 In the absence of the President, the Secretary General shall assume his or her functions. In the event of death or permanent incapacity, the NEC shall as soon as possible appoint an Acting President for the remaining period, until the next Conference.

**6.1 The NEC**

- i) The NEC shall appoint from its ranks a National Working Committee based at Headquarters who shall constitute a permanent core responsible for the activities of the NEC in between meetings;

- ii) The NWC will consist of at least one quarter of the membership of the NEC;

- iii) Any member of the NEC present at Headquarters shall attend meetings of the NWC.

**6.2 Tasks of the NWC**

- i) Shall coordinate, supervise and direct the work of the ANC in between sessions of the NEC;

- ii) Shall receive and consider reports from the ECC and PMC;

- iii) Shall direct and supervise the political life of the organisation;



- iv) Shall report to the NEC through the Secretary General on the state of the organisation and progress of the struggle.

### **6.3 General Secretariat of NWC**

The Secretary General being the Chief Administrative Officer of the Movement as a whole, together with three full-time Secretaries of the National Working Committee, who shall be members of the NEC, the Administrative Secretary of the PMC, the Administrative Secretary of the ECC, and the Assistant Secretary General shall constitute the **General Secretariat of the National Working Committee**.

### **7. Tasks of the Coordinating Councils (ECC and PMC)**

- a) Shall coordinate, supervise and direct the work of the departments and organs under them;
- b) Shall consider, approve or amend and ensure the implementation of plans submitted to them by these departments and formulated within the broad framework which shall have been given by the NEC or its NWC;
- c) Shall recommend to the NEC/NWC new political and other initiatives;
- d) Shall, through the relevant organs, ensure the all-round development of our cadres;
- e) Shall report regularly to, and ensure the implementation of directives from the NWC.
- f) The President, Secretary General, Treasurer General and two others shall constitute the chairmanship and the vice-chairmanship of the Politico-Military Council (PMC) and External Coordinating Council (ECC) and as such, shall convene and preside over meetings of the PMC and ECC. In case all members of the chairmanship are absent, they shall appoint at least one member of the PMC/ECC to act in their place.

#### **7.1 Tasks of the PMC Secretariat**

- a) Shall receive reports and plans from the Political Committee and the Military HQ and submit these to the PMC.
- b) Shall convey decisions of the PMC to the relevant subordinate organs.
- c) Shall, whenever necessary, seek the assistance of the relevant organs, to ensure the proper coordination of plans prior to their submission to the PMC;
- d) The Convenor of the Secretariat who shall be a member of the NEC shall convey the decisions, progress and other reports of the PMC to the Secretary General for submission to the NWC, who through the Convenor shall similarly communicate with the lower organs.

#### **7.2 Tasks of the ECC Secretariat**

- a) Shall receive reports and plans from the three offices and submit them to the ECC.
- b) Shall convey the decisions of the ECC to the respective offices.
- c) Shall, whenever necessary, seek the assistance of the relevant offices to ensure the proper coordination of plans prior to their submission to the ECC.

- d) The Convenor of the ECC who shall be a member of the NEC shall convey the decisions, progress and other reports of the ECC to the Secretary General for submission to the NWC, who through the Convenor shall similarly communicate with the lower organs. (NB: The Commission accepted the recommendation in the Secretary General's Report to the effect that there be a **clear differentiation of functions** between the Office of the Secretary General and that of the ECC, with two **separate secretaries** in different places).

### **8. Tasks of the Political Committee**

- a) Shall mobilise the masses of our people inside the country into struggle subject to plans approved by the PMC/NWC/NEC.
- b) Shall establish underground political units of the ANC throughout South Africa.
- c) Shall in conjunction with the Military Headquarters, establish underground units of MK throughout South Africa.
- d) Shall maintain contact with legal organisations within South Africa with the aim of influencing them towards acceptance of the programme, the *Strategy and Tactics of the ANC*.
- e) Shall, where necessary, set up legal organisations within South Africa for the purpose of mass mobilisation and mass action.
- f) Shall report regularly to the PMC on the state of our internal organisation and the conduct of the political struggle.

### **9. Tasks of the Military Headquarters**

- a) Shall be the military headquarters of our people's army.
- b) Shall direct the military struggle, subject to plans approved by the PMC/NWC/NEC.
- c) Shall, in conjunction with the relevant political organs, control all our military formations inside and outside the country.
- d) Shall, in conjunction with the Political Committee, establish underground units of MK throughout South Africa.
- e) Shall ensure that MK is a disciplined and politically conscious army of the people.
- f) Shall, through the PMC, report regularly to the NEC on the state of the army and the conduct of the military struggle.

### **10. Tasks of the Office of the President**

- a) Shall coordinate and supervise work of all departments listed under it.
- b) Shall receive reports from the listed departments and shall direct their work in between meetings of the NEC.
- c) Shall prepare and submit reports to the NEC.

#### **10.1 Secretary for Presidential Affairs**

The Secretary for Presidential Affairs shall be a member of the NEC and shall assist the President. He shall, among other tasks, handle the correspondence of the office and shall be the main Administrative Officer in the Office of the President.



### 10.2 Tasks of the Political Sub-Committee

There shall be in the Office of the President a political sub-committee which shall study the overall situation internally and internationally with the aim of preparing commentaries on current political, social, economic, diplomatic and military-strategic questions and shall be responsible for preparing statements and other major pronouncements of the ANC. This sub-committee shall be headed by the Secretary for Presidential Affairs in the Office of the President.

(NB: It was recommended that persons be urgently appointed to take up positions in Article 10.1 and 10.2)

### 10.3 National People's Tribunal

- a) There shall be established a disciplinary organ of the ANC to be known as 'The National People's Tribunal' (hereinafter referred to as the Tribunal).
- b) The Tribunal shall consist of five (5) members appointed by the NEC to act as judges for a period of three (3) years.
- c) Three members of the Tribunal shall constitute a quorum.
- d) Members shall be eligible for re-appointment.
- e) Any member may resign or be withdrawn from the Tribunal for reasons of re-assignment or manifest unfitness.

### 10.4 Chairman of Tribunal

- a) The Chairman of the Tribunal shall be appointed by the President from among the members of the Tribunal on the recommendation of the NWC of the NEC.

(NB: For tasks of the Tribunal see Codes of Conduct)

### 10.5 Officer of Justice

- a) An Officer of Justice shall be appointed by the NEC. He shall act in close collaboration with the Office of the President and under the overall supervision of the NEC.

(NB: Conference resolved that an Officer of Justice be appointed as soon as possible and that among his first tasks be an investigation ... of all cases of persons still serving sentences ... and awaiting trial)

### 10.6 Tasks of the Department of Information and Publicity

The department prepares and disseminates information and other propaganda material for the organisation. It deals with such aspects of ANC work as radio propaganda, leaflets, periodicals, research, legal publications: *Sechaba* and other publications of the ANC, films, posters, press, news-briefings and training of publicity personnel.

(NB: It was strongly recommended that decisions of December 1983 DIP Conference be implemented).

### 10.7 Task of the Department of Intelligence and Security

Shall be responsible for the work of Intelligence and Security of the organisation.

### 11. Tasks of the Office of the Secretary General

- a) Shall coordinate and supervise the work of all departments listed under it and shall be the chief administrative centre of the organisation as a whole.

- b) Shall ensure the timely and current implementation of NEC/NWC decisions.

- c) Shall prepare for and convene meetings of the NWC.

- d) Shall attend to the correspondence and appointments of the Secretary General.

- e) Shall receive reports from all departments listed under it.

- f) Shall prepare and submit reports to the PMC ECC through the Administrative Secretaries (PMC and ECC).

NB: 1. It was strongly recommended that the NEC strengthen the personnel of the SG's Office as a matter of urgent priority.

2. Commission recommended that in the proposed reinforcement of the SG's Office, special attention be given to the person(s) responsible for political education (Department of Political Education?) in liaison with RPCs and other existing structures of the Organisation.

3. It was further recommended that the ANC Political School be established as soon as possible.

### 11.3 Tasks of the Women's Section

- a) Shall organise women in South Africa into the African National Congress.

- b) Shall mobilise the masses of women in South Africa into the struggle.

- c) Shall organise South African women abroad into active units of the Women's Section.

- d) Shall mobilise women internationally to support the ANC politically and materially.

- e) Shall issue propaganda material for both internal and external use.

- f) Shall report regularly to the SG.

### 11.4 Tasks of the Youth Section

- a) Shall organise the Youth and Students in South Africa into the ANC.

- b) Shall mobilise the masses of Youth and Students in South Africa into the struggle.

- c) Shall organise ANC Youth and Students abroad into active units of the Youth Section.

- d) Shall mobilise the Youth internationally to support the ANC politically and materially.

- e) Shall issue propaganda material for both internal and external use.

### 11.5 Tasks of the Department of Manpower Development and Training

- a) Shall keep records of all our personnel.

- b) Shall train and develop ANC personnel.

- c) Shall in conjunction with the relevant organs recommend the proper deployment of personnel according to speciality and ability.

- d) Shall report regularly to the Secretary General

### 12. Tasks of the Office of the Treasurer General

- a) Shall raise funds and other materials for the needs of the Movement as a whole.

- b) Shall be the custodian of the property of the ANC and shall keep a full and proper record of the above and ensure their proper utilisation.



c) Shall ensure that the financial, logistics and welfare needs of all individuals and organs requiring maintenance by the Movement are met, both at home and abroad.

d) Shall otherwise disburse funds and other materials as directed by the ANC.

e) Shall prepare and submit reports to the NWC at least twice a year, and to the NEC once a year.

12.1 The Office of the Treasurer General shall constitute the Treasury and shall comprise the following:

- a) Treasurer General
- b) Assistant Treasurer General
- c) Administrative Secretary
- d) Head of Finance Department
- e) Head of Projects Department
- f) Head of Logistics Department
- g) Head of Transport Department
- h) Head of Building Construction and Maintenance Department
- i) Head of Mechanics Department
- j) Head of Welfare Department
- k) Recording Secretary
- l) Head of ANC Department of Economics and Planning)

### 13. Supreme Finance Committee

13.1 Composition:

- a) President General
- b) Secretary General
- c) Treasurer General

### 13.2 Tasks of Supreme Finance Committee

- a) Prepare annual budget
- b) Approve budget
- c) Oversee the finances of the Movement as a whole.

### 14. Control Commission

14.1 a) The NEC shall establish a full-time Control Commission with the task of ensuring compliance with the decisions of the Movement and accountability of personnel at all levels.

b) The Control Commission shall be headed by an NEC member and shall consist of three members chosen on the basis of their experience and authority within the Movement.

c) The Control Commission shall be endowed with all the powers necessary to function effectively, and be permanent watchdog of the Movement.

d) The Control Commission shall act collectively but may entrust specific tasks on an ad hoc basis to its members.

e) The Control Commission shall act as a supervisory Inspectorate and its members shall have access to all organs and structures of the Movement. It shall make such reports and recommendations as it deems fit, and in appropriate cases may make proposals to the structures and personnel concerned.

f) The Control Commission shall be accountable to the NEC and shall report to the President in his capacity as head of the organisation, and to the National Working Committee (NWC).

### Office of the Auditor General

15.1 a) The NEC shall establish the Office of the Auditor General with the task of ensuring strict control of the assets of the Movement and accountability of members concerned with financial matters.

b) The Auditor General's Office shall be headed by a member of the NEC and shall consist of three members on the basis of their integrity and standing in the Movement.

c) The Auditor General's Office shall have all the powers necessary to function effectively, and shall act as the permanent financial watchdog of the Movement.

d) The Auditor General's Office shall act collectively but may, on an ad hoc basis, entrust specific tasks to its members.

e) The Auditor General's Office shall act as a supervisory financial Inspectorate and its members shall have access to the books and financial documents of all organs and structures of the Movement. It shall make such reports and recommendations as it deems fit, and in appropriate cases it may make proposals to the structures and personnel concerned.

f) The Auditor General's Office shall be accountable to the NEC through the supreme Finance Committee, and shall be independent of the Treasury.

### 16. i) Legal Unit

It was agreed that the Legal Unit be revived. Shortage of time prevented discussion on where it should fit in the National Structures.

### ii) Department of Economics and Planning

It was recommended that serious consideration be given to the formation of a Department of Economics and Planning, and that in the meantime, the Economics Unit be involved in the question of projects.

### 17. Tasks of the (Chief) Representatives

a) Shall represent the NEC in the country or region under their jurisdiction.

b) Shall maintain contact with the Government(s) in the area of operation:

- i) Shall seek to keep the host(s) fully informed on the current situation in South Africa and the policy developments emanating from or relating to the ANC;
- ii) Shall seek to influence the host(s) to support the ANC both politically and materially;

iii) Shall be the channel through which the NEC and its departments normally communicate with the host government;

iv) Shall report to the NEC on the relation between the ANC and the host country and work for support for the ANC politically.

c) Shall maintain contact with the ruling party(s), other mass organisations and public institutions to influence them to support the ANC politically and materially.

### 18. Tasks of Regional Political Committees (RPCs)

a) In any region, the Regional Political Committee (RPC) is the highest political organ of the Movement.

b) The Youth Section and the Women's Section shall



each designate one person to be a member of the RPC.

c) It shall ensure that all members of the organisation are integrated in functioning branches, and that members are actively involved in the work of the Movement.

d) It shall ensure that all members are thoroughly grounded in the policies of the Movement and that members discuss and understand the current political strategy and tactics of the Movement as well as the current situation internally and internationally.

e) It shall ensure that members participate in the formation and evolution of policy.

f) It shall ensure that the NEC is acquainted with such

political, social and other problems as members may face. It shall however try to solve these problems before passing them over to the NEC, in cooperation with the Chief Representative.

g) It shall assist the Security Department in ensuring the security of the Movement in the area of its jurisdiction.

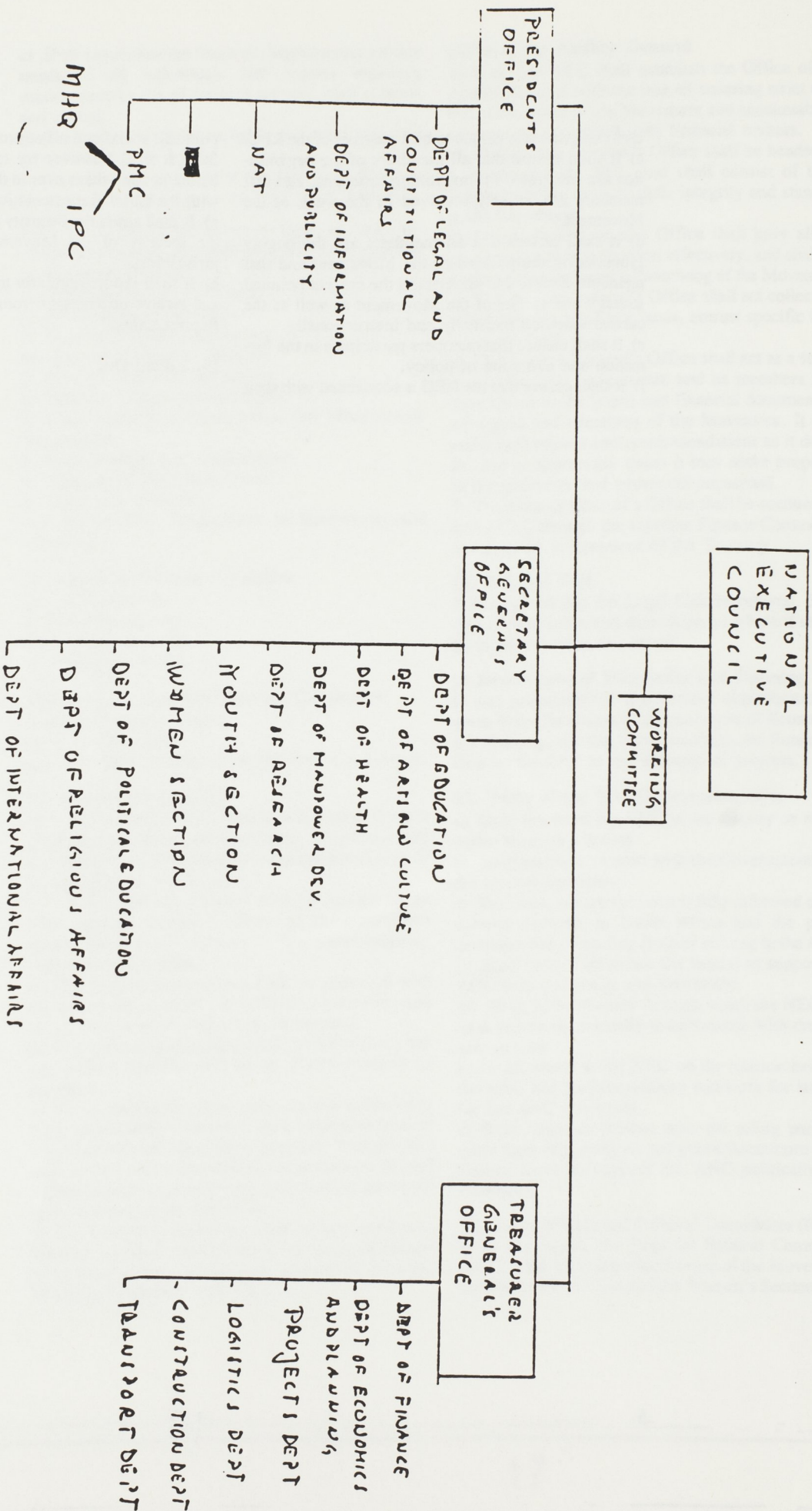
h) It shall report regularly to the Secretary General and receive instructions from him through the Chief Representative.

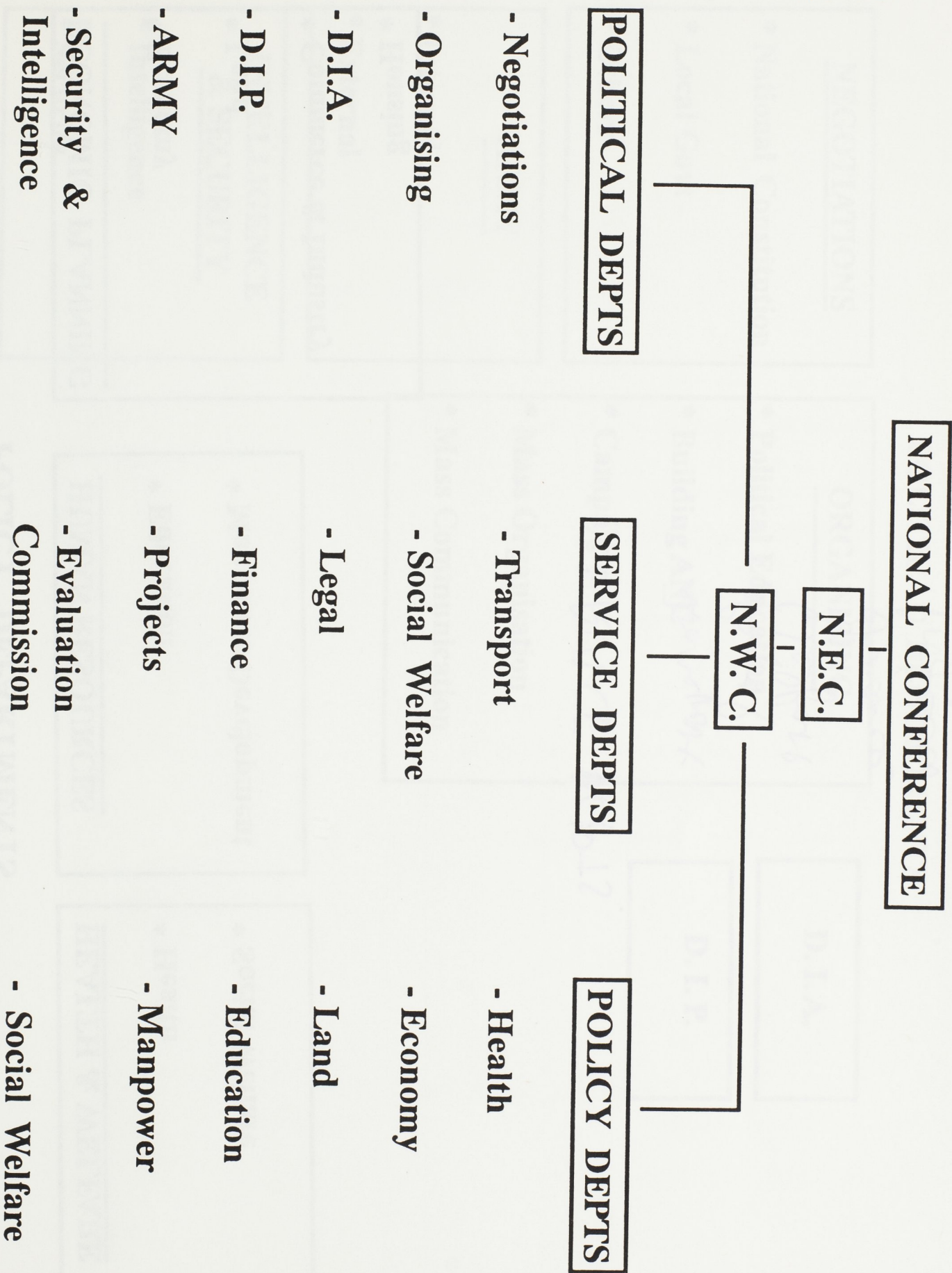
#### 19. Edited Out



# AND ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE AND QUANTITIES

APPENDIX 1







POLICY DEPARTMENTS

ECONOMIC PLANNING

- \* Economy
- \* Land
- \* Commerce & Industry
- \* Housing

HUMAN RESOURCES

- \* Education
- \* Manpower Development

HEALTH & WELFARE

- \* Health
- \* Social Welfare

SERVICE DEPTS.

- Transport
- Legal
- Welfare
- Finance
- Projects
- Evaluation

**POLITICAL DEPARTMENTS**

**NEGOTIATIONS**

- \* National Constitution**
- \* Local Govt**
- \* Others**

**ARMY**

- \* Internal**
- \* External**

**ORGANISING**

- \* Political Education**
- \* Building ANC**
- \* Campaigns**
- \* Mass Organisation**
- \* Mass Communication**

**D. I. A.**

**D. I. P.**

**INTELLIGENCE  
& SECURITY**

- \* Intelligence**
- \* Security**



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

ISSUE FOR DISCUSSION: Conditions for being member of NWC

DECISION REQUIRED FROM NEC: Set Conditions of working on NWC

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BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In terms of the ANC Constitution members of the NWC shall be full time functionaries of the ANC. We need to determine what this means in terms of the conditions under-which the members of the NWC shall work.

We need to determine the following:

- who the NWC members report to;
- who they submit their reports to;
- what their actual conditions of employment are;

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

ISSUE FOR DISCUSSION: NEC Style of Work

DECISION REQUIRED FROM NEC: NEC needs to decide on how it will  
conduct its work.

-----

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The NEC needs to decide how it will perform its work with regard to how matters should be brought to it for decision and how it will link up with other structures in the Movement.

NEC needs to decide whether it will be a committee of first instance or will require that before matters are brought to it they should have been properly processed by other committees.

The NEC also needs to decide how it will relate to regions in terms of reportbacks etc.



# CONSTITUTION



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

ISSUE FOR DISCUSSION: Co-option of three Additional Members

DECISION SOUGHT FROM NEC: Whether to co-opt now or later

-----

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Clause L (2) (g) of the Constitution provides that the NEC shall have power to co-opt not more than 3 additional members at any time during its existence to provide for a balanced representation of the aims and objectives of the ANC.

It is recommended that co-option of additional NEC members should be considered at a later stage.

## ANC CONSTITUTION

### PREAMBLE

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

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

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

#### A. NAME

The name of the organisation shall be the African National Congress, herein after referred to as the ANC

#### B. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aims and objectives of the ANC shall be:

1. To unite all the people of South Africa, Africans in particular, for the complete liberation of the country from all forms of discrimination and national oppression.
2. To end apartheid in all its forms and transform South Africa as rapidly as possible into a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic country based on the principles of the Freedom Charter.
3. To defend the democratic gains of the people and advance towards a society in which the government is freely chosen by the people according to the principles of universal suffrage on a common voter's roll.
4. To fight for social justice and eliminate the vast inequalities created by apartheid and the system of national oppression.
5. To build a South African nation with a common patriotism and loyalty in which the cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of the people is recognised.
6. To promote economic development for the benefit of all.



7. To support and advance the cause of national liberation, women's emancipation, development, world peace, disarmament and respect of the environment.
8. To support and promote the struggle for the rights of children.

#### C. CHARACTER OF THE ANC

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

#### D. MEMBERSHIP

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



2. Spouses, or children of South Africans who have manifested a clear identification with the South African people and its struggle, may apply for membership.
3. All other persons who have manifested a clear identification with the South African people and their struggle and are resident in South Africa, may apply for membership.
4. The NEC may, acting on its own or on the recommendation of branch or regional executive committees, grant honorary membership to those men and women who do not qualify for membership under Clause D1, 2 and 3, but who have demonstrated an unwavering commitment to the ANC and its programme.
5. Applications for membership shall be considered by the branch committee where such exists, and by the regional executive committee if no branch committee exists. The branch committee, the regional executive committee, or such interim structures as the REC or NEC may create from time to time to decide on applications, shall have the power to accept or refuse any application for membership provided such acceptance or refusal shall be subject to review by the next higher organ of the ANC.
6. Membership cards shall be issued to registered members of the ANC and to persons whose application for membership has been accepted, subject to review as aforesaid, and, in all cases, subject to payment of the prescribed subscription.
7. On being accepted in the ANC, a new member shall, in a language he or she knows well, make the following solemn declaration to the body or person who received the application:  
  
I....., solemnly declare that I will abide by the aims and objectives of the ANC as set out in the Constitution and the Freedom Charter, that I am joining the organisation voluntarily and without motives of personal gain or material advantage, and that I will participate in the life of the organisation as a loyal, active and disciplined member.
8. Members shall pay an annual subscription fee as determined by the National Executive Committee.

Non-earning members or those on reduced incomes will pay a flat fee at a low amount fixed by the NEC.



## E. RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERS

### 1. Rights:

A member of the ANC shall have the right to:

- a) Take a full and active part in the discussion, formulation and implementation of the policy of the ANC.
- b) Receive and impart information on all aspects of ANC policy and activities.
- c) Offer constructive criticism of any member, official, policy programme or activity of the ANC within its structures.
- d) Take part in elections and be elected or appointed to any committee, structure, commission or delegation of the ANC.
- e) Submit proposals or statements to the branch, region or NEC, provided such proposals or statements are submitted through the appropriate structures.

### 2. Duties:

A member of the ANC shall:

- a) Belong to and take an active part in the life of his or her branch.
- b) Take all necessary steps to understand and carry out the aims, policy and programme of the ANC.
- c) Explain the aims, policy and programme of the ANC to the people.
- d) Deepen his or her understanding of the social, cultural, political and economic problems of the country.
- e) Combat propaganda detrimental to the interests of the ANC and defend the policy, aims and programme of the ANC.
- f) Fight against racism, tribal chauvinism, sexism, religious and political intolerance or any other form of discrimination or chauvinism.
- g) Observe discipline, behave honestly and carry out loyally decisions of the majority and decisions of



higher bodies.

- h) Inform his or her branch of movement to any other area and report to the branch committee secretary on arriving at any new area.
- i) Refrain from publishing and/or distributing without authorization any media which purports to be the view of any organised grouping, faction or tendency within the ANC.

#### F. ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

1. The ANC shall consist of the following organs:
  - a) The National Conference which elects the NEC
  - b) The Regional Conference which elects the regional executive committees.
  - c) The Regional General Councils
  - d) The branch meetings which elect the branch executive committees
2. Branches may be grouped together into zones and may be subdivided into small units such as street committees, and zones may be grouped into sub-regions.
3. The ANC Women's League shall be open to women who are members of the ANC and shall have the same basic structure as the ANC, namely national, regional and branch. Its objectives will be to defend and advance the rights of women, both inside and outside the ANC, against all forms of national, social and gender oppression and to ensure that women play a full role in the life of the organisation, in the peoples struggle and in national life. The Women's League will function as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC, of which it will be an integral part, with its own Constitution, Rules and Regulations provided that these shall not be in conflict with the Constitution and policies of the ANC.
4. The ANC Youth League shall be open to all persons between the ages of 14 and 35. It will operate on a national, regional and branch basis. Its objectives will be to unite and lead young men and women in confronting and dealing with the problems that face the youth, and in ensuring that the youth make a full and rich contribution to the work of the ANC and the life of the nation. The Youth League will function as an autonomous body within



the overall structure of the ANC, of which it will be an integral part, with its own Constitution, Rules and Regulations provided that these shall not be in conflict with the Constitution and policies of the ANC.

5. Members of the Youth League over the age of 18, shall be expected to play a full part in the general political life of the ANC.

A member of the Youth League shall not be eligible for any position as office-bearer of the ANC or to attend ANC conferences, members or executive meetings of the ANC (unless specially invited) unless he/she is a full member of the ANC.

#### G. UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (MK)

1. Pending the creation of a united defence force representing the whole of the South African nation and defending the principles of a new non-racial, non-sexist democratic constitution, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) shall continue as an honoured and integral part of the ANC under the political guidance and control of the NEC.
2. The NEC shall from time to time determine MK's tasks and functions.
3. Membership of MK shall be drawn from ANC structures and shall be on the basis of free and voluntary choice.
4. The NEC shall be responsible for the general welfare and interests of the cadres and, where appropriate, ex-cadres of MK who continue to be members of the ANC.

#### H. THE HEADQUARTERS

National Headquarters shall be in Johannesburg.

#### I. REGIONS

For purpose of ANC structures the country will initially be divided into the following regions:

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



The regional headquarters will respectively be:

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

The National Conference may from time to time alter the number of boundaries of the regions.

#### J. THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

1. The National Conference shall be the supreme ruling and controlling body of the ANC.

It shall be composed of:

##### a) Voting Delegates

- (i) At least 90% of the voting delegates at conference shall be from branches which shall be represented by elected delegates - the number of delegates to be in proportion to paid up membership.

- (ii) The number of delegates to be elected to National Conference by each region shall be fixed by the NEC in proportion to the paid up membership of each region.

- (iii) The remaining 10% of voting delegates at conference shall come from the REC's, ANC Women's League, ANC Youth League, MK and departments and/or missions of the ANC.

- (iv) All members of the NEC shall attend ex-officio as full participants in the conference.

##### b) Non Voting Delegates

The NEC may invite individuals, who have made a special contribution to the struggle or who have special skills or experience to offer to attend the conference.

2. The NEC shall appoint a conference organising committee which will circulate conference information in advance, determine the precise procedure for selection of delegates and indicate how the membership can ensure that their concerns are on the agenda.
3. The conference shall determine its own procedures in accordance with democratic principles.



4. Voting on key questions shall be by secret ballot if at least one third of the delegates at National Conference demand it.

#### K. DUTIES AND POWERS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The National Conference shall:

1. Decide and determine the policy, programme and Constitution of the ANC.
2. Receive and discuss the reports of the NEC which shall include the Presidential Address, the Secretary General's Report which shall include a report on the work and activities of the Women's League and Youth League, the Treasurer General's Report.
3. Have the right and power to review, ratify, alter or rescind any decision taken by any of the constituent bodies, units or officials of the ANC.
4. Elect the President General, the Deputy President, National Chairperson, the Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General, the Treasurer General and the remaining 50 members of the NEC.
5. Have the power to elect or appoint any Commission or committee and assign specific tasks and duties to such Commission or committee.

#### L. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

##### 1. Powers and Duties

The National Executive Committee is the highest organ of the ANC between Conferences and shall have the authority to lead the organisation, subject to the provisions of this Constitution. It shall meet at least once every three months.

Without prejudice to the generality of its powers, the NEC shall:

- (a) carry out the decisions and instructions of the National Conference;
- (b) issue and send directives and instructions to and receive reports from the regions;
- (c) supervise and direct the work of the ANC and all its organs generally;
- (d) ensure that the regional and branch structures of



the ANC function democratically and effectively;

- (e) oversee the work of the Women's League and the Youth League
- (f) establish departments and set up committees as it considers appropriate;
- (g) manage and control all the national and international property and assets of the ANC;
- (h) provide broad political and organisational perspectives to the NWC
- (i) receive reports, supervise the work of, and delegate such functions to the NWC as it considers necessary;
- (j) issue documents and other policy directives as and when it deems fit
- (k) confer such honours as it may deem appropriate

2. The National Executive Committee (NEC), except where otherwise stipulated, shall be elected by secret ballot by the National Conference and shall hold office for three years and shall be constituted as follows:

- (a) The President, Deputy President, National Chairperson, the Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General and the Treasurer General who shall be elected separately by the National Conference.
- (b) Fifty (50) members of the NEC who shall be elected by secret ballot by the National Conference
- (c) The Chairperson and the secretary of each elected ANC Regional Executive Committee who shall be ex officio members of the NEC.
- (d) The National President and Secretary of the ANC Women's League who shall be ex officio members of the NEC
- (e) The National President and Secretary of the ANC Youth League who shall be ex officio members of the NEC.
- (f) Two (2) members of the military headquarters of MK appointed by the NEC who shall be ex officio



members of the NEC;

- (g) The NEC shall have the power to co-opt not more than three (3) additional members at any time during its term of office in order to provide for a balanced representation that reflects the true character of the South African people, provided that such co-option enjoys the support of the Regional Executive Committee and the branch from which the proposed person comes.
- (h) Should a vacancy occur on the NEC for any reason, the NEC shall have the power to co-opt a replacement.

3. Nominations for the NEC members referred to in 2 (a) and (b) above shall be by the following procedure:

- (a) i) Nominations for the post of:  
President  
Deputy President  
National Chairperson  
Secretary General  
Deputy Secretary General  
Treasurer General  
shall be made by any region and placed before the national conference
- ii) A delegate to the conference shall, however, have the right to nominate any person whose name has not been proposed in terms of sub-section (i) above. In such event the presiding officer shall call for seconders to the nomination. If such nomination is seconded by a minimum of ten percent (10%) of conference delegates, then such nomination shall be regarded as having been duly seconded, in which event the name of such nominee shall be placed on the ballot paper. If the nomination fails to secure a minimum of 10% of conference delegates, such nomination shall fall away.
- (b) Nominations of candidates for the National Executive Committee other than the above positions shall be carried out by the following procedure:
  - i) Subject to sub-section 3 (b) (ii) below, only those candidates who have been proposed by a region shall appear on the National Conference ballot paper.



- ii) A delegate to the conference shall, however, have the right to nominate any person whose name has not been proposed in terms of subsection (i) above. In such event the presiding officer shall call for seconders to the nomination. If such nomination is seconded by a show of hands by a minimum of 10% of Conference delegates, then such nomination shall be regarded as having been duly seconded, in which event the name of such nominee shall be placed on the ballot paper. If the nomination fails to secure a minimum of 10% of delegates, such nomination shall fall away.
  - iii) Not more than two persons per region may be nominated in terms of 3 (b) (ii) above.
- (c) Voting shall take place by secret ballot. Each voting delegate shall vote once in each ballot.
- (d) If any regional Chairperson or Secretary is elected to the NEC in his/her own right, such person shall vacate the regional position.
- 4. Subject to the other provisions of this constitution, members of the NEC shall not necessarily be full-time functionaries of the ANC.
- 5. Electoral Commission  
The NEC shall appoint an Electoral Commission of not less than three members whose task it will be:
  - (a) To prepare the ballot papers as directed by the constitution
  - (b) To make provision for ballot boxes or other means of secret voting
  - (c) To create machinery for the counting of ballot papers and the effective supervision of the counting of votes.
  - (d) To announce the results of all ballots and make known the number of votes received by each successful candidate.
  - (e) To establish procedures for voting to determine any dispute raised in regard to elections and election procedures, and to determine how any tied vote should be resolved.



6. The names of the electoral commission whose work must commence before conference opens shall be submitted to the conference for endorsement and they shall then be reinforced by a representative appointed by each regional delegation.
7. No structure, individual or group of individuals shall be permitted to produce and canvass for the election of any list of candidates at any level in the organisation. This prohibition excludes lists authorised by the nomination process stipulated above.

#### M. THE NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

After its election the NEC shall undertake the following:

- (a) As soon as possible after the conclusion of the National Conference the NEC shall meet and elect a National Working Committee
- (b) The National Working Committee shall be constituted as follows: *National Chairperson* The President, Deputy President, Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General, the Treasurer General plus twenty (20) other elected members of the NEC
- (c) The members of the Working Committee shall be full-time functionaries of the ANC and shall each be allocated specific departmental responsibilities, consistent with the areas of specialisation demanded by the struggle for a democratic South Africa and the tasks which will have to be addressed in the immediate aftermath of the transition.

The National Working Committee (NWC) shall:

1. Carry out decisions and instructions of the National Conference and the NEC
2. Conduct the current work of the ANC and ensure that regions and branches carry out decisions of ANC
3. Submit a report to each NEC meeting.

#### N. GENDER AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

In an endeavour to ensure that women are adequately represented in all decision making structures, the ANC shall implement a programme of affirmative action.

The method of such implementation shall be addressed in all



ANC structures immediately and on a continuing basis.

#### O. THE NATIONAL FINANCE COMMITTEE

This is a committee of the National Executive Committee and is accountable to the National Executive Committee.

The control of all the funds and assets of the movement shall be the task of the National Finance Committee. This committee shall be composed of the following:

- i. The Treasurer General (chairperson)
- ii. President and Deputy
- iii. National Chairperson
- iv. Secretary General and Deputy Secretary General
- v. Secretary for Finance
- vi. All Regional Treasurers
- vii. Director of Fund Raising
- viii. Director for International Affairs
- ix. National Finance Officer (or Treasurer) for the army
- x. Treasurer of Women's League
- xi. Treasurer of Youth League.

The National Finance Committee shall meet at least twice a year to:

- Receive and consider budgets;
- Receive and consider annual and half yearly financial statements, and other finance management reports before presentation to the National Executive Committee
- Review Finance Policy as required;
- Review Accounting procedures as required
- Ensure correct utilisation of funds

#### O.2. NATIONAL FINANCE SECRETARIAT

The National Finance Secretariat shall be composed of:

- i. Treasurer General
- ii. Deputy President
- iii. Deputy Secretary General
- iv. Director of Fund Raising
- v. Secretary for Finance
- vi. Any four Regional Treasurers elected by the National Finance Committee
- vii. Director for International Affairs
- viii. National Finance Officer (Treasurer) for the army
- ix. Treasurer of Women's League
- x. Treasurer of Youth League

The National Finance Secretariat shall meet once a month to:

- a. Receive a statement of income and expenditure and final



position of all regions

- b. Receive a statement of income and expenditure and final positions for the Headquarters
- c. Receive a quarterly statement of income and expenditure for foreign missions
- d. Compare the above statements with budgets
- e. Receive and consider requests for unbudgeted expenditure
- f. Receive reports on the performance of the ANC Investments
- g. Receive a monthly report from the Director of Fund Raising

#### P. DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF OFFICIALS

##### 1. National Chairperson

- i. Preside over National Conference
- ii. Remain the custodian of the decision taken by National Conference and ensure that all organs of the ANC implement these decisions and operate within the parameters of policy set out by Conference
- iii. Carry out such additional tasks as the Conference or NEC may instruct.
- iv. Be an ex-officio member of the NWC.
- v. In the absence or incapacity of the National Chairperson, the President shall assume his or her functions.

##### 2. The President General

The President General is the head and chief directing officer of the ANC and the leaders of the house in a National Conference. He or she shall:

- (a) Present to the National Conference a comprehensive statement of the state of the nation and the political situation generally.
- (b) Make pronouncements for and on behalf of the NEC outlining and explaining the policy or attitude of the ANC on any question



- (c) Preside over meetings of the NEC in conformity with the Constitution, by-laws and rules of procedure adopted by the NEC.
- (d) Be an ex-officio member of the NWC.
- (e) Be Commander-in-Chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe
- (f) The President General shall, under the overall supervision of the NEC, orient and direct the activities of the Constitutional Committee of the ANC.

3. Deputy President General

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

4. The Secretary General

The Secretary General is the chief administrative officer of the ANC. He or she shall:

- (a) Keep the minutes of the National Conference, the NEC, the NWC as well as other records of the ANC
- (b) Conduct the correspondence of the NEC and the NWC and send out notices of all conferences and meetings at the national level.
- (c) Convey the decisions and instructions of the National Conference, the NEC and the NWC to the regional committees, and see to it that all units of the ANC carry out their duties properly.
- (d) Prepare annual reports on the work of the NEC and the NWC and such other documents which may, from time to time, be required by the NEC and the NWC.
- (e) In the absence of the President General or the Deputy President General, the Secretary General shall assume the functions of the President. In the event of death or permanent incapacity of the President General and the Deputy President General, the NEC shall as soon as possible appoint an Acting President until such time as the National Conference meets.
- (f) All departments, save those falling directly under the President, shall report on their activities to the Secretary General.



5. Deputy Secretary General

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

6. Treasurer General

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

- (a) Receive and bank all monies on behalf of the NEC and shall, together with any two members of the NEC, operate a banking account.
- (b) Keep such books of account as may be necessary to record clearly the financial position of the ANC
- (c) Submit to the National Conference a report showing the Income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet of the ANC for the period since the previous National Conference, and shall submit periodic reports to the NEC and the NWC.
- (d) Be responsible, with the National Finance Committee, for working out and executing plans for fund raising.

7. The National Chaplain

The National Chaplain shall be appointed by the NEC on an inter-faith ecumenical basis to provide such spiritual leadership as believers in the ANC might wish to have, including the conduct of prayers at the National Conference.

Q. **REGIONAL STRUCTURES**

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

- 1. Be held at least once a year and more often if requested by at least one third of all branches in the region.
- 2. Be a delegates conference attended by delegates chosen on a democratic basis by all branches in the region with representation in proportion to membership, with attention being paid to ensuring representation of areas where membership is reduced.
- 3. Be attended by members of the Regional Executive Committee who shall have full voting and speaking rights



as ex-officio participants.

4. Be attended by representatives of the Women's League and Youth League with voting rights.
5. Carry out the decisions of the National Conference the NEC.
6. Receive and consider reports by the Regional Executive Committee.
7. Elect the Regional Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer and at least eight (8) other members of the Regional Executive Committee who will hold office for one (1) year and their members not to exceed 20.
8. Carry out and develop the policy and programme of the ANC in the region.

#### S. THE REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. The Regional Council shall be the highest decision making body in the region between regional conference
2. The Regional Council consist of all members of the REC and delegates representing branches in proportion to membership with a minimum of one delegate per branch.
3. It shall meet at least 3 times per year.
4. It shall on good cause shown be convened by the REC upon the request of one third of the branches in the region.
5. Reports following meetings of the Regional Council shall be submitted to the REC and the branches.
6. The Regional Council shall have the power to deal with any issue it deems necessary including the filling of vacancies on the REC provided it does not exceed 50% of the Executive, subject always to policies and directives of National and Regional Conference.

#### T. REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Regional Executive Committee shall be the body responsible for carrying out the decisions of the Regional Conference and Regional General Council. It shall consist of the Regional Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer and at least 8 other persons elected by the Regional



Conference. The Regional Chairpersons of the Women's League and the Youth League shall be ex-officio members with full voting and speaking rights. The REC shall:

1. Meet as soon as possible after its election to elect the Regional Working Committee and thereafter at least once per month.
2. Carry out the decisions of the Regional Conference and of the NEC.
3. Manage and control the funds and assets of the ANC in the region.
4. Submit reports to the NEC Regional Conference and Regional General Council as often as is required, on the state of the organisation, the financial position of the region, and such other matters as may be specified.
5. Appoint the regional organiser and staff as required.
6. Organise, establish and service branches in the region.
7. Carry out the policy and programme of the ANC and do all things necessary to further the interests, aims and objects of the organisation.
8. The REC shall have the right to co-opt up to 3 persons subject to confirmation by the Regional General Council.

U. REGIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

The Regional Working Committee shall be a core group of the REC and shall consist of not less than one quarter of its members, including the Chairperson, Secretary and Treasurer. It shall perform the duties and functions of the REC to which it shall report.

It shall meet at least once per week.

V. FUNCTIONING OF THE REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. Regional offices shall, with due allowance for differences of scale and level of work perform the same functions as their national counterparts.
2. The REC shall, wherever possible, set up regional departments in line with national departments.



W. REGIONAL CHAPLAINS

Regional Chaplains may be appointed by the REC on the same basis as National Chaplains, mutatis mutandis.

X. BRANCHES

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

1. Be registered
2. Meet as provided for in the rules and regulations
3. Be the place where members exercise their basic democratic rights to discuss and formulate policy.
4. Be the basic unit of activity for members.
5. Elect at an annual branch meeting a branch executive committee consisting of chairperson, secretary, treasurer and consisting of not less than 3 and not more than 7 persons.
6. Meet at least once per month
7. The branch committee shall:
  - (a) Meet as soon as possible after its election and choose a branch sub-committee to carry on the day-to-day affairs of the branch
  - (b) Carry out the publicity and organisational work in its area in furtherance of the policy, programme and decisions of the ANC.
  - (c) Meet at least once per fortnight.
  - (d) Submit reports on its work to the branch meeting and at least each month to the REC.

Y. ZONAL STRUCTURES AND SUB REGIONS

1. Any three (3) or more branches within a Region for the purpose of co-ordination of activities and better organisational efficiency, can be formed into a Zone at the instance of the Regional Executive Committee after consultation with the relevant branches, or on application to the REC, by at least two branches within an area of a proposed zone.



2. Whenever a Zone has been established the Branch executive of constituent Branches shall at a properly convened meeting, elect a Zonal Committee which shall consist of a Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer and one (1) representative elected per Branch within the Zone.
3. Where Zonal structures of the Women's League and Youth League exist, they shall be represented by one (1) member each, subject to the same provisions relating to the requirements for ANC membership.
4. The tasks of the Zonal Committee will include:
  - (a) to meet at least once a month
  - (b) to co-ordinate the work and activities of the constituent branches and submit reports to the REC
  - (c) to see to the implementation of the instructions as the NEC, REC or the RWC, in the Zone
  - (d) to participate in the work of the Regional Council
  - (e) to maintain effective links with all branches in the Zone
5. Sub regions may be formed by 3 or more Zones with similar arrangements and powers as between Zones - mutatis mutandis.

## Z. DISCIPLINE

1. Disciplinary proceedings should be confined to violations of the basic principles and norms of the ANC, and not be used as a means of stifling debate or denying members their basic democratic rights.
2. Proceedings shall normally be conducted at the level where the alleged violations took place, namely branch, region or national, and shall be heard by the relevant structure.
3. Any person faced with disciplinary proceedings shall receive due written notice of any hearing and of the basic allegations against him or her and be afforded a reasonable opportunity to make his or her defence.
4. Any person adversely affected by the outcome of any hearing shall have the right to have the matter reviewed by the next higher body of the ANC.



5. Penalties for proven violations of the Constitution, principles, norms and decisions of the ANC shall include reprimand, payment of compensation and/or the performance of useful tasks, suspension and expulsion.
6. Matters shall be attended to expeditiously
7. In addition to misconduct which directly violates the norms of the ANC, any abuse of office, corruption, sexual harassment or misappropriation of funds shall give rise to proceedings.
8. Proceedings may also be brought against members who behave in a disgraceful way that brings the organisation into disrepute or manifests a flagrant violation of the moral integrity expected of members.
9. Disciplinary proceedings shall not be brought as a means of solving private problems or as a means of interfering in the private lives of members where the norms of the organisation are not directly affected.
10. Members who fail to pay their subscriptions for six months and having been reminded of their lapse, have failed to bring same up to date, shall be regarded as members not in good standing until they bring their arrears up to date.
11. Should a person be expelled from the ANC, such expulsion shall be made public, provided that if an affected member has appealed against his/her expulsion, it shall only be made public if the appeal has failed.

## ZZ. RULES AND REGULATIONS

1. The NEC shall have the power to adopt rules and regulations for the better carrying out of the activities of the ANC
2. The RECs shall have the power to adopt rules and regulations for the better functioning of the ANC in their respective regions.
3. All such rules and regulations shall be consistent with the constitutional norms of the ANC, and rules and regulations framed by a REC shall only become operative when approved by the NEC, or, on a provisional basis pending approval by the NEC, by the NWC.
4. The NEC shall have the power to frame a code of conduct to cover all structures, officials, office bearers and



members.

#### ZZZ. GENERAL

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

#### ZZZZ. AMENDMENTS

Any amendments to this Constitution shall be by a two-thirds majority vote at the National Conference. Notice of intent to propose any amendments to the constitution should be forwarded to the Office of the Secretary General at least three months before the National Conference.

# **RESOLUTIONS/ MINUTES OF CONFERENCE**



## ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON STRATEGY AND TACTICS

### THIS NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE ANC

#### NOTING:

1. That the fundamental elements of apartheid colonialism remain in place;
2. That the repeal of some apartheid laws has left the basic political, social, gender and economic relations of oppression and exploitation intact;
3. That in many respects the conditions of the oppressed people have deteriorated, with violent attacks on our communities, lowering of living standards, increasing homelessness, unemployment, retrenchment, a deepening of the educational crisis to disastrous proportions and other social evils.

#### NOTING FURTHER:

1. That the struggles of the people and the support of the international community have created the possibility of a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country;
2. That the regime has been obliged to accept the fact that it does not have the strength to sustain apartheid in the old way and has therefore had to enter into talks with the ANC;
3. That despite the advances made by the liberation movement, the De Klerk regime still retains the capacity to implement counter-measures on a whole range of fronts, and that its objective is to retain the essentials of white domination under a new guise;
4. That the regime seeks to discredit and weaken the ANC and other democratic forces, claim legitimacy for itself as the main agent of change, divide the forces of liberation while broadening its own base, pacify the masses and thus become the supreme manager of the current period.

#### AND BELIEVING THAT:

1. The struggle for the elimination of apartheid colonialism should intensify until a democratic constitution and government are in place;
2. It is in the interest of the people of South Africa that the negotiating process should seek to place political power in their hands in the shortest possible time;
3. The negotiating process should involve the widest spectrum of the people and their various democratic formations ensuring that they determine the final outcome through mass action;
4. Negotiations must be conducted on the basis of consultation and accountability between the leadership and ANC structures;
5. Negotiations can only succeed in the context of intensified struggle on all fronts and in combination with other forms of struggle.

#### REAFFIRMS:

That the ANC remains committed to the elimination of apartheid in all its manifestations and the creation of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state;

BELIEVING THAT SUCH a transformation can only be achieved through the all round



intensification of struggle against the regime;

COMMITTS itself to strengthen and direct all four pillars of our struggle, to strengthen the ANC in negotiations, while simultaneously remaining prepared for any attempts by reactionary forces to defeat the process.

WITH REGARD TO THE FOUR PILLARS CONFERENCE BELIEVES THAT:

1.1 Mass organisation and mobilisation is at the centre of our struggle;

1.2 This entails ANC involvement, including actions through organs of people's power, in day to day activities of the people on all fronts. Such action would also entail demands related to transition, particularly for a sovereign Interim Government and sovereign Constituent Assembly, and the question of the transfer of power;

1.3 That the ANC is a national liberation movement providing leadership to its members and the oppressed and democratic forces of South Africa generally, over a wide range of issues. The ANC is not a political party. In formulating our policies for a democratic South Africa these should relate to mass struggles and provide opportunities for the masses to assert their just demands;

2. The underground remains essential and needs to be strengthened since the process of change is not irreversible and violent acts of counter-revolution against the forces of liberation and the oppressed people in general continue to be perpetrated;

3.1 Armed struggle. Armed action has been suspended, but the armed struggle remains a pillar of our struggle. In a situation where the regime pursues or allows violence against us as part of its negotiations strategy it is essential for us to strengthen our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, contribute decisively to building the defensive capacity of communities who are victims or potential victims of the current reign of terror;

3.2 We also need to undertake various measures to prepare to build an army of a democratic South Africa;

4. The international pillar of our struggle has to be strengthened. Governments and international solidarity groups need to be given a clear understanding of the current situation and the perspectives of the ANC. The international community needs to continue their work against apartheid until a new democratic constitution is in place. At the same time the ANC needs to actively seek support of and pressure from the international community for an end to the violence against our people, the demand for a sovereign Interim Government, sovereign Constituent Assembly and a democratic constitution. In all its international work the ANC needs to ensure that it retains the initiative.

CONFERENCE FURTHER RESOLVES:

1. To continue pursuing negotiations as a means towards achieving our strategic objective of transfer of power to the people;

2. To strengthen the ANC as a mass-based, democratic organisation, rooted amongst the people, through systematic organisation and mobilisation;

3. To increase the capacity of the ANC to creatively lead the people in mass action, and for the masses to participate actively and take initiatives at various levels.



**BELIEVING:**

That this process can be facilitated by the strengthening of the tripartite alliance of the ANC, SACP and COSATU, as a fighting force at national, regional and local levels;

**RECOGNISING:**

That the goals of the ANC can best be achieved by uniting the broadest range of people behind its democratic goals;

**COMMITTS ITSELF:**

1. To move speedily towards the building of a broad patriotic front to further the achievement of common democratic goals;
2. And to go beyond this and draw in as many categories of people and organisations behind the broad goals of non-racialism, non-sexism and democracy;
3. To devise and implement a programme of action aimed at keeping the initiative in the hands of the democratic forces and compelling the government to meet our just demands.

**EXPRESSES ITS DETERMINATION:**

1. That our strategies and tactics will be informed by the experience of all our people, including those sections of our population which are not sufficiently involved in the ANC;
2. Our strategy and tactics will also be informed by the experience of women, especially African women who are the most oppressed section of our population;
3. That the organisation will increase its emphasis on rural areas and bantustans and all other areas being given insufficient attention;
4. To marshal the necessary personnel and resources to implement an effective negotiations programme;
5. That the period ahead will be one of intensified struggle that will see decisive steps towards achievement of our basic demands leading towards the transfer of power to the people and peace under a democratic constitution.



## ADOPTED RESOLUTION MK

### PREAMBLE

Noting that MK has played an important role in the last 30 years in bringing about the immense political victories we have scored and the political situation to its present level;

Noting that while we have suspended armed activities we however have not abandoned armed struggle;

And further noting that the agenda of the regime is to hold on to power by among other things destabilising the NLM by engineering or conniving at violence against the people;

And further noting that the regime deliberately misinterprets the clause on related activities in a manner that attempts to render the ANC impotent and our people defenceless;

### THEREFORE RESOLVES:

1. That the ANC shall maintain and develop MK until the adoption of a democratic constitution and the creation of a new defence force into which cadres of MK will be integrated. Until such a point is reached the equipment of the movement shall NOT be surrendered to the regime;
2. MK shall remain in constant combat readiness;
3. The ANC accepts full responsibility for cadres arrested and/or detained by police and security organs in the course of the execution of their duties in defence of the people;
4. The ANC shall establish structures of MK throughout the country at all levels including the establishment of offices and the provision of resources for such activities;
5. The ANC shall be entrusted with the task to popularise the demand for a single military force that will uphold and defend the values of democracy in our country.

### FURTHER RESOLVES

that the role of MK in the present period shall be:

1. To act in defence of peace and stability to guarantee the people's political victories by imparting the necessary skills;
2. To participate in the rebuilding and organisation of the ANC;
3. To act in defence of the personnel and property of the ANC;
4. To encourage MK cadres to join and to channel their political concerns through the established branches.

### FINALLY RESOLVES

That the NEC take full responsibility for the transferring of funds to regions for the maintenance, development and general welfare of all MK cadres, both inside and outside the country and that proper and appropriate binding mechanisms be established to ensure this and

that the NEC shall take steps to ensure the marking of the 30th anniversary of MK throughout the country.



## BUILDING THE ANC – RESOLUTIONS

Having examined in depths and critically the strengths and weaknesses of the Movement; having identified the opportunities and threats to the ANC, the Commission, therefore,

Resolves that:

### 1. On the Youth League membership

1.1. A special commission should be set up to investigate our inability to draw in all the Youth League membership over 18 years of age into the ANC

1.2. The DAC should initiate sports and cultural activities in consultation with the Department of Sports and Culture, to generate excitement that will attract the youth

1.3. Clarity must be given by this Conference on the implications and meaning of the concepts “autonomous and independence” with regard to the ANC Leagues.

### 2. On the Tripartite Alliance

2.1. A joint commission with the two other members of the Tripartite Alliance should be set up to investigate the reasons for the inability of the Alliance to function effectively at the grassroots level, and make recommendations for the redressal of the situation. The investigation should include reasons for our inability to attract COSATU membership into the ANC.

### 3. On the Civics and Local Government

3.1. The ANC should develop a clear policy on local government with special reference to the roles of Civic and branches in this regard, bearing in mind that the Civic have been the formations occupying this terrain of struggle

3.2. The Department of Local Government should establish clear structural and functional relations with the Civics to obviate tensions and resultant confusion

### 4. On strategic campaigns

4.1. The ANC should conduct door-to-door campaigns and house visits, especially in the middle classes in all communities – preferably by the highly disciplined and politically clear leadership in the latter sector – to explain the history and policies of the ANC

4.2. That the ANC should develop a coherent strategic programme of action with clear goals that engender in action despite the obstacles that may be encountered (e.g. violence)

4.3. That the ANC should draw on the experience of the UDF in reaching the masses of our people

4.4. That the ANC should put over the message in accessible languages to all the oppressed and exploited masses

4.5. Noting that: there is a need to link our campaigns for an Interim Government, a Constituent Assembly and against violence to the concrete issues affecting the lives of the people; Conference resolves therefore that the incoming NEC should start a national campaign on the following three crisis areas that affect our people:



- housing
- unemployment
- education

4.6. That the ANC should, in preparation for a Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government embark on a massive Literacy Campaign, jointly with the NECC, and this should be linked to massive Intensive Learning Campaign

## 5. On political education

5.1. The Department of Political Education should develop a comprehensive national political education programme, with special focus on the gender question and the history and policies of the ANC, in the languages understood and spoken by the people

5.2. Where commissars, wither from abroad or internally based, are present, they should be deployed to do political education work amongst the oppressed

5.3. An extensive political educational campaign/programme should be started to explain the need for, and the nature of a liberation front with other organisations like PAC, AZAPO

5.4. The Department of Political Education should draw up a national calender which will serve as a guide for all regions and branches on timeframes according to which issues like current state of political developments, policies of the ANC , should be discussed.

## 6. On the public image of the ANC

6.1. A mechanism, constitutional if needs be, should be established to ensure that inter-departmental co-ordination, particularly at national level, to take place to obviate individualism and incoherence in public pronouncements on policy matters.

6.2. A strong disciplinary code should be formulated and be strictly enforced on all members and employees of the ANC, at all levels, to obviate a conduct that could tarnish the image of the ANC

6.3 The incoming NEC should order all ANC marshals to wear a standard uniform and carry appropriately designed identity cards at all functions of the ANC

6.4 All marshals should receive a standard training that must incorporate lessons on the expected conduct of a marshall

## 7. On the diverse strands within the Movement

Conference should order the in-coming NEC to develop a national programme to integrate the rich, but diverse, political and cultural experiences of our membership, to obviate the formation of a “them and us” syndrome which might have adverse political consequences on the image and unity of the ANC

## 8. On the International Contacts

8.1. The ANC should utilise its extensive International contacts to access skills and resources for educational and developmental purposes.

8.2. As interest and support for the Anti-apartheid cause diminishes, due to the De Klerk regime's initiatives, the ANC has to examine ways and means of becoming self-reliant as quickly as



possible

## 9. On Employment/Administrative practices

9.1. The incoming NEC should evolve a staff code to ensure professionalism in the regulation and co-ordination of staff conduct in all offices of the ANC, at all levels.

9.2. The Secretary General's Office should develop a comprehensive basic administrative skills training programme to enhance the skills-quality of our office operatives

9.3. The Organising Department should establish simple procedures to deal with lost membership cards and the renewal of membership, with special reference to what the ANC's membership year is. 9.4. To tackle the gross administrative inefficiency (especially in regard to the telephone service at National and Regional levels)

9.5. The NEC should work against the concentration of leadership at the Head Office, and should ensure that delegated responsibilities to the regional formations is implemented.

## 10. On relations with supportive professionals and businesspeople

Proper canvassing and consultations must precede mass actions, where these will affect supportive professional and businesspersons, for both logistical and political reasons provided that no relationship is built with these businesspeople at the expense of the employees and the implementation of mass actions.

## 11. On the rural areas

11.1. The in-coming NEC should start a development programme on rural areas based on strong democratic organs of people's power and accountable leadership.

11.2. Conference recommends that henceforth, the ANC NEC make it a practice that whenever leadership meet Bantustan leaders, local leadership be part of such talks/meetings/consultations

11.3. Further that Conference instruct the incoming NEC to convene a consultative in regional workshop to discuss the many issues affecting mobilisation, relationship, demarcations ... rural areas.

11.4. Conference instructs the incoming ANC NEC to avail maximum resources for rural mobilisation, organisation and campaigns.

11.5. Conference empowers the incoming NEC to appoint a special commission to urgently investigate the extent and the effects of the glaring lack of resources in rural areas – report back to the NEC within 3 months and advise on practical and significant steps to be undertaken in order to redress the appalling situation which obviously is the major factor contributing to the weakness of the movement in such areas.

11.6. Noting that the structures of the ANC area weak in the rural areas and noting further that practical steps need to be taken to redress the situation, conference therefore recommends that the incoming NEC should set up a commission to investigate the causes of this weakness, and report back not later than 3 months of the commencement of the investigation.

11.7. In the light of problems in recruiting membership in the hostile bantustans, the negotiating task



force should include in the process of talks about the removal of obstacles as posed by repressive bantustans as well as commitment to the dissolution of these structures. These efforts will reassure ANC members and encourage non-members to join the organisation in these bantustans.

11.8. Noting that there are serious problems in membership recruitment in the hostile bantustans and noting further that there is a dire need to re-assure ANC members and to encourage non-members to join the movement in these bantustans conference therefore resolves that the in-coming NEC should order its negotiating task force to include the repression of ANC members in these bantustans as an obstacle to negotiations and that the in-coming NEC should demand a total dissolution of these bantustans. .

11.9. NEC is directed to convene a meeting of all regions to consider inter alia a strategic approach to the bantustans and political parties. Such a meeting to take place within 60 days.

11.10. There is urgent need to disseminate a questionnaire to all regions requesting information on:

- organisational difficulties and level of repression locally and regionally
- what political parties have been established? what role do they play/or relationship with the ANC branches in the region
- to what extent are youth wings being established and for what purpose? (unemployed youth appear to be the target for recruitment into bantustan para-military forces)

## 12. On consultation and communication

12.1. Noting that at the National Consultative Conference in December it was resolved that mechanisms be established for purposes of consultation between the leadership and membership, particularly with regard to negotiations and noting further that such mechanisms have not been established conference therefore resolves that the in-coming NEC should order that the Organising Committee to develop such a consultation mechanism, in co-operation with regions and branches, as a matter of urgency for implementation during the next 3 years. That progress thereof should be evaluated on an on-going basis, and that the Secretary General should include this evaluation in his report to the next National Conference.

12.2. NEC is to improve two way communication between HQ and RECs and RECs and branches.

## 13. On organisational restructuring

13.1. Noting the changed circumstances in which the ANC operates today and having received and accepted the reports of the work of the ANC in exile and over the past 18 months within the country and recognising the necessity of ensuring a minimum of bureaucracy, clear lines of communications and accountability nationally, regionally and at branch level now therefore instructs the NEC to immediately appoint a commission to examine the organisational structure. Further that the commission should assess and redefine the authority, responsibility and accountability of the inter-relationship between and amongst the ANC's restructured departments. This commission should be required to report not later than 30th October 1991.

## 14. On Women

The incoming NEC should establish a mechanism that will specifically :



- concentrate on the recruitment of all women from all sectors and levels in our society both urban and rural
- consolidate and strengthen the participation of women within the organisation
- assist to strengthen the ANC women's league

#### 15. On minority groups

Conference instructs the NEC to convene a National Consultative Conference of persons drawn from the different minority groups who are not ANC members to consider ways and means of drawing these communities closer to the ANC.

#### 16. On countering state propaganda

The DPE in conjuncture with the Department of Information and Publicity should look into the viability of establishing a weekly Newsletter which the ANC can use to counter the state and commercial media's propaganda aimed at undermining the ANC in the minds of the masses of our people



## ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON VIOLENCE

### NOTING THAT:

1. Many thousands of our people have been attacked and killed and continue to be killed especially in the recent period by apartheid sponsored violence carried out by Inkatha, askaris, bantustan death forces and others whose aim is to weaken and destroy the ANC and other democratic forces.
2. This violence is taking place in a counter-revolutionary context directed by agencies of the state, and its surrogate forces in the form of councillors, warlords, vigilantes, death squads and certain white rightwing elements.
3. The ANC, together with other democratic forces such as COSATU, UDF and churches, has attempted to find peaceful solutions to violence by:
  - a) entering into peace talks with Inkatha;
  - b) making submissions, representations and demands to the South African government to end the violence.
4. Despite the past peace initiatives with Inkatha, violence still persists and despite the machinery at the disposal of the regime, it is refusing to take the necessary steps to end the violence.
5. The response of the democratic forces in dealing with this counter-revolutionary violence has not been adequate and that the December 1990 National Consultative Conference took a resolution to build defence committees and that the organisation has made insufficient progress in the setting up of defence committees.
6. The recent peace initiative by church and business leaders is aimed at involving all organisations in S.A. in strategies to end the violence.

### BELIEVING:

1. That the violence aims to:
  - a) destabilise the ANC and other democratic forces.
  - b) ensure that the government dictates the pace of transition in terms its own agenda.
  - c) create a state of confusion and demoralisation in our ranks and among our people in an attempt to alienate them from our movement.
2. That violence is part of a counter revolutionary strategy to maintain white domination in new forms.
3. The ending or containing the violence should be at the top of the agenda of the ANC and the democratic movement.
4. That our right to self defence is not limited by any agreement entered into by the movement.

### WE THEREFORE RESOLVE:

1. To support the current peace initiative of the church and business leaders in:
  - a) developing a code of conduct for the security forces.
  - b) developing a code of conduct for political organisations.
  - c) developing an enforcement mechanism to monitor the codes that will involve a wide range of groupings.



d) developing a programme of reconstruction.

2. To mandate the incoming NEC to give a deadline to the appropriate structures by which time it must have completed its task of forming self defence units in all areas, and to take definite steps to provide all possible resources and assistance required.

3. To embark on a programme of national and international mass action within the context of our demands for:

- a) the removal of all obstacles to creating a climate for negotiations.
- b) the dismantling of all apartheid structures.
- c) an interim government and a constituent assembly.

4. To embark on a publicity campaign both locally and internationally to expose the true nature of the violence.

5. To reaffirm our demands contained in the NEC letter of 5 April 1991 addressed to de Klerk.

6. To establish structures on a branch, regional and national level with our partners within the tripartite alliance and other democratic formations to coordinate our strategies in responding to the violence.



## ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON NEGOTIATIONS

1. Conference reaffirms that the possibility exists of achieving the transfer of power to the people and the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa by peaceful means.
2. This possibility has come about as a result of the heroic struggles of our people which have included mass action, armed struggle and underground work, supported by anti-apartheid actions of the international community.
3. To achieve the strategic objective of our struggle, it is vital that we continue to combine all forms of struggle, drawing in the widest spectrum of the people.
4. Accordingly, the speedy realisation of a democratic settlement requires that negotiations which constitute an additional terrain of the struggle should be linked to a continuing mass struggle and international pressure. This is because the gains made in the mass struggle will be reflected at the negotiations table. Negotiations do not win our freedom, but represent the recognition of the victories we win on the ground.
5. Conference supports and endorses the strategy for negotiations outlined in the Harare and UN Declarations adopted in 1989. Conference instructs the NEC in consultation with other members of the tripartite alliance to elaborate a comprehensive approach to negotiations.
6. In this context, Conference notes that the Pretoria regime has not yet removed all the obstacles to negotiations identified in these Declarations and has thereby blocked progress towards the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations.
7. Furthermore, the campaign of terror carried out against the people intended to destabilise society, intimidate the people, undermine and weaken the ANC, its allies and the rest of the democratic movement is an obstacle to the objective of creating a climate conducive to negotiations and to free political activity and association.
8. Conference therefore demands that the Pretoria regime acts immediately to unblock the path leading to the creation of the necessary climate by removing the obstacles to negotiations.
9. Conference denounces and condemns the Pretoria regime which, by delaying the process of negotiation, seeks to strengthen itself, weaken the democratic movement and discredit genuine negotiations.
10. Conference directs the NEC in consultation with the RECs and our allies to ensure the implementation of a programme of action to ensure the defeat of this strategy. Such action should aim to draw in the broad democratic movement and the masses of our people and the world anti-apartheid movement.
11. In the light of the fact that for the foreseeable future there will continue to exist counter-revolutionary elements opposed to the democratic transformation of South Africa, and recognising that there is a strategic relationship between the maintenance of peace and the possibility of a negotiated settlement, Conference resolves that the ANC should at all times act decisively to defend the people while it conducts an uninterrupted offensive to defeat the apartheid system.
12. Conference therefore resolves that all necessary measures be taken to mobilise the people of South Africa as a whole to engage in action in defence of peace. Conference further resolves that the ANC should assist all communities to build the capacity to defend themselves against counter-revolutionary violence.



13. MK should maintain its combat readiness and vigilance to enable it to intervene decisively should the anti-democratic forces block the path to a peaceful settlement.
14. Conference endorses and supports the initiative already taken by church and business organisations to convene a peace conference.
15. Conference further resolves that all necessary measures be taken to activate the international community to join the offensive against counter-revolutionary violence.
16. In keeping with the provisions contained in the Harare and UN Declarations, Conference reaffirms the crucial importance of the following steps, which must be taken consequent to the removal of ALL obstacles:
  - a. The convening of the All-Party Congress;
  - b. The installation of an Interim Government;
  - c. The election of a democratic Constituent Assembly; and
  - d. The adoption of a democratic constitution and the election of a parliament representative of all the people of South Africa.
17. Conference further resolves that these objectives should be achieved within a definite time frame, to ensure that the process of negotiations is not drawn out.
18. Conference reaffirms the positions of the ANC that all the people of our country should be involved in the process of negotiating their future. Accordingly, it reiterates our standpoint that negotiations shall not be secret.
19. Conference further directs the NEC to take immediate steps to ensure that a comprehensive and representative team comprising all chief negotiators, working groups and researchers, which shall function under the supervision and direction of the NEC, is established. The NEC shall ensure that in all such organs and structures there is adequate and fair participation of women.
20. Conference directs the NEC as a matter of extreme urgency, to take steps to ensure the creation of appropriate and effective mechanisms for consultation and communication with the membership. To realise this objective the NEC shall ensure that the necessary resources are made available.
21. Furthermore, Conference directs the NEC to take immediate steps to ensure the creation of appropriate and effective mechanisms for the involvement of the allies of the ANC in the process of negotiations.
22. In the mean time, and subject to this resolution, Conference mandates the NEC to continue with the process of talks about talks and invests it with discretionary powers, within the policies of the ANC.
23. Conference resolves that everything should be done to build maximum unity among the forces committed to the perspective of a non-racial, non-sexist democracy and to ensure that such forces act in unity throughout the process of negotiations. In this regard it resolves that determined efforts are made to establish a front of patriotic forces as soon as possible. All participants in this Patriotic Front shall retain their organisational independence and sovereignty.



## RESOLUTION ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE ANC

The 48th National Conference of the ANC, meeting in Durban, South Africa from 2-6 July, 1991:

Reaffirming that the Freedom Charter, the basic policy document of the ANC, constitutes the firm foundation for the conduct of the ANC's international relations;

Recalling the foreign policy guidelines elaborated at and adopted by the ANC National Consultative Conferences at Kabwe, 1985 and Johannesburg, 1990;

Further recalling the decisions of the ANC-sponsored World Conference against Apartheid, for a Democratic South Africa held in Arusha, Tanzania, in 1987;

Further reaffirming that both the Harare Declaration of the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa define the basis of an internationally acceptable solution of the South African conflict, and therefore outline the parameters within which the relations between South Africa and the rest of the world can be normalised;

Recognising that the conduct of the ANC's foreign policy must take into account the realities of contemporary international relations, characterised in part by:

- a) A general universal tendency towards the establishment of political systems whose features include multi-party democracy, respect for individual human rights and movement away from centrally-planned economies;
- b) a tendency towards the disappearance of the Cold War and a departure from the conduct of international relations on the basis of a bi-polar world order, dominated by the conflicting interests of the super-powers and the two military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, which latter is being phased out;

Cognisant that the resolute struggles waged in South Africa by our people, under the leadership of the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement, supported by the international community, have resulted in a shift in the balance of forces inside South Africa, a circumstance which is leading to the redefinition of the relations between South Africa and the rest of the world;

Aware that our foreign policy must be informed by the understanding that South Africa has entered a critical period in the struggle to end the apartheid system and establish a non-racial and non-sexist democracy and that the white minority regime has been obliged to accept the demand for genuine negotiations, as outlined in the Harare and UN Declarations, which, among others, envisage the following stages:

- a) The removal of obstacles to negotiations;
- b) The acceptance of interim mechanisms to oversee the period of transition from apartheid to a new democratic order;
- c) The adoption of a democratic constitution, the democratic election of a representative parliament and the establishment of a new government;

Also aware that the victories scored by the democratic forces, including the fact that the regime has been obliged to repeal the so-called legislative pillars of apartheid, have given rise to a tendency among a growing number of countries towards the premature lifting of sanctions against the apartheid regime as a reward for the measures undertaken by the De Klerk regime;

Cognisant of the fact that ways and means should be found by which to arrest the process of the



erosion of sanctions to ensure that the democratic movement does not lose this weapon, which will be required until a democratic constitution has been adopted;

Reaffirming that the main thrust of our foreign policy must be the attainment of the objectives contained in the Harare and UN Declarations, namely, mobilising the world community to assist towards the speedy eradication of apartheid as well as helping to move the process of negotiations forward towards the creation of a non-racial and non-sexist democratic South Africa;

Now resolves as follows:

#### 1. On Sanctions

The primary objective of sanctions is to end apartheid. Since, despite the measures which the regime has been compelled to take, apartheid is still in place, the international community must continue to utilise this weapon to maintain pressure on the regime to expedite forward movement to the attainment of the objective of a non-racial democracy.

Because it is essential that the sanctions weapon is not lost, the international community should be urged to listen to the view of the democratic forces and not seek to reward the apartheid regime. Sanctions must therefore be used creatively in order to arrest the erosion that has occurred, push the peace process forward and attain the objective of a democratic South Africa as speedily as possible.

Accordingly, sanctions should continue to be used as a necessary form of pressure. Specified groups of sanctions should be used to achieve the strategic objectives listed below, each one of which is critical to the process of transformation:

- a) The removal by the regime of obstacles to negotiations, as stipulated in the Harare and UN Declarations, as well as the implementation of effective measures by Pretoria to end violence;
- b) The installation of an Interim Government according to agreed transitional arrangements and modalities on the transition to a democratic order;
- c) The adoption of a democratic constitution and the holding of free and fair elections for a non-racial parliament and a representative government.

In this connection, the National Executive Committee as a matter of urgency is called upon in consultation with our allies, to determine the precise formulation of this process, acting in broad consultation internally and in coordination with the anti-apartheid forces worldwide. These forces include the OAU, the UN, as well as non-governmental anti-apartheid and solidarity forces.

#### 2. On the mobilisation of anti-apartheid forces

The anti-apartheid movement world-wide has greatly assisted in creating an extensive world constituency that has compelled governments to place the issue of apartheid on their political agendas. This constituency has also served as an important source of material assistance.

During the period of transition from apartheid to democracy, the role of the international anti-apartheid movement will continue to be highly critical in strengthening the hand of the democratic forces. In this regard, the anti-apartheid movement has the task to sensitise the international community towards its obligation of assisting the people of South Africa to effect the transformations which will result in the suppression of the crime of apartheid and the institution of a social order which will uphold the objectives contained in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations.

Furthermore, the world anti-apartheid movement should prepare adequately for an important post-apartheid role. Such a role is dictated by the enormous socio-economic inequalities that will remain



the legacy of apartheid and that cannot be addressed by a mere removal of apartheid legislation from the statute books.

Conference resolves that, within a year, a conference of the international anti-apartheid movement should be convened in South Africa to address these issues.

### 3. On the mobilisation of financial and material assistance

The international community should be mobilised to assist the ANC and its allies, the force that constitutes the main agent of political change in South Africa, by providing material and financial resources to help us realise the following objectives:

- a) To empower the anti-apartheid forces to carry out the tasks of transforming South Africa from an apartheid to a democratic society. In this context, the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, needs to be assisted in order to facilitate its future integration into a new national army that will defend the country and the democratic order, while upholding the principles of the sovereignty of nations, regional stability and international peace and security;
- b) To assist in the evolution of development policies that will address the socio-economic imbalances resulting from apartheid, through training and research;
- c) To assist post-apartheid South Africa to eliminate these imbalances and meet the expectations of the people. In this regard, the ANC must encourage such initiatives as the establishment of a South African Development Bank along similar lines to the Bank of Reconstruction and Development with regard to Eastern Europe.

### 4. On regional and international cooperation

The ANC, in pursuance of the objective of a democratic South Africa, must promote regional and international cooperation to meet the following perspectives:

- a) Further to advance the struggle for the liquidation of the apartheid system and the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial and non-sexist democracy;
- b) Actively to promote the objectives of democracy, peace, national independence, stability, development and prosperity, as well as promote Pan-African solidarity and mutually beneficial cooperation among the peoples, committed to the view that South Africa and its people will live with the rest of the world in conditions of peace, friendship and cooperation;
- c) To promote programmes directed at the protection of the environment;
- d) To help create a world free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. In this regard, to seek to promote the objectives of Africa and the Indian Ocean and nuclear-free zones and areas that would also be free of foreign military forces and bases;
- e) To work towards the admission of the democratic South Africa in such organisations as the SADCC, the PTA, the OAU, the ADB, the Lome Convention, the Non-Aligned Movement and the reestablishment of relations with the World Bank, the IMF and the United Nations.

### 5. On organisational matters

Conference resolves that the NEC should reactivate the Commission on International Affairs, bearing in mind the new situation, to ensure wider participation within the movement with regard to discussion of foreign policy questions.

Conference further resolves that all regional committees of the ANC should establish sub-committees on international affairs which would liaise with the Department of International Affairs on foreign policy questions.



**DECLARATION OF THE 48th NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS  
6 July 1991**

We, participants at this 48th National Conference of the ANC, representing a cross section of South African society: workers, students, the rural masses, intellectuals, religious communities, business-persons - men and women, young and old, black and white - hereby adopt this declaration as our collective message to our country and to the world.

1.0. This 48th National Conference of the ANC, comes at a time when our country and its people are poised to commence the last leg of our long struggle to bring an end to minority domination and usher in an era of democracy and peace. The people's hopes for freedom, social justice, democracy and peace stand higher than at any time during this century. As a result of the struggles and sacrifices of the people, the moment for the final eradication of the hated system of white domination has dawned.

2.0. We remain convinced that the only real hope for the future of our country and its people lies in the creation of a democratic society based on humane values. These values - government of the people, by the people and for the people - have been kept alive and survived in our country thanks to the sacrifices of millions of our people against the tyranny of white domination. We salute the people of South Africa, who have over many decades waged unrelenting struggle, undaunted by repression and other adversities. We pay tribute to all the patriots who have fallen in the cause of this noble struggle.

3.0. The possibility of eradicating apartheid by peaceful means has emerged through our struggles. The overwhelming majority of South Africans are convinced that the process of peaceful transition to a democratic future must proceed with all deliberate speed.

4.0. In this regard, we reaffirm our unambiguous commitment to exploring every possible avenue to resolve by peaceful means the problems of our country. It is this commitment which persuades us that a climate of peace, free of formal or informal repression, is essential for the transition from apartheid to democracy. We reiterate our full support for the OAU Harare Declaration and the Open Letter to the regime, issued by the National Executive Committee on April 9th, and call on the government to address these issues with immediate effect.

5.0. We note with alarm the continuation of vigilante violence perpetrated by agencies of the state against black communities. Even as conference continued with its deliberations, numerous attacks, including against families of conference delegates, took place. A climate of fear, doubt and uncertainty pervades our country. We refuse to submit to the temptations of despair induced by the enemies of democracy, justice and peace, who have over the past 18 months subjected our country, especially the Natal and PWV regions, to an unprecedented level of violence and bloodletting with a view to derailing the search for peace and postponing indefinitely the establishment of a democratic non-racial state.

6.0. We are no longer prepared to accept pious words of peace, while the government, its supporters and its surrogates pursue a policy of violence and death against the people and their democratic movement. The patience and forbearance of the people have been sorely tested and we demand that President De Klerk and his government demonstrate, in deeds, that they share our commitment to peace and reconciliation. We express our unqualified support for the initiative of religious and business leaders to facilitate the process towards the adoption and implementation of binding multilateral agreements aimed at ending the scourge of violence.



7.0. The removal of all the obstacles to free political activity will open the way for speedy movement on the crucial questions of the transition and the democratic future. We therefore welcome back to the ranks of active struggle the cadres of our movement and the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe who have recently been released. We note however that many other patriots, including those on Death Row, remain in apartheid dungeons. We demand their immediate and unconditional release and the granting of general amnesty to all exiles. The atmosphere necessary for free political activity and negotiations cannot emerge without these measures, the repeal of all repressive legislation and an end to the violence. The regime must honour the solemn undertakings it made in both the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Summits.

8.0. This will open the way to a period of transition which must be supervised by a sovereign and impartial body and during which the masses of the people will take an active part in the formulation of the basic law of the land. We remain committed to the call for an Interim Government and a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of one-person, one-vote on a non-racial voters' roll. We are committed to work out and communicate to the nation our detailed positions on all these issues as soon as possible. With the clearing of obstacles to normal political activity, we will strive to ensure the convening of the All Party Congress without undue delays.

9.0. We, together with the majority of South Africans are committed to the advancement of the struggle within the context of the new situation. This struggle is vital because victory has not yet been won, the danger of repression continues to loom over the people and the possibility of a derailment of the negotiations process exists. Therefore, we will continue to strengthen the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe both as a force indispensable to the defence of the people and in preparation for the creation of a truly national army of a democratic South Africa; to maintain such underground formations as are necessary; to intensify mass organisation and mobilisation and to ensure the continued engagement of the international community in the common offensive against the criminal system of apartheid.

10.0. We reiterate our adherence to the principles of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa as enshrined in the Freedom Charter. These include the guarantee of the fundamental human rights of all South Africans, reinforced by an entrenched Bill of Rights, a multi-party system of government, a representative and independent judiciary and regular elections. However, these rights will be meaningless without the fundamental restructuring of the economy to serve the interests of the people and far-reaching reforms in the areas of land distribution, housing education, health, welfare and so on.

11.0. The main goal of the struggle is the liberation of our people from the system of national oppression. The ANC remains a national liberation movement committed to the transfer of power to the people as a whole. We do not act simply in the narrow interest of the ANC as a political organisation. Our mission, hand-in-hand with other democratic forces, is to rid South Africa of the scourge of apartheid in all its manifestations.

12.0. We reaffirm our commitment to the deepening of democracy within our ranks. The preparations for this Conference and the open and free exchange of ideas in its sessions have reinforced the unity and coherence of our movement. They have also planted the seed which will germinate in the development of a democratic political culture in our society.

13.0. We reaffirm the ANC's non-sexist policy and commit ourselves to urgently to further develop mechanisms of addressing the serious challenge of women's emancipation in society at large, including our own ranks.

14.0. In order to ensure that all our people act as a united force to achieve the common goal of a democratic society, we commit ourselves to the strengthening of the tri-partite alliance of the ANC,



COSATU and the SACP. We also pledge to continue our efforts to build a broad patriotic front of all forces committed to the attainment of a united, non-racial and democratic society.

15.0. We, the delegates assembled at this 48th National Conference of the ANC call upon all our people to join hands in the struggle for democracy and peace in our land. We reach out to workers, youth and students, the rural masses, traditional chiefs, artists, sports-persons, religious communities, intellectuals, business-persons and others. We call on our white compatriots to take active part in the efforts to build a just and democratic future for all our people. We reach out in particular to the security forces and call on them to support and defend the process of peaceful transition to democracy, acting in support of the aspirations of the people.

16.0. We are inspired by the presence at our conference of 450 foreign guests, drawn from 57 countries in every continent of the world. Their presence here underscores the wide-ranging international support our cause has won. We express our profound appreciation of the contribution made by these friends of our people to the anti-apartheid struggle in the past and are equally confident that this shall continue into the future. We call on the international community to maintain its isolation of apartheid South Africa and intensify its support for the forces of democracy and peace in our country.

17.0. Our country has entered a period of decisive movement towards her redemption from years of cruel oppression and repression. We are conscious of the heavy responsibility on the African National Congress and the people in general to ensure that this takes place with the minimum of bloodshed and destruction. We pledge to march together in ever-swelling ranks to a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

**LET PEACE, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE PREVAIL!**



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
MINUTES OF THE 48TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE - 2 - 7 JULY 1991

DAY ONE - 2 JULY 1991

8h00                    Culture and Delegates seated

9h30                    NEC seated

9h45                    National Anthem

9h50                    Prayer            -        Bishop Trevor Huddleston

9h55                    Opening Remarks - Bishop Trevor Huddleston

10h10                    Walter Sisulu announced translation channels and  
introduced Comrade Zuma to welcome foreign  
delegates and guests.

10h13                    Comrade Zuma welcomed delegates - "About 6 years  
ago at Kabwe, a continent of ANC met in a National  
Consultative Conference met and resolved to hold  
the next Consultative Conference would be held in  
South Africa. Conference marks the birth of a new  
South Africa.

10h25                    Cde. Walter Sisulu introduced Comrade President  
O.R. Tambo

10h27                    Presidential Address            -        Cde. O R Tambo

(See Annexure)

11h55                    ADJOURNMENT

12h10                    Cde. Sisulu introduced the Secretary General  
Comrade A Nzo. The Secretary General report the  
presence of:

356 International Guests from 56 countries and 11  
international organisations.



Cde. S.G introduced members of the out-going NEC to the delegates.

12h20 Comrade Sisulu introduces Comrade Deputy President, N R Mandela

12h23 Comrade Mandela's report, continuing from the President's report.

(See Annexure)

13h40 Comrade H Makgothi, Assistant Secretary General makes announcements.

#### LUNCH

15h20 Comrade Sisulu introduced international guests:  
(See Annexure)

#### SUPPER

20h40 Comrade Slovo chairs  
Agenda up for motion. Moved by Southern Natal but objected by many delegates who did not have copies of the agenda.

The next was the motion on Standing Orders. Again many delegates did not have copies and this motion too was postponed.

Chair proposed that we proceed to the Secretary General's Report. It was also stated that the Presidential and Deputy President's address would be discussed at commissions. As there were not matters raised for clarification on these addresses by the delegates, the Chair proposed that the Secretary General's report be presented. This was agreed to.



21h50

Secretary General presents his report.

(See annexure)

The Secretary General's report was not finished because chair felt that delegates are then tired and proposed that it be continued the following day. This was unanimously agreed to by the delegates.

#### ADJOURNMENT

DAY TWO - 3 JULY 1991

9h00

Chair, Cde. J Slovo declares meeting opened.

Chair proposed the adoption of the agenda which was not done the previous day. Agenda was moved for adoption and seconded.

Chair proposed also the adoption of the Conference Standing Orders:

(See annexure)

After all amendments, standing orders were adopted.

Chair proposed that the commission on ANC Constitution should convene whilst plenary is in session because there are clauses that involved elections that needed to be adopted before elections could start. Proposal accepted.

Chair announced Steering Committee:

A Nzo

J Jele



S Makana

J Stuart

V Moosa

R Mompoti

, 1 person from each internal regions

1 person representing external regions

1 person from MK

A proposal of commission on MK was made and accepted by the delegates.

Chair announced electoral commission:

C Nupen

A Chaskalson

Prof. Reddy

E Mabuza

1 rep from each of the internal regions

1 person representing all external regions

1 person from MK

Chair called on the Electoral Commissioner, Charles Nupen to explain the elections' procedure to the delegates.

Commissioner announced to the delegates that nominees appearing on the <sup>9</sup>least are those that have been nominated by more than 2 regions. He also indicated to the delegates that nominations were still open until 11h00 on the 4th July 1991. Comrades that have been nominated and who do not want to stand for election should indicate their unwillingness to stand for election before 13h00 on the 4th July 1991. Candidates for the top 5



positions not elected in those respective positions, their names will automatically go to the nomination list for NEC.

'Continuation of the Secretary General's report.

11h15

Questions and clarifications on the SG's report.  
Clarity was sought on the following issues:

\* Why was there no report from the Department of Social Welfare in the Secretary General's report. Explanation given was that the Department of Social Welfare falls under the Office of the Treasurer General. Its report will be indicated in the Treasurer General's report.

\* Has the movement reconsidered the expulsion of the "Marxist Worker Tendency" group? This question was asked because some people at this Conference were seen selling a newspaper of the group.

S.G reported that the expulsion has not been reviewed, it still stands.

\* Why is there nothing said about Amandla Group? is the group still existing?

\* Why is there nothing on the report about the Walter Sisulu Pioneers?

\* Where is the report of the ANCYL?

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- \* Managing the gradual lifting of sanctions - whose statement is it? NEC or the Secretary General?

Answer: Department of International Affairs.

- \* What is the role of ANC Departments during transition, how do we relate to state departments?

Question was referred to the commission on Building Organisation.

- \* How do we deal with problems in the Bantustans?

- \* Is the demarcation of regions not going to be considered. Some regions are overstretched and there is no transport. Referred to commission on Building Organisation

- \* Is the Department of Religious Affairs still existing? Nothing is said about it in the report.

- \* Relocation of leadership inside the country leaving the entire membership outside the country. Repatriation attending to the matter.

After questions and clarifications, report was referred to the commissions for discussion.



Chair announced the Resolutions Committee:

Sankie Nkondo

Lindiwe Mabuza

'Thenjiwe Mthintso

Pallo Jordan

One person from each of the 14 internal regions.

12h05            Chair called on the Treasurer General to present his report.

#### LUNCH

14h00            Voting for the top five positions were opened.

14H25            Questions, clarifications on the Treasurer General's report:

- \* Auditor General's Report not enough. 'Need the independent Auditor's report.
- \* With regard to foreign and outside funding of ANC projects, the TG insisted that departments must submit their budgets to the Office of the Treasurer General.
- \* The TG was asked as to how heads of departments are appointed - he responded by saying that these heads are appointed upon NEC approval.



\* Clarification was sought with regard to an item in the report indicating "donations" made by the TG. He responded by stating that the movement from time to time, provided financial assistance to "needy" comrades.

\* Clarification was sought as to whether the ANCYL and the ANCWL received funding from the ANC. He confirmed this but did not provide any specific amount.

\* Clarification was sought as to the allocation of vehicles. He responded by saying that allocation depends on the need of the departments/region. The response was not accepted to some delegates. Example was made with regard to the allocation of cars to the Department of Social Welfare.

15h08

Chair called on the Commission on ANC Constitution to table its report. This report only deals with clauses that affected elections. The matter relating to the proposed amendment including the mandatory election of 30% women in the NEC was then dealt with in great detail and length. Delegates had the opportunity to make their contributions.

17h30

The matter was then put to a vote in terms of the counter motion excluding the sentence requiring the election of the 30% women in the NEC. It was during the counting of votes that many women protested and it was then announced by the ANCWL that they would be abstaining from the voting in



protest. The meeting was then adjourned so as to allow the NEC to discuss the protestations by the ANCWL.

#### ADJOURNMENT

21h35

The meeting then resumed with a proposal made by cde. Mandela on behalf of the NEC. He stated that the NEC was concerned that proceeding with the vote may cause divisions in the ranks of the movement and that it was necessary to ensure that the ANC came out of the conference stronger and not weaker. He then suggested that the three NEC's of the ANC, Women's League and the Youth League meet so as to hammer out a compromise. This should be allowed as to insist that the majority vote prevails would only lead to chaos. Whilst Conference is the highest decision making body and it's decisions would be respected, we should not play into the hands of the enemy. Cde. Mandela therefore asked the permission of conference to adjourn the meeting to allow the proposed meeting to take place. This was met with some opposition from delegates who were concerned that we should not allow this situation to create a precedent which could adversely affect the movement in future. It was further pointed out that the Standing Rules had been passed by conference and this would have to be respected.

Cde Mandela then made an impassioned plea to the opponents of his proposal and the meeting then adjourned for the day.



## ADJOURNMENT

DAY 3 - 4th July

9h20

The Chair opens the meeting and announces the sad news of the attack on one of the conference delegates, Ernest Sotsu, family.

The Chair also announces that there have been some developments since the adjournment which may assist in resolving the impasse reached. He then calls on cde G. Shope to make a statement.

Cde. Shope apologised for the disruption caused to conference and voting by the ANCWL. It would appear that events moved far too fast. The ANCWL Conference instructed the Women's League to prepare the ground for affirmative action to take place. This unfortunately never took place due to the violence and hunger strikes. Cde Shope then calls on the General Secretary of the ANCWL to move a resolution which effectively withdrew the Women's League's insistence on a requirement of the election of 30% women but continued to make and impassioned plea to delegates to practice affirmative action. The resolution was unanimously passed.

(See Annexure)

The Chair then proceeded with the Constitutional amendments.

(See Annexure)



10h40

Cde Thabo Mbeki takes over the chair from cde Slovo. Nominations for the NEC were then opened to the floor.

'(See Annexure)

Cde Mbeki then calls on the Deputy President to make an announcement. Cde Mandela then reports that cde President, Oliver Tambo, has indicated that he is not available for elections for the post of the President. He then reported that the NEC recommends to delegates that cde Tambo be appointed National Chairman of the ANC. To this extent the constitution would then have to be amended accordingly. Such amendment would entitle the National Chairman to attend all meetings of the NEC. The delegates responded unanimously in favour of the amendment with a standing ovation.

Steering Committee reported on the procedures to be adopted for Commissions and the number of Commissions Conference was to be divided into.

(See Annexure)

#### LUNCH

15H20

Commissions. (See Annexure)



DAY 4 - 5TH JULY

9H00 Commissions continued. Polling station was opened  
'for voting for the top four position.

LUNCH

15H00 Cde Mbeki chaired the Plenary to discuss the  
reports from the various commissions.

Building Organisation - resolution moved and  
adopted.

(See Annexure)

Negotiations - resolution moved and adopted.

(See Annexure)

17h00 The chair announced that the results of the  
elections for the top four positions were to be  
announced. The floor was then handed to Charles  
Nupen.

(See Annexure)

After the announcements of the results of the  
elections, conference adjourned for 20 min, giving  
time to the journalists to pack their equipment  
and leave so that the closed session could  
continue. Polling stations were then opened for  
voting for the position of the Assistant Secretary  
General.



Cde Thabo Mbeki then chaired the Plenary Session and tabled the Strategy and Tactics report and resolution for discussion.

#### ADJOURNMENT

#### SUPPER

Strategy and Tactics - report and resolution moved and adopted.

(See Annexure)

The Chair then reported that the results of the election for the position of Assistant Secretary General were ready. The Chair then handed the floor to Mr. Charles Nupen to read the results. He reported that Cde Jacob Zuma had been duly elected. He further advised that the polling station for the 50 positions on the NEC would be opened at 8h00 and urged those comrades living in the University residences to begin voting immediately at 8H00. In this regard, he explained in detail the procedure to be adopted for voting.

#### ADJOURNMENT



DAY 6 - 6TH JULY

9H00

After much delay caused by a large number delegats queing at the polling stations, the Plenary Session resumed under the Chair of Cde Thabo Mbeki.

Violence - report tabled for discussion

ADJOURNMENT

14H20

LUNCH

15H30

The report and resolution on Violence was then moved and adopted.

(See Annexure)

ADJOURNMENT

SUPPER

MK - Cde. Chris Hani took over the chair from Cde. Thabo Mbeki  
(See Annexure)



After the report of the commission and the adoption of the resolution on MK, Cde. Thabo took over the chair. Chair called on the President to make an announcement. Cde President N Mandela announced that an agreement had been reached with the regime with regard to the release of some of the political prisoners which were still in prison. He informed conference that 19 of those prisoners had been released on that same day and that those that were held in Cape Town were going to be flown to Durban and would be arriving at 21h00.

ANC Constitution - moved and adopted.  
(See Annexure)

Special Commissions - on

1) the Post Apartheid Consitution was tabled and adopted for purposes of serving as working documents.

(See Annexure)

2) Foreign Affairs was tabled and adopted.

(See Annexure)

ADJOURNMENT



The press were then allowed to enter the conference.

The Chair was then handed over to Cde N R Mandela who then introduced and welcomed the four released political prisoners.

2h40 The Chair was then handed to Mr. Charles Nupen to present the Electoral Commissions Report. The elections were reported to be free and fair. The announcement of the results of the elections for the NEC by Electoral Commissioner, Charles Nupen was then made.

(See Annexure)

4h00 Comrade J Slovo read the Conference Declaration. Conference adopted it.

5h00 Closing Address - Comrade President N.R Mandela

5h30 Closure



# PROGRAMME OF ACTION



NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

ISSUE FOR DISCUSSION: Programme of Action

DECISION REQUIRED FROM NEC: Adoption of Programme of Action

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BACKGROUND INFORMATION

National Conference decided that the NEC should prepare and adopt a programme of action based on the resolutions of the December 1990 Consultative Conference and the 48 th National Conference.

A draft Programme of Action is attached hereto marked Appendix for the consideration of the NEC.



PEACE, FREEDOM AND THE VOTE NOW !

(DRAFT PROGRAM OF ACTION)

INTRODUCTION

This Program of Action of the ANC attempts to take into account, amongst others the following considerations:

- (i) The ANC is a National Liberation Organisation at the helm of the broad South African liberation movement whose strategic goal is the transfer of power to the people. *and the creation of a non-race, non-sex, non-tribe SA.*
- (ii) A key task central to our objective is to unite and lead all Anti-apartheid forces.
- (iii) The immediate strategic objectives are: the clearing of obstacles to negotiations; and the winning over of the broadest cross-section of South Africans behind our perspective of the transition. *and compelling the SA govt. to engage in*
- (iv) To this end mobilisation of the masses around both immediate socio-economic issues, as well as political demands is imperative. Special attention needs to be paid to devising creative and innovative forms of mass action.
- (v) The democratic forces have a duty to hold and nurture the capacity to over-whelm any attempt to block or reverse the process of change.
- (vi) The strategy of the movement and the idea of the people's government must relate to the immediate concerns of the people. We therefore need the following slogans:

PEACE, FREEDOM AND THE VOTE ~~NOW~~ !

and also

JOB, HOUSES AND EDUCATION !

LAND, JOBS AND EDUCATION !



## 1. BUILDING THE ANC

- 1.1 Intensify the membership drive. EACH ONE RECRUIT ONE !
- 1.2 Consolidate existing branches of the ANC, ANCWL, and ANCYL and form new branches to cover the whole country.
- 1.3 Develop democracy and accountability at all levels of the organisation with effective communication and a vibrant political life at branch, zonal and regional level.
- 1.4 While intensifying our organisation among the working masses in the urban and rural areas we need to pay special attention to building the ANC amongst: professionals, traders, so-called coloured and Indian community and amongst whites.
- 1.5 Formulate and implement a cadre development program. The building of a strong cadreship from the mass ANC membership is a priority.

## 2. BUILD AND STRENGTHEN MASS ORGANISATIONS:

Organisations of students, youth, women, traditional leaders, professionals, sportsperson, cultural workers together with the civic movement, NECC and COSATU must be strengthened and consolidated as part of the broad liberation movement. Members of the ANC should participate in these mass structures. ANC branches and members should assist in the formation of civic and other organisations where none exist.

## 3. CONSOLIDATE AND MARSHALL THE FORCES FOR CHANGE:

- 3.1 BUILD THE TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE AT ALL LEVELS.
- 3.2 BUILD THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE ANC AND THOSE FORCES CONSTITUTING THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT.  
Apart from the SACP and COSATU, the CIVICS, NECC, SANSCO/NUSAS, COSAS, CONTRALESA, NSC, COSAW, NAMDA, SAHWCO, ADJ, UDUSA, amongst others, are the closest and most natural allies of the ANC.



We need to develop a structured relationship at national, regional and local level and provide the necessary political leadership.

3.3 BUILD THE ALLIANCE OF ALL ANTI-APARTHEID FORCES:

We need to win over the broadest possible cross-section of South African society behind our policies and particularly our negotiating positions. We should continue to reach out to other political organisations, homeland leaders, religious bodies, traditional leaders, business leaders, sports bodies etc. An important element here is the need to intensify our efforts to realise the Patriotic Conference and a Patriotic Front.

NB: Our relations with all the above categories must involve constant and regular consultation, communication and joint programs of action.

4. MASS COMMUNICATION AND IMAGE BUILDING.

- 4.1 Successful propaganda work is the lifeblood of any political organisation. Mass propaganda work must be accorded high priority.

we need a regular mass-circulation leaflet/agitational newsletter (to be translated into languages appropriate to the various parts of the country). In addition targeted leaflets should be aimed at workers, rural masses, Coloured and Indian communities, security forces, religious people and whites. Regions, zones and branches need to produce media which links our national demands and campaigns to local imperatives and day to day issues.

- 4.2 BUILD THE IMAGE OF THE ANC; The past eighteen months was marked by a highly sophisticated campaign to tarnish the image of the movement. Special attention needs to be given to the building of the ANC's image. We need to vigorously assert the humanistic and democratic value of the ANC, its unbroken record of principled struggle and its vision of the future and its commitment to peace. The ANC must project an image of inspiration and hope for all South Africans.

5. PEACE.

- 5.1 Community defence structures against the counter-revolutionary violence need to be established with urgency. Decisions of Conference and the NEC need to be implemented without delay.



- 5.2 We need to actively ensure the success of the peace initiative taken by church and business leaders with a view towards developing, inter alia, binding codes of conduct for the security forces and for political parties.
- 5.3 The true nature of the violence needs to be continually exposed locally and internationally. This necessitates systematic gathering, processing and dissemination of information.
- 5.4 The broadest possible support needs to be mobilised in the campaign to end violence. This should include imaginative events like cultural festivals at which all South Africans celebrate their humanity. Special attention needs to be given to those forces perpetrating the violence. This could take the form, for example, of marches to SADF bases. Every attempt must be made to win over those in the security forces who support peace. A hand of peace and friendship needs to be extended to those members of the security force who genuinely oppose the violence.

## 6. INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY.

- 6.1 Sanctions need to be utilised in order to achieve strategic objectives of the struggle.
- 6.2 The international anti-apartheid forces need to be revitalised. A conference of the international anti-apartheid movement should be convened in order to address the form and content of international solidarity during the present period.

## 7. SPECIFIC CAMPAIGNS.

The implementation of the campaigns enlisted below should not be separated from the implementation of other sections of this program of action:

- 7.1 Peace Campaign. ( refer to 5.4 )
- 7.2 Campaign for the removal of all obstacles - focusing on the release of political prisoners, return of exiles and repeal of security legislation.
- 7.3 Signature Campaign for a Constituent Assembly. Each branch must collect AT LEAST two thousand signatures by 1 October 1991. This campaign should be used to highlight the demand for the vote.



- 7.4 (i) National Literacy Campaign. The desire to read, write and count is a crying need among a huge section of our people. ANC branches need to run literacy programs in as many areas as it possible. 1992 should be the year in which the ANC launches a comprehensive national literacy campaign.
- (ii) The Back to School Campaign should continue in 1992.
- (iii) Campaign to occupy unoccupied schools.
- 7.5 Campaign for parity in pensions allocations. HONOUR THE AGED ! EQUAL PENSIONS FOR ALL SENIOR CITIZENS !
- 7.6 Land for the people campaign. This should include land occupation and national solidarity action with local communities.
- 7.7 Aids Campaign
- 7.8 Jobs and unemployment.
- 7.9 Campaign for adequate and affordable housing.
- 7.10 Campaign against hunger, malnutrition and poverty.
- 7.11 Important Dates.
- (a) 27 October 1991 - 20th Anniversary of the murder of Ahmed Timal.  
The day should be marked with activities to commemorate all the deaths in detention.
- (b) 16 December 1991 - 30th Anniversary of the launch of M.K. Activities marking the day to be held throughout the country.
- (c) 8 January 1992 - 80th Anniversary of the ANC. A major National and International focus week on the policies, principles and history of the ANC.



8. DEVELOP POLICY POSITION ON KEY SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES; like Health, Housing, Local Government, Education, the Economy, Land redistribution, Socio-Economic development etc. local and regional consultations on these questions should result in a national policy conference. Policy development must involve the participation of the people and should be linked to the on going struggles.

FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE !

END

JULY 1991

Basic Rs campaign

Vote  
Hous.  
Land  
Nutrit.  
Lit.  
Election  
Water

Health



# **FUTURE NEC DATES**











