

MCH91-21-2-4

Duplicate



NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

DOCUMENTS VOLUME THREE

27 - 29 AUGUST 1993

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up.*

ELECTIONS

REPORT

PART ONE & FOUR

4. NATIONAL SECURITY AND SOCIAL STABILITY

- a. democratic army.
- b. national security.
- c. community policing.
- d. securing the peace.
- e. emigration and immigration.
- f. civil service.

7.2 The Process :

- a. The draft framework was agreed upon by the tri-partite manifesto committee and was enriched at the alliance workshop to look at the reconstruction programme and manifesto on 20/21 August.
- b. We suggest that;
- c. The process of finalising the manifesto be a tri-partite led process that involves in a consultative process the MDM formations.
- d. The manifesto process should be linked to the concrete substance of our reconstruction programme.
- e. A first draft based on the above framework be prepared by 31 August
- f. The draft be workshopped at proposed regional workshops and RGC's
- g. The manifesto be further enriched at an MDM summit in November
- h. The manifesto is adopted at the Reconstruction Conference scheduled for December.
- i. The manifesto be formally launched on 8 January 1994.



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suggests that in addition to being part of the PF they will help the ANC win more votes, a third view suggests we should persuade the effective LP leaders to join the ANC and a fourth view that working with the LP would lose us votes and we should not formally draw them into the ANC led campaign. There are a number of other views. The LP itself has taken an NEC decision that it would like to fight the campaign as part of the ANC led electoral front. An NEC decision is needed to guide particularly those regions where we have a large Coloured community and a LP presence.

6. The ID issue is crucial for the participation of all eligible voters. The Home Affairs department is not adequately meeting the challenge, the 86 Act on restoration of citizenship and the TBVC areas are major blockages. We need to ask our negotiators to raise this issue as a matter of priority at the World Trade Centre to ensure some mechanisms to facilitate the issuing of ID's. A related problems is the continued pronouncement from Home Affairs about their preparations for the election, producing ballot boxes, planning logistics of voting stations etc must be commented on. We need a strong state from this NEC making it clear that an IEC will conduct the election and all preparations by Home Affairs will have to be reviewed by the IEC.

7. Manifesto framework and process

The NEC is asked to adopt the following framework and process of finalising the election manifesto.

7.1 The framework :

A. FOREWORD

The President will write the foreword to this document.

B. PREAMBLE

A commitment by the ANC led alliance to a government that is clean, accountable, transparent and free of corruption.

- iii At national level a committee of 6 to 8 people appointed by the NEC or NWC receives the nominations and produce a draft list after consulting where necessary with the regions. The committee could/should include people who are not NEC but have the knowledge and skills to make a meaningful and objective contribution to drafting the list. The list is then submitted to the Secretariat of the alliance before the next stage.
 - iv The draft list and all regional submissions are then presented to a national nominations conference of 100 people, convened by the committee. A ratio of ANC/Cosatu and SACP delegates participate. The conference reviews and modifies the list.
 - v The list is then presented by the committee to either the NEC or NWC for ratification with only changes supported by over two thirds of either structure being considered. The final list is then made public.
4. The NEC endorses the job description and criteria for serving on the List Committee and that the NEPC be given the mandate to nominate people to the committee
- 4.1. The main tasks of the List Committee would be :
- i To produce a nominations form based on the criteria for selection.
 - ii To provide all Electoral Front participants with forms and the rules for the process.
 - iii To ensure that the process of nominations is open and that all local structures are able to participate
 - iv To develop the quota for participants of different formations in each region to the nominations conference
 - v To commission independent monitors who will facilitate the nominations conferences and to develop clear procedures for inclusion of names into regional nominations.
 - vi To use the criteria and other forms of feedback to use the regional nominations and draw up a first draft list that covers both the regional and national lists.

1. POLITICAL VISION

- a. ANC is the main liberation movement.
- b. history of non-racial struggle for democracy.
- c. highlight the Freedom Charter.
- d. significance of tri-partite alliance.
- e. re-uniting and building a nation with language, religion, arts and culture, socio-economic and political reconstruction, media, sport, international relations, etc.
- f. South Africa and the region.
- g. Africa and the world.
- h. gender affirmative action.
- i. racial affirmative action.

2. CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES

- a. National constitution.
- b. regional government.
- c. local government.
- d. bill of rights.
- e. workers' rights.
- f. civil society.
- g. culture of political tolerance.
- h. participatory democracy.
- i. rights of the disabled.

3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND RECONSTRUCTION

- a. jobs and investment.
- b. education and training.
- c. economy and trade.
- d. housing.
- e. services.
- f. hostels.
- g. land and agriculture.
- h. social welfare.
- i. health.
- j. women.
- k. youth.
- l. public finance management.
- m. priorities in budget.
- n. equitable income distribution.

- 3 The NEC endorses the following considerations, criteria and process for developing the List of candidates (with final approval after the constitutional issues have been resolved)

3.1. Considerations :

- i When choosing we need to keep in mind that we will need to continue to build the ANC after the CA has been established and that we will need people to do this.
- ii We need to consider as well that we will need people to work for government as civil servants and not only serve as elected representatives.
- iii That people on the list, once elected will need to serve in the CA on a full time basis for a period.
- iv There needs to be a balance between people chosen for national and regional lists, keeping in mind that we will need strong national and regional leaders.

It is clear from the above and other considerations that the list process must take into account broader strategic questions of how we best use our human resources in what will be a long process of transforming our country.

3.2. Criteria for nominating people to the list :

The task of choosing people for the list must be informed by a set of criteria that are based on an understanding of the kind of people we need in the CA. The criteria are different from those used when electing the NEC and REC's. (If it was not then we would simply take the elected representatives and put them on the list). The kinds of criteria we agree on must be themselves guided by the need to win the election and ensure that we are able through these people to begin to fundamentally transform the country. The people we choose should be able to meet as many of the following criteria as possible;

- i Must be popular in a particular region or nationally and be respected as having leadership qualities.
- ii must be a principled person who has a proven track record of service to the people
- iii The overall list needs to be representative and therefore people chosen should be from all regions, race, class and social groups we want to represent.

- vii To facilitate the national nominations conference, again laying down quotas for participation and rules for the game and commission independent monitors to handle the nominations conference.
- viii To present the list from the national nominations conference to the NEC, which would have been the product of the whole process involving all key players.

4.2. The Kind of People Required :

- i Some of the committee should be politically senior people who will be trusted by all concerned to be fair.
- ii Other than the Officials of the alliance all other members of the committee should be people who have decided not to stand on the list.
- iii There should be some among the committee who have the experience of commissioning independent monitors, controlling what will be a fairly administrative process with lots of paperwork and have a fair deal of time to commit to the process.

4.3. The NEPC should in consultation with the alliance nominate the committee for approval by the NEC.

- 5. The idea of the electoral front has been taking shape with a number of MDM and PF parties now integrated into the campaign. In the N. Tvl the UPF and Venda serve on the regional political committee and the details of their involvement are being worked out. In the E. Tvl the INM is fully integrated into the political committee and the implementing structures. The NIC is part of the REPC in Natal.

Ximoko were observers at the N. Transvaal launch of the REPC and will be deciding soon on their involvement in the campaign.

The one PF party that needs some discussion and a decision is the Labour Party. There are a number of views about the role of the Labour Party in the Electoral Front. One view suggests that the LP is already part of the PF and should therefore become part of the electoral front, a second

i. List

Three major decisions are required in relation to the List. First we need to resolve the partners of the electoral front, particularly the issue of the Labour Party, the list process and the list committee. The details are given in section four of this report.

j. Cosatu's Campaign

Cosatu has begun work on the campaign. A national group of trainers have been trained, they have worked to train large numbers of shop stewards in all the regions and locals are now beginning to take up voter education programmes. In almost all Cosatu regions, regional election structures have been formed and these are represented on the regional election political committee. Cosatu has set up its own list committee that will finalise 30 names

to be nominated into the list process. A campaign plan based on the ANC plan has been developed with a focus on a factory floor campaign.

k. The next phase

Work for phase one is behind schedule and is likely to be complete by end of September. We hope to have a major evaluation of this work in early October. In mid October we will then have a detailed strategy discussion involving all regions and have a detailed plan for the rest of this year and phase three ready for implementation by the third week in October. This will depend on the finalisation of the Electoral Act, the setting up of the IEC and the completion of negotiations on the details of the regional boundaries and the CA. Most importantly this will depend on the finalisation of the election date.

- iv Gender balance; we should recognise that 50.2% of the electorate are women and that there is a need for affirmative action.
- v Skilled - person must be able to make an effective contribution in the CA, noting that we will need people with a range of skills; political, legal, policy, management etc. Skill should not be here equated to educational or professional qualifications.
- vi Have initiative, be energetic and hard working
- vii Be accountable to the ANC despite what organisation the person is a member of once they are on the ANC list.

3.3. Process of formulating the list :

We need to keep this process as short and as clinical as possible without undermining the participatory nature of the process. It is not a process that can best be served by a simple democratic or election process and does require for national and regional political and strategic consideration to influence the names and ordering of them on the list.

The process will be as follows :

- i Nominations are opened at local level with ANC branches, allies and PF structures with whom we decide to co-operate invited to nominate people after being briefed fully on the considerations and criteria. ANC branches and regions to consult with MDM structures on possible names. The nomination forms should provide fairly detailed motivations.
- ii Nominations are taken to a regional nominations conference. Regions have the task of nominating 200 names onto the national list and a proportion of the regional list based on the percentage of the electorate in that region. eg. PWV 23% therefore at least 46 names. (They should

choose at least 51 so there is some room for negotiations). The conference should have 300, 200 and 150 delegates again related to size of region, with a ratio of ANC/Cosatu and SACP delegates.

The regional nominations conference is guided by the REC as it reviews all the names, reduces the number of nominations before voting. All names nominated and eventually chosen are sent to national level.

The key problem remains the extent to which branches are setting up local structures and beginning a door to door campaign. This is highlighted in our regional visit report.

The other major blockage to our work on the ground is the absence of free political activity in Bop and Kwazulu.

b. Media

We have issued 2 million pamphlets and a series of posters from head office. We have produced our first audio cassette which included our elections song. Two mobile video units are operational in N. Transvaal and Border and we hope to put more into the field next month. A number of videos are under production.

c. Fundraising

We have produced a fundraising package with video, cassette, brochure and proposal based on a personal appeal from the President which will be used to raise funds here and abroad. A detailed budget with our monthly needs has been finalised with a total requirement of R186 million. The fundraising committee and unit are functional but have not been very successful. A number of international fundraising visits and campaigns have begun and we are beginning to receive some money.

d. Research

We have completed a national survey and are now involved in doing two major projects; the first is a set of focus group studies to get to better understand our Coloured community and PAC supporters while the second is a huge national survey of 8000 interviews which will give us very useful information with which to develop our strategy during October. Some of the research we have analysed is summarised in section three of this report.

e. Security

We have worked with NAT to set up a training programme to train 30 people from each region in basic security skills. Regions have identified people and training begins at the end of August.

SECTION FOUR : DECISIONS NEEDED FROM THE NEC

1. The NEC hereby appoints the following people to the National Elections Political Committee; the structure that will be delegated to provide ongoing political direction to the Election Campaign and will report to the NWC and NEC;

Nelson Mandela
Cyril Ramaphosa
Jay Naidoo
Sam Shilowa
Popo Molefe
Mavivi Manzini
Pallo Jordan
Cheryl Carolus
Peter Mokaba
Rapu Molekane
Jeremy Cronin
Noziviwe Maphisa

2. The NEC hereby appoints the following people to serve on the Elections Strategy Group which will provide ongoing analysis and recommendation to the Political Committee and Co-ordinating Team;

Pallo Jordan
Pappie Kganare
Mac Maharaj
Thabo Mbeki
Frene Ginwala
Popo Molefe
Essop Pahad
Febe Potgieter
Joel Neshitendze
Gill Marcus
Ronnie Kasrils
Joe Slovo
Chris Dlamini
Jessie Duarte
Terror Lekota
Nomvula Mokanyane
Marcel Golding
A person from NAT

f. Information and management data bases

We have set up two computer data bases. The first is an information data base which will allow us to store all kinds of information which we will need during the campaign, like information on our policies, biographies of key people, violence, etc. This system will allow us to retrieve information very quickly.

The second data base stores information on where the 22.5 million voters are, which branch and region covers that area and allows us to feed in branch reports in a way which allows us to monitor our progress in an accurate way. This will depend on the information branches submit about their work. To make this system effective we have set up modem links with our regions which allow for quick, safe and effective communication.

g. Structures

We have now established a full co-ordinating team that will implement the campaign. It includes a secretariat of five people, eight task teams and representatives from the leagues and allies. It has now been functional for a month and is working well to co-ordinate the work of many departments.

We need this NEC meeting to approve the names for the National Elections Political Committee which will make daily political decisions during the height of the campaign and a Strategy Group which will review reports from the ground, research and other information and make recommendations to the political committee.

h. Platform/Manifesto Committee

We have established a committee with the leagues and allies to draft a manifesto. Work has begun and a first draft will be sent to all structures early in September. We hope that feedback from all structures will then be incorporated into a final draft by an extended committee of the alliance for adoption at the reconstruction conference in December. In section four of the report we have asked the NEC to endorse the framework and process of finalising the manifesto.

Report from the Elections Commission to the NEC : August 1993

This report is written in four sections:

1. Progress report on the campaign in general
2. Report of visits to 11 regions to assess implementation of phase one of the national programme adopted at the last NEC.
3. A summary of political opinion surveys to get a sense for the broad trends.
4. Issues which require NEC decisions to take the campaign forward.

Section Two and Three are contained in a separate document because they are both confidential documents which will need to be returned before the end of the meeting.

SECTION ONE : PROGRESS REPORT

a. Organisational work

The main results of the organisational work are contained in the attached reports from regional visits. The summary is that all 14 regions have now created regional election political committees involving the leagues, allies, SANCO and in some cases PF parties are included. Thirteen regions have set up the core of the co-ordinating team which will implement the campaign. We have opened 14 sub-regional offices with another 14 expected to be opened by the end of the month. We have completed two phases of training which includes almost seven people per branch and this has involved a total of 10 700 people being trained using our campaign, voter education and door to door manual.

The ID campaign has taken off in most regions but we are confronted by major legal and bureaucratic problems which mean that only a small number of the approximately four and a half million people who need ID's are able to apply. This is compounded by allegation that some regional Home Affairs offices have burnt ID's returned from Pretoria among other similar allegations. In the last section of the report we suggest a way forward on this issue.