

MCH211-21-6-1



EXTENDED

NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

3 FEBRUARY 1993

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African National Congress

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INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

19 - 21 February 1993

Johannesburg, South Africa

PREPARATORY COMMITTEE

TO : Comrade Cyril Ramaphosa
Secretary General

c.c. The President
The Deputy President
The National Chairman
The Treasurer General
The Deputy Secretary General

FROM : Mendi Msimang
Conference Coordinator

DATE : 29 January, 1993

SUBJECT: International Solidarity Conference.

We are pleased to send you herewith copies of the Press Release together with the Agenda and Programme, in the above matter.

Comrade Secretary General, I am unable to do a full report just yet on the conference because of multiple pressures upon me. Nevertheless, I do promise to let you have this sometime early next week.

Yours in struggle.

M. Msimang

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The People Shall Govern!

African National Congress

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

PRESS RELEASE.

The negotiations process in South Africa is back on track and the vast majority of South African people are eagerly awaiting its successful conclusion.

The holding, in the foreseeable future, of democratic elections for a Constituent Assembly will close a sad chapter in our history and will open up a new era of peace, stability and social progress.

For many years, the issue of apartheid has dominated the attention of the world. The Anti-apartheid struggle gave rise to an unprecedented Movement of Solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. Sanctions became an important element in our overall strategy and undoubtedly played a crucial role in bringing about an end to apartheid.

It is therefore fitting that as we enter one of the most decisive stages in the history of our Nation, we meet with representatives of the International Solidarity Movement not only jointly to work out initiatives that will ensure that democratic foundations are firmly established in this year, but will also enable us to take measures that will help us consolidate and defend the new democracy.

Issues such as sanctions, investments, trade, development, skills training and aid are all important matters that can affect prospects for growth and development in a democratic South Africa.

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The People Shall Govern !

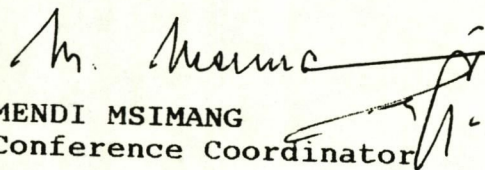
In order to mobilise maximum understanding and support for a democratic South Africa, the ANC is organising a major solidarity conference in Johannesburg from 19-21 February, 1993 under the theme - FROM APARTHEID TO PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT. (See programme attached).

Some 500 international and national delegates representing solidarity groups, political parties, religious organisations, trade unions, cultural and sporting organisations and business groups are expected to attend. Outstanding personalities such as the Under Secretary for Public Affairs at the United Nations will, on behalf of the UN Secretary General grace the conference. World Boxing champion, Riddick Bowe and Chess Grandmaster, Anatoly Karpov, will not only attend the conference but will also conduct clinics in their respective sporting codes for the deprived masses of our people.

This international conference will be one of the most representative gatherings of people ever assembled in South Africa. The coming together of so many distinguished delegates reflects the continuing commitment of the international community to the issues confronting the people of South Africa.

The ANC is confident that conference will help to consolidate the relations between the people of South Africa and peoples throughout the world. It will also lay the basis for all-round commitment and support to a future democratic South Africa.

The ANC and the vast majority of the South African people look forward to welcoming all the delegates to this historic conference.



MENDI MSIMANG
Conference Coordinator

29th January, 1993.

African National Congress



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

AGENDA AND PROGRAMME

FEBRUARY 19, 1993

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

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The People Shall Govern !

- 15h30 - 16h00 *Tea*
- 16h00 - 16h30 **Second Plenary - Elections Campaign: Popo Molefe**
- 16h30 - 18h30 Discussions
- 18h45 - 20h00 *Dinner*
- 20h15 *Transport to Hotels*

FEBRUARY 20, 1993

- 09h00 - 09h45 **Third Plenary - Obstacles to Democratic Transition: Sydney Mafumadi**
- **Violence**
 - **Creation of climate for free political activity**
- 09h45 - 11h00 Discussions
- 11h00 - 11h30 *Tea*
- 11h30 - 12h00 **Fourth Plenary - Building a New South Africa: Cheryl Carolus, Tito Mboweni and Shaheed Raji**
- **Arts and Culture**
 - **Education: * Training**
 - * **Technical Education**
 - **Health**
 - **Human Rights**
 - **Investments: * Business**
 - * **Finance**
 - * **Job Creation and labour**
 - **Land and the Environment**
 - **Local Government and Housing**

- Women
- Youth and the Protection of the Child

12h00 - 13h00 **Discussions**

13h00 - 14h30 *Lunch*

14h45 - 16h00 **Sectoral Discussions: Practical Programmes**

16h00 - 16h30 *Tea*

16h30 - 18h00 **Sectoral Discussions (Continued)**

18h30 - 19h30 *Dinner*

20h00 - 22h00 **Concert**

22h15 - 22h45 **Guests meet Artists**

23h00 *Transport to Hotels*

FEBRUARY 21, 1993

09h00 - 09h30 **Fifth Plenary - Foreign Relations**
 Democratic South Africa: Aziz Pahad

09h30 - 10h30 **Discussions**

10h30 - 11h00 *Tea*

11h00 - 12h30 **Sixth Plenary - Programme of Action**

12h30 - 13h30 *Lunch*

13h00 - 14h30 **Adoption of Declaration**
 Closure
 National Anthem

14h45 -	Departure
15h00 - 16h00	Ecumenical Service
16h30	<i>Transport to Hotels/Airport</i>

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African National Congress



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To: Secretary General's Office
National Working Committee

From: Ronnie Kasrils Campaigns

Date: 25 January 1993

Subject Matter

Two documents from Campaigns Section for circulation to NWC and NEC.

1. Campaigns Committee Annual Report
Overview of 1992 and Plans for 1993"
2. "ANC Door-to- Door Campaign"

Decision Required from NWC

1. To circulate both documents to NEC
2. Adoption of Door-to -Door Campaign
3. Communication links with REC's to be improved via SGO.
REC's to be informed of decision
4. Campaigns budget and resources for regions must be decided on.

Ronnie Kasrils



Organising Department

Campaigns Section

ANC DOOR-TO-DOOR CAMPAIGN

1. The Need for Door-to-Door Activity:

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

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

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

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

Door-to-door activity is the first step of a process. It needs to be followed-up by repeated visits for further discussions and should pave

the way for house meetings at which several people from the street are addressed by our speakers. This provides the conditions for dynamic street or block structures of ANC supporters and members. It is on this basis that effective neighborhood campaigns can be launched to link up with local, regional and national campaigns.

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

2. Implementation:

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

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

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

Follow-up work can entail visits from more senior comrades and ultimately from leadership figures. For instance at a certain stage members of the Regional Executive and National Executive Committees can be utilised to appear on the scene impact especially during an election campaign. But this will only be successful as a climax to the grass roots canvassing by cadres on the ground.

3. Follow-up:

The Campaigns Section is aiming to table this campaign idea to the NEC and all Regions. The bare-bones have been outlined above. Such a campaign requires thorough discussion and planning. It should serve the purpose of both building the ANC as a mass-based organisation and laying the foundations for our election programme. Such a campaign should be launched by March, 1993.

Ronnie Kasrils

**National Campaigns Head
Johannesburg**

22 January, 1993

OVERVIEW OF 1992

OBJECTIVES; PROBLEMS; PLANS FOR 1993

1. OVERVIEW:

This past year saw mass action on an unprecedented scale around our Campaign for Peace & Democracy. Such a massive involvement of our people had not been seen since the release of comrade Mandela.

The success of the People's Parliament in Cape Town on January 24th which mobilised 100,000 supporters and established an election-style mobilisation involving a team of NEC members set a high standard of activity for the year. Creative new forms of action were developed at the regional and local levels. These included People's Assemblies, mock trials, sit-ins, motor blockades and city occupations etc. as a way of projecting our key demands around Interim Government, Constituent Assembly, Free Political Activity, Freedom for Political Prisoners, Peace and Economic Issues.

Whilst considerable crowds attended rallies and events around Budget Day (March 18); Sharpeville Day (March 21); and May Day it was during the period June-August that our campaign of "Unprecedented Rolling Mass Action" really got under way.

Phase 1 (Preparatory Phase) of this campaign involved 250,000 people in rallies and demonstrations throughout the country around June 16 and 26 plus another 250,000 in the Boipatong funeral and Vaal triangle stay-away.

Phase 2 (coordinating regional activities) took place during July and was part of a build-up which involved half-a-million people with strong emphasis on the rural areas and trade union actions in city centres (MWASA & NEHAWU strikes and NUMSA, SARWU & PPPAWU marches).

Phase 3 (Week of Action 3-9 August) involved the two-day stay-away (3-4 August) and mass action on a scale possibly never seen before in

our history. With over 3 million workers participating in the successful two day stay-away an estimated 1,500,000 people participated in various actions during the remaining part of the week in both urban and rural areas.

Phase 4 was dependent on "keeping the tap open" but this was clearly affected by "The Record of Understanding" which placed negotiations back on track and which succeeded in the release of most (but not all) political prisoners.

Phase 4, however, was to be focused particularly on the Free Political Activity Campaign in the Bantustans and elsewhere. Whilst the Bisho March of September 7th mobilised up to 100,000 determined supporters the massacre that took place was a heavy blow to sustain - although the effects (which have still not been thoroughly evaluated) have not demoralised our people nor strengthened Gqozo.

Phase 4, which was meant to be open-ended activity, obviously needs to be reconsidered and strengthened. Initiatives in the last quarter of the year to step-up activities in Boputatswana and Kwa Zulu failed to materialise for various reasons ranging from lack of preparation on the ground to HQ's insistence that loss of life should be avoided. It is agreed that the Campaign for Peace & Democracy (including Free Political Activity; Open Media; End to Economic Restructuring etc) must continue and reinforce our key negotiation demands as well as lay the basis for our 1993 Election Campaign.

What finally needs to be noted in this Overview of 1992 is that our mass action campaigns made a significant contribution to pressurising the Government to concede to our key negotiation demands; activated our regions and branches; strengthened the structures of the Tripartite Alliance; involved millions of our people in the process and helped to raise their fighting spirit and expectations.

2. OBJECTIVES & IMPLEMENTATION:

2.1 The objectives of Campaigns Section:

- * To identify the issues around which we should campaign;

- * To develop structures of ANC and the Alliance to wage our campaigns;
- * To co-ordinate national campaigns
- * To utilise campaigns in such a way as to mobilise the support of our people for the ANC at local, regional and national levels;
- * To utilise campaigns in such a way as to build a powerful and effective ANC;
- * To develop campaigns that will help bring the ANC to power;
- * To develop campaigns in 1993 that will help the ANC win the coming election and contribute to the empowerment of our people;

2.2 Documentation:

In order to achieve these objectives the Campaigns Section formulated key Programmes of Action in the course of 1992. The most important document in this regard was the "Alliance Programme of Action" adopted at the Alliance Summit of 13 May, 1992 and the ANC's Policy Conference of May 28-31. This document served as the basis for our "Rolling Mass Action" programme.

A document "Campaign for Peace & Democracy - Challenges in the New Phase" dated 10th December, 1992 has been drawn-up and circulated to SGO, OD and Secretaries & Campaigns Officers of all Regions for discussion purposes.

2.3 Implementation Structures:

In pursuit of the implementation of our decisions the following structures were developed in the course of 1992:

1. ANC Campaigns Section (at HQ): comprises the Head of Campaigns; a National Co-ordinator; an Assistant Co-ordinator; Typist-receptionist;
2. ANC National Campaigns Forum: comprises ANC Regional campaigns officers (secretaries if available); representatives from DIP, DPE, OD,

Mass Communications, Womens' & Youth Leagues;

Eight planning meetings were held in 1992;

3. Alliance Campaigns Co-ordinating Committee: consists of National Campaigns representatives of ANC, Cosatu, SACP, ANC Women & Youth Leagues' DPE, DIP, Mass Communications;

Thirty meetings were held of this key planning structure in the course of 1992.

4. Alliance Campaigns Forum: Reps from ANC, COSATU, SACP National HQ's; Regional reps of ANC, COSATU, SACP; ANC Womens' and Youth League; National reps of POPCRU, COSAS, SASCO, NECC, SADTU & CIVIC;

Seven meetings were held in 1992 attended by up to 80 comrades;

5. Bop Co-ordinating Committee: was set-up in September and comprises OD comrades; reps from the four ANC Regions linked to BOP; Mafef; Youth & Womens' League; reps from COSATU & SACP; SASCO;

Seven meetings were held between September and December;

6. VAT Co-ordinating Committee: this structure is represented by more than 100 organisations; ANC Campaigns Section serves on the Steering Committee;

16 meetings were held in the course of the year;

7. Free Political Prisoners Committee: consisted of over a dozen human rights and religious groups; chaired by Campaigns Head;

Met six times during first half of year; has been informally wound-up with release of most of remaining political prisoners;

8. CASMAC (Committee Against State Murder & Corruption):

Created on initiative of ANC Campaigns Section; comprises sixty human rights and civic groups; Cde Cheryl Caroulis is rep on steering committee;

Two summit meetings were held in 1992; and 15 meetings of steering committee;

2.4 Fieldwork:

Work through implementation structures has been augmented by fieldwork in the regions and direct participation of the head and members of the Campaigns Section in rallies and mass action at the grass roots level. There has been a tremendous demand from the regions and branches for this participation. The national co-ordinator and assistant co-ordinator have provided invaluable assistance to Head of Campaigns in covering the country and being acquainted with conditions on the ground.

3. PROBLEMS:

- * Failure of OD to fully integrate with Campaigns tasks;
- * Lack of effective communication with SGO;
- * Lack of effective communication with Regional Secretaries and REC's;
- * REC's and Branches often only become involved in campaigns when finances are made available; their ability to respond to campaign requirements and requests often stifled by bureacuratic priorities;
- * Campaigns Officers at Regional level not receiving proper attention by REC's which seriously limits their effectiveness; often the tasks of Campaigns Officer not handled by REC comrade;
- * Lack of resources; failure of TGO to respond to Campaigns Section Budget of March, 1992; confusion over funding of Regional campaigns activities has led to serious demoralisation; apart from funds provided as a result of the President's direct intervention - eg. Cape Town People's Parliament & Pretoria march to Union Buildings in August there was virtually no other funding forthcoming!

- * Ambiguity at leadership level concerning role of mass action in the negotiation process; what has happened to our decision of "keeping the tap open" taken at Policy Conference of ANC in May, 1992? At meetings of the NWC such questions have been sharply raised and debated and the document "Campaign for Peace & Democracy - Challenges in the New Phase" has been drafted to facilitate the formulation of our approach.
- * The weaknesses at branch level is a key reason why our campaigning has not reached millions more of our people and why our structures generally only respond to national initiatives. To overcome this problem Campaigns must dynamically integrate with the building of the ANC. Whilst a whole range of tasks are required to overcome our organisational weaknesses we need to prioritise Door-to-Door work whereby our activists will come into contact with the people on the ground and be able to identify and take-up the burning issues of the day.

4. PLANS:

4.1: At present these will be determined by our document: "Campaign for Peace & Democracy - Challenges in the New Phase" circulated on 10 december. But whatever campaigns we agree to must be reinforced by widespread Door-to-Door activity.

The document analyses the situation that has developed around the resumption of negotiations and the changed situation; it analyses weaknesses in our approach and recommends ways of building campaigns and developing an integrated approach.

It identifies the following campaign issues:

- * demand for IG and CA;
- * free political activity; with emphasis on BOP, Kwa Zulu, Ciskei; SABC; the Peace effort;
- * socio-economic issues; the Asinamali campaign;
- * celebration of our victories eg. political prisoners; international

monitoring etc;

- * implementation of record of understanding;
- * preparation for the elections;
- * building of broad coalitions; engaging business and religious forces around Casmac initiative on corruption and covert forces;
- * campaign to prevent prolonged negotiations;

4.2: TASKS:

1. Implementation of above POA;
2. The need to develop close working links with Negotiations and Election Commissions;
3. Strengthening of ANC and Alliance structures at National, Regional & Local levels;
4. Schedule for Campaigns meetings and Forums to be completed; the first ANC National Campaigns Forum is scheduled for 12th February;
5. Schedule for work in the Regions to be completed;
6. Communication link with REC's to be sorted out with SG to enable campaigns structures to operate much more effectively this year;
7. The problem of campaigns budget and resources must be sorted out;
8. The elaboration of a massive Door-to-Door campaign must be worked out in order to build the ANC and lay the basis for the elections.

Ronnie Kasrils 19.01.93

SUBJECT MATTER: Peace Desk Report To The National Working Committee

DECISIONS REQUIRED FROM NEC:

- a. That we form a Bilateral Working Party with the Bop administration to continue discussions on free political activity in Bophutatswana
- b. That the STATEMENT OF INTENT be adopted as a working document to guide our members in the bilateral working party.
- c. That the NWC endorses the Border region's acceptance of the compromise as stated in the report. Further that given the Ciskei Military Council's rejection of the proposed compromise and the Military Council's decision to unilaterally establish a separate Dispute Resolution Committee, the ANC and its allies will not participate in the activities of such a committee.
- d. That the South African Government be approached at the highest level and be asked to bring Gqozo into line.
- e. That the United Nations Secretary General be informed about this so that the weight of the international community can be brought to bear on the South African Government.
- f. That the NWC stand by the decision of the last meeting of the NEC re: the necessity of the ANC/IFP meeting and the need for the 4 regions to participate in the preparatory process.
- g. That the NWC insist that Natal Midlands convene a special RGC meeting to enable our members in the ANC/IFP preparatory committee to discuss the NEC decision as well as the process with as broad as possible a number of people from those regions.
- h. That the NWC seek an explanation from the N. Natal REC as to how their Chairperson and Administrator came to be part of a delegation which sought to persuade the President to set the NEC decision aside hardly a week after their RGC meeting which took a different decision. Further to find out why the N. Natal

Chairperson did not attend the ANC/IFP preparatory meeting after his region decided he should.

PEACE DESK REPORT TO THE NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

Introduction:

This report does not purport to be as comprehensive as the one (still to be written), envisaged by the NEC. We are still in the process of consulting with the regions in order to collect sufficient data not only to be in a position to compile a comprehensive report but also to be in a position to put forward proposals on how to put the peace process on a better footing.

This report will therefore be confined to three projects which were undertaken with a view to strengthen the peace process in three troublesome Bantustans, namely, Bophutatswana, Ciskei and Kwazulu. It goes without saying that if a solution is found to the problems in these three Bantustans, such a solution will have a positive ramification on the peace process as a whole.

a. Bophutatswana

Following the announcement that the ANC led alliance was going to sue for a space for free political activity in Bophutatswana by way of staging a protest march to Mmabatho, the Bop administration vowed that it was going to use force to put the march down. The National Peace Secretariat decided to initiate talks between the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance and the Bop administration in order to find an amicable solution. The NPS initiative resulted in a meeting of the ANC led alliance and the Bop administration which took place on the 20th November 1992 at Kwa Maritane.

The meeting adopted a STATEMENT OF INTENT which states, inter alia, that:

- "Both parties agree that there should be freedom of expression and association with peaceful intent"
- "it is agreed that the parties will explore avenues such as the Peace Accord, or any other suitable option which may become available, as a means through which to establish

the basis of constructing a constructive and peaceful relationship"

- "It is agreed that a bilateral working party is to be created to take further these discussions"

* See Annexure: A: STATEMENT OF INTENT
B: PRESS STATEMENT

b. Ciskei

Sometimes last year, the Ciskei military council and its "political party" the African Democratic Movement, withdrew from the Border/Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee. They alleged that the rest of the parties who are participating in that RDRC were treating the forum as a "kangaroo court where the Ciskei administration was being tried for all sorts of alleged contravention of the National Peace Accord and/or acts of brutalities".

The National Peace Secretariat facilitated meetings involving the ANC led alliance and the Ciskei military council in order to resolve the differences between the parties and to urge the military council to rejoin the Border/Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee. In one of those meetings, the military council put forward the following proposals:

- That a separate "National" dispute resolution committee for the Ciskei be established.
- That such a DRC should **not** be structurally linked to the present Border/Ciskei RDRC.
- That membership of such a "Ciskei National" Dispute Resolution Committee be limited to Ciskei residents only

The above listed proposals were rejected by all the parties in the Border/Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolutions Committee, including the National Party and the Democratic Party. The compromise which was worked out is as follows:

- A separate dispute resolution committee be established for the Ciskei area. Such dispute resolution committee will deal with

problems in the Ciskei and co-ordinate the activities of all other local dispute resolution committees within the Ciskei.

- On a similar basis, a committee will be established for the Border area to deal with problems relating to the Border area and to co-ordinate the activities of all other local dispute resolution committees within the Border area.
- Both these committees will link into a regional dispute resolution committee (name to be determined). Such Regional Dispute Resolution Committee will link into the National Peace Secretariat.
- The membership of the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee will be as set out in clause 7.4.4. of the National Peace Accord. As such, it will coincide with the membership of the presently existing Border/Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee. In addition, the Chairpersons and vice-Chairpersons of both the Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee and the Border Dispute Resolution Committee will also be members of the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee.

The compromise as set out above was sent to the parties for approval. The Border ANC Regional Executive Committee approved the proposal, albeit with reservations. The Ciskei military council rejected the proposal and they indicated that they will go ahead unilaterally to establish a separate dispute resolution committee for the Ciskei: such a dispute resolution committee will operate along the line proposed by them above. [See "Annexure C"].

c. Kwazulu

Following the decision of our last NEC meeting, a committee was appointed to start the process of preparing for a bilateral meeting between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Such a committee was to be made up of four people from ANC Headquarters plus two people from each of the following regions: S. Natal, N. Natal, Natal Midlands and PWV.

To date, three preparatory meetings were held with the IFP. They took place on the 9th December 1992, 29th December, 1992 and the 15th January 1993.

The first meeting (9.12.92) took place without representation of any of the Natal regions on our delegation. We were informed that the tripartite alliance in the Natal Province did not approve the ANC NEC decision to hold a bilateral meeting with the IFP. This matter was subsequently addressed in a meeting involving members of the NWC sub-committee on Natal, the three Natal regions of the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP, and the PWV ANC.

S. Natal and PWV are participating fully in the preparatory process. In one of the meetings of the NWC sub-committee on Natal and the four regions, it was agreed that the ANC in N. Natal and Natal Midlands will convene special Regional General Council meetings to seek mandates to participate in the process. such a meeting was held in Northern Natal and after long deliberations, the matter was put to a vote. The voting was to determine whether the region was for or against being represented in the Preparatory Committee. The outcome of the vote was as follows:

48 voted "for"
3 voted "against"
2 abstained.

The RGC decided that the Regional Chairperson and the Regional Secretary must join the preparatory committee. Only the Regional Secretary attended the last meeting.

Subsequent to this, the Midlands REC sent a delegation to HQ to meet the President and to say inter alia, that they do not approve the NEC decision (namely that there should be a bilateral meeting between the ANC and the IFP). Accordingly, they feel that the matter must be reviewed at the forthcoming NEC meeting. To our surprise, the Regional Chairperson and Regional Administrator of N. Natal were part of the delegation which came to see the President.

It must also be noted that the Midlands comrades have to date (notwithstanding the importance and urgency involved), not convened a special meeting of the Regional General Council as agreed. [See "Annexure D"].

January 26, 1993

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STATEMENT OF INTENT

1. Whereas the parties acknowledge the realities of the existence of both the Bophuthatswana Government and the ANC, COSATU and SACP Alliance.
2. Both parties agree that there should be freedom of expression and association with peaceful intent.
3. An agreed future dispensation, such as is to be negotiated in multi-party forums, will finally resolve the broad differences that currently exist.

It is agreed that:

1. Finding common ground to construct the basis of a constructive and peaceful co-existence is of paramount importance to both parties.
2. The parties will explore avenues such as the Peace Accord, or any other suitable option which may become available, as a means through which to establish the basis of such a constructive and peaceful relationship.
3. A bilateral working party is to be created to take further these discussions.

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19921123

PRESS STATEMENT

Delegations representing the ANC/COSATU/SACP Alliance and the Bophuthatswana Government met on 20 November 1992 under the auspices of the National Peace Secretariat, at Kwa Maritane to discuss those issues which have led to misunderstanding and difference of perception.

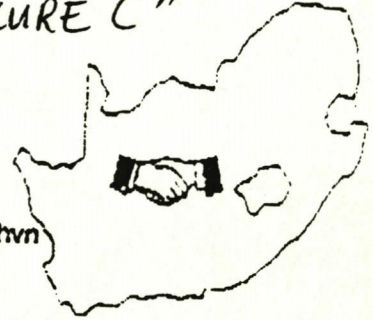
Both delegations joined in a sincere endeavour to find a resolution of the difficult issues facing them. Both delegations accepted their respective responsibilities to play their full roles in achieving the objective of peace and stability.

To this end the delegations have drafted a brief statement of intent which is to be presented to their respective principals for consideration and possible further action.

"ANNEXURE C" P.2

Private Bag X858
PRETORIA
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Cur Ref: Dr A Gildenhuys/ANG1722/hvm

Your Ref:

Date: 9 December 1992

The Chairman
Border/Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee
FOR ATTENTION : BISHOP T DE BRUYN
PER FAX NO : (0431) 420306

and to

Ciskei Government Bisho
FOR ATTENTION : COL S S PITA (Brig M Muller)
PER FAX NO : (0401) 91189

and to

Mr M B Webb
Legal Advisor to the Ciskei Government, Bisho
PER FAX NO : (0401) 92651

and to

The National Peace Committee, Pretoria
FOR ATTENTION : MR JOHN HALL
PER FAX NO : (012) 44 2200

and to

The ANC Alliance
Border Region, East London
FOR ATTENTION : MR ANDREW HENDRICKS
PER FAX NO : (0431) 439736

FAX	TO: <u>Levi Kungu</u>
FAX NO: <u>0431 439736</u>	PAGE: <u>1</u> OF: <u>3</u>
ATTENTION OF: _____	
FROM: <u>Dr A Gildenhuys</u>	DATE: <u>11/12/92</u>
COMPANY: _____	
FAX NO: <u>(012) 320 4633</u>	Post-it Note from GM

Dear Sirs

re: **THE REQUEST BY THE CISKEI GOVERNMENT FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CISKEI DISPUTE RESOLUTION COMMITTEE**

The Ciskei Government requested the National Peace Secretariat to establish a dispute resolution committee for the Ciskei which will operate directly under the National Peace Secretariat, and which will not be structurally linked to the present Border/Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee. The Ciskei Government further requested that membership of a future Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee, and all Local Dispute Resolution Committees falling under it, be limited to Ciskei residents only.

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The National Peace Secretariat took cognisance of the following :

- a) any new structure or structures must be established within the confines of the National Peace Accord;
- b) the structures under the National Peace Accord operates on a consensus basis;
- c) dispute resolution committees are intended to bring conflicting parties together to work towards the solution of disputes existing between them; a structure which does not achieve this purpose, is not useful;
- d) notwithstanding the status of the Ciskei, the Border area and the Ciskei area are economically intertwined; and
- e) a need does exist to establish a Dispute Resolution Committee for the Ciskei area.

When the Border/Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee was established, the Border area as well as the Ciskei area was included within its area of jurisdiction. The excise of the Ciskei from the area of jurisdiction of the Border/Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee and the establishment of a separate dispute resolution committee for the Ciskei, linking directly to the Secretariat, will require unanimity. During our meeting on 5 December 1992 the ANC delegation stated that it would not support such a move, and the chairperson of the Border/Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee also expressed misgivings. The establishment of a dispute resolution committee for the Ciskei in which not all interest groups (including the ANC Alliance) participate will serve no useful purpose.

In the light of the principles set out above, the National Peace Secretariat does not see its way clear to establish a separate dispute resolution committee for the Ciskei, which links directly to the National Peace Secretariat and which is not organisationally linked under a regional dispute resolution committee for the larger Border/Ciskei area.

The National Peace Secretariat is prepared to facilitate the creation and/or rearrangement of the peace structures within the Border/Ciskei region on the following basis :

- 1 A separate dispute resolution committee be established for the Ciskei area. Such dispute resolution committee will deal with problems in the Ciskei and co-ordinate the activities of all other local dispute resolution committees within the Ciskei;



- 2 On a similar basis, a committee will be established for the Border area to deal with problems relating to the Border area and to co-ordinate the activities of all other local dispute resolution committees within the Border area:
- 3 Both these Committees will link into a regional dispute resolution committee (the name to be determined). Such Regional Dispute Resolution Committee will link into the National Peace Secretariat.
- 4 The membership of the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee will be as set out in 7.4.4 of the National Peace Accord. As such, it will coincide with the membership of the presently existing Border/Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee. In addition, the chairpersons and vice-chairpersons of both the Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee and the Border Dispute Resolution Committee will also be members of the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee.

Indications given at our meeting on 5 December 1992 suggests that such restructuring will probably receive support from the relevant parties in the region. The National Peace Secretariat strongly urges the Ciskei to give serious consideration to such a restructuring.

I should mention that the Peace Accord restricts membership of dispute resolution committees to organisations relevant in the area. There is no restriction that a relevant organisation may only be represented on a dispute resolution committee by a member resident in that area. It will not be possible for the National Peace Secretariat to unilaterally impose such a restriction.

If the Ciskei Government is, in principle, prepared to accept the above as a basis for re-organisation of the Peace Structures in the Ciskei/Border area, the National Peace Secretariat will set in motion the necessary procedures for discussion and, if so decided, approval.

The contents of this letter was discussed with the chairman and some other members of the Executive Committee of the National Peace Committee, and it carries their support.

I now await response from the interested parties.

Yours faithfully


ANTONIE GILDENHUIS
CHAIRMAN

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A meeting of the continuation committee of the IFP and the ANC took place in Durban today January 15, 1993.

The meeting considered the reports of the sub-committees set up at the meeting of December 29, 1992 which dealt with the following issues:-

- Creating a climate for free political activity,
- strengthening the structures of the various peace accords,
- ending the militarisation of politics and
- addressing the issue of reconstruction.

The meeting agreed that progress has been made with regard to the elaboration of common positions on these matters.

None of the committees had however completed their work. It was therefore agreed that they should be given additional time to finalise their deliberations.

Although all the sub-committees indicated that they needed more time to complete their tasks, it was noted that it was not the view of this committee that there has to be complete agreement on all points before the two Presidents could meet.

Consequently at the next meeting we undertake to make firm recommendations to our principals about their summit meeting.

The meeting emphasised that it was important that the sub-committees should approach their tasks with a sense of urgency so that the meeting of the Presidents and their head committees can take place as soon as possible.

It once more renewed its appeal to the members and supporters of both organisation to desist from resorting to violence to resolve any differences that may arise among them.

In this regard, it warmly welcomed the positive developments that have taken place in such areas as Mbumbulu and Port Shepstone where the levels of conflict have been drastically reduced as a result of agreements arrived at by the IFP and the ANC.

The committee called on all other communities afflicted by violence such as Bruntville and Empangeni to follow these excellent examples.

The next meeting will take place on 11/2/1993. It is expected that this meeting will complete the process of preparation with regard to the specific matters identified above.

The delegation of the IFP was lead by Dr Frank Mdlalose, Chairman of the IFP who also chaired most of this session and included:

Dr Ngubane
Inkosi Gumede
Mr Mtshali
Dr Zulu
Dr Madide
Inkosi Mdletshe
Mr Mfayela
Mr Felgate

The delegation of the ANC was lead by Mr Jacob Zuma, Deputy Secretary General of the ANC and included:

Mr Thabo Mbeki
Mr Sydney Mufamadi
Mrs Baleka Kgositsile
Mr Aziz Pahad
Mr Jeff Hadebe
Mr Stewart Ngwenya
Mr Shu Ndebele
Mr Senzo Mchunu

The delegation of the ANC was lead by Mr Jacob Zuma, Deputy Secretary General of the ANC and included:

Mr Thabo Mbeki
Mr Sydney Mufamadi
Mrs Baleka Kgositsile
Mr Aziz Pahad
Mr Jeff Hadebe
Mr Stewart Ngwenya
Mr Sbu Ndebele
Mr Senzo Mchunu