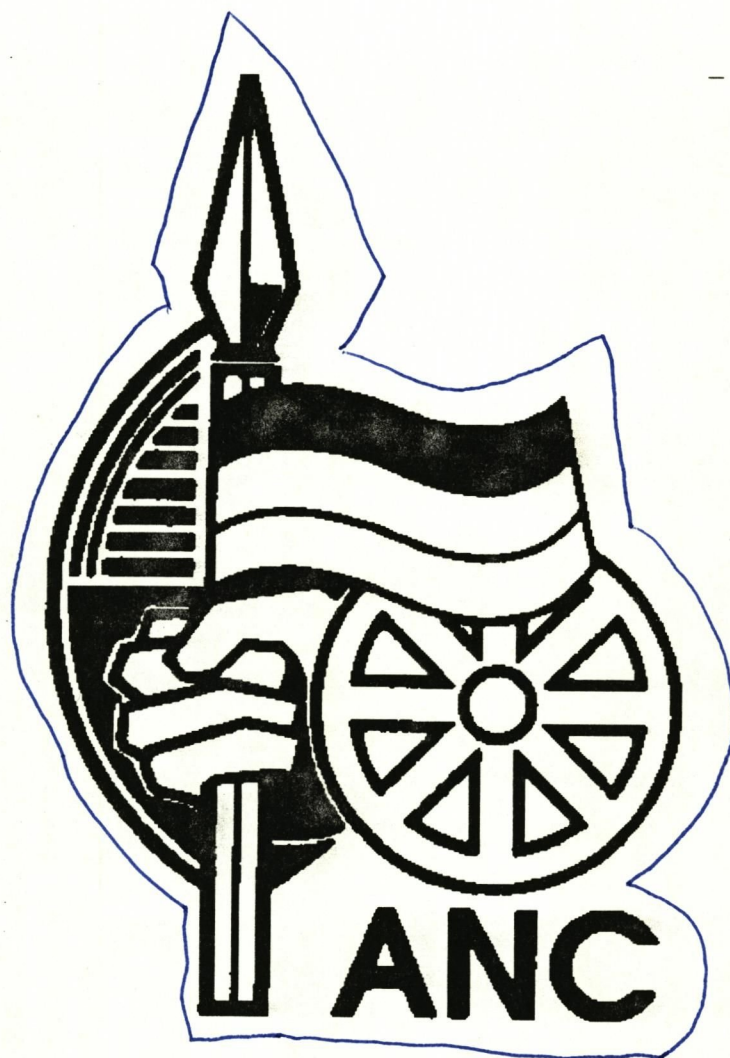


MCH 91-21-1-4



***NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE***

***DOCUMENTS VOLUME ONE (C)***

***27 - 29 AUGUST 1993***

# ANNEXURE "H1 & H2"

## TRANSKEI



# ANNEXURE " #1 "

## Organising Department/ Elections Commission

### REPORT ON VISITS TO THE REGIONS

The Organising Department and Elections Commission during the month of August visited 11 of the 14 regions. A full report is made of those visits.

#### **Transkei**

- The birth of the current REC in this region was a difficult one. The AGM had to be postponed a number of times and intervention from Head Office made before the present REC was elected.
- Problems in the region came to our attention with the freezing of the regional organising department, the suspension of the membership officers and the fact that no RGC has been held since the beginning of the year when the present REC came into office.
- The REC does not meet or work as a collective and that the regional Commissions that had been set up to look into maladministration and financial abuse had not met.
- Subsequently a report was submitted by the Youth League and Women's League of the region indicating a breakdown in the vanguard role of the ANC in the region and a large gap between the ANC and its consitutional components. They

report that the ANC is drifting in the wilderness and that no corrective measures are being taken to redress the situation.

- The National OD was present at the first RGC held this year on the 14/15th August, where there was a strong move to remove the Regional Chairperson and Secretary. What emerged in that RGC was that the region had stopped functioning completely and that the situation was chaotic.
- In spite of repeated interventions from the National Organising Department, the REC has still not demarcated Umzikulu (membership said to be 18,000). This exacerbates the problem because the branch is understood by many as a power base for the Regional Chair.

### **Recommendation**

It is clear that the REC has not been able to deal with itself and solve these problems. Three able and experienced comrades (not all of whom have to be NEC) must work with the REC on a permanent basis towards the next AGM and for four weeks after that AGM. Clear guidelines need to be drawn up for that work.





## 'Annexure H2'

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS IS IN NEED OF A POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE FACELIFT, PRONTO!

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Contained in this document are the well-thought both views of the Regional leadership of the A.N.C. Women's League and the Youth League. Unfortunate and painful might be that the expression of the views is belated but of utmost importance nevertheless. Prompted by the continuing tragedy of the transparent breakdown in the vanguard role that the ANC in our region is supposed to play, deeply moved by the large amount of gap that exists between the ANC and its constitutional components, extremely disturbed by the raging storm of dissatisfaction amongst ANC branches and above all having our minds over-packed by concern that no corrective measures are being taken to redress the situation we sat down to make a realistic analysis of the seemingly unaddressed political and organisational problems confronting head-on the leadership of the ANC in Transkei. We do not want to be counted amongst those who wilfully turned a blind eye on accumulating problems which are making our organisation to suffer. It is our view that as things presently stand in our region then it would not be wrong to tell the political leadership of the ANC that it is drifting in the wilderness. In a constructive fashion we are provoking the Regional Executive Committee of the A.N.C. to make a deep self-introspection, to examine or re-examine its capabilities to lead, to lead effectively.



Without much ado allow us to raise some of the issues which we strongly feel about:

1. Poor lines of communication between the leadership of the ANC and that of the two leagues. Ever since its election into office the ANC REC cannot boast of any conscious and deliberate effort to call the leagues to a meeting situation where clear working relations can be agreed upon and implemented. We propose that the ANC must agree to fixed monthly Trilateral meetings that must practically define how we relate beyond the theoretical confines of the constitutions.

2. Vanguard role of the ANC.

Due to the efforts of our people the ANC over the years has developed into an organisation of extreme prominence, an organisation that has constantly availed its leadership to all the people of our country. The profile of the ANC in Transkei is at its lowest. Most if not all organisations from the democratic movement pay little if any respectful political allegiance to the ANC. Much as they continue to demonstrate unswerving loyalty to the vision of the ANC, in Transkei there is no visible leadership to intervene and promote their interests. To them, to the membership of the ANC, to us, the ANC leadership should personify the leadership of the leader of the liberation struggle. That is not the case within our region. Transkei is led by a publicity shy leadership that doesn't even seem to be concerned that the dominating views which are viewed as views of the people in this region are those views that are expressed by the Military Council, the PAC and a string of other organisations who would find it very difficult to claim any visible membership beyond the executive members and the spouses. The ~~ANC in Transkei~~ is ~~not~~ the political

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grant it is supposed to be instead it slowly proceeding towards qualifying as a political circus.

We call upon the ANC to re-assume its mantle of being the leader of our people, of being the leader of all democratic formations by consciously, actively and deliberately strengthening of the organic unity of all democratic formations. As the chief guardian of the political, economic and social interests the ANC leadership must stop shying away from its responsibilities. It must STOP being an invisible leadership. Its intervention should be biased towards the interests of the majority of our people, it must be an intervention that produces evident and clear positive results and lastly, it must be an intervention that extracts some respectable amount of respect for the ANC leadership from the conflicting parties. In exercising its vanguard role the ANC must be seen as sensitive to the diverse political views that now and again come to the fore, while seeking to harmonise its relations with all its allies, individuals and other formations it must do so displaying consistency in its consistency. It must not capitulate to the detriment of its image and to the dissatisfaction of its membership.

### 3. Tripartite Alliance.

It is our considered view that the Tripartite Alliance as is presently structured and the way it functions doesn't have the capacity to achieve whatever objectives it has set for itself. It functions in a rather glaringly unsystematic manner. It is issue-orientated. If it does have a committee that co-ordinates its activities, its performance is poor, in fact the committee itself needs to be co-ordinated. Due to the ~~glaringly few meetings of the~~

124  
189



ANC to plan and to respond to major issues the Tripartite seems to be having the responsibility of clouding the strengths, if there are any, of the ANC and its glaring leadership and organisational weaknesses. The Tripartite is forced to be a transmission belt of the ANC.

The above exposes the fact that is no common understanding about the responsibilities of the regional Tripartite Alliance which are currently not clear anyway. It has no standing meetings.

Our suggestions are as follows:-

1. There should be a document outlining these responsibilities and the parameters of the Tripartite regional structure.
2. The Tripartite structure should be constituted by no less than five comrades from each Tripartite participant organisation. Five is the number of expected consistent comrades who are to be members of the Tripartite structure. They are therefore expected to account for activities or lack of activities in the Tripartite Alliance.
3. There should be standing fortnightly Tripartite meetings with this arrangement accommodating the convening of special Tripartite meetings when the need arises.
4. Rotating chairing of the Tripartite meetings is highly recommended.
5. Three Secretaries of tripartite should co-ordinate ~~the~~ and <sup>Participant</sup> ~~organize~~ <sup>organizing</sup> tripartite meetings

125  
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## TRANSKEI GOVERNMENT AND OUR LEVEL OF INFLUENCE.

The Transkei government is our ally, an ally that has proven to be reliable during testing and trying times. Nevertheless it doesn't possess the wealth of political experience that the ANC has amassed over these years of hard and bitter struggles. Closely scrutinising the way it relates with the ANC leadership in the region, one impassionately concludes that the ANC leadership is too distant from an important ally. No conscious and deliberate plans are embarked upon to develop a deep committal intimate political relationship with the Military Council. The Military Council finds solace by having its political tears wiped by Shell House, it has a distant and rather unsophisticated ally in its own backyard. Indeed what distinguishes us from the Transkei Government is that it does not seek national political office in South Africa as we do, but who can deny that it pursues the destruction of the apartheid with the same vigour if not more, than us. Its not publicity shy, it doesn't hesitate to tell De Klerk and his cohorts to back off.

We propose to the ANC leadership to influence directly and indirectly the political direction that the Transkei government is taking. That would be part of making adequate use of our advantageous geographical political location which avail more than any region chances of maximising the unity of our people and denying the enemy the opportunity of securing new ground and new support bases within our region, the Transkei Government included.

26  
111

## DEPARTMENTAL RELATIONS

Interrelation, co-ordination and general exchange of views between departments of the A.N.C., Youth League and Women's League is completely non-existent, if there is any, it has no commendable impact on our political and organisational work. Rich documentation on the various departmental work flies uselessly around in our various own offices. We do not complement our efforts in these specific given areas of our responsibilities. Communication need to restart between the various common departments of the A.N.C., A.N.C. Youth League and A.N.C. Women's League. In the process of pursuing the above we shall indeed learn a lot from each other.

## SPECIAL COMMITTEES

### NEGOTIATIONS COMMISSION.

The conclusion and observation is that the negotiations process is not conducted in such a way that it could be said to be reflecting the views of the membership of the movement. Has it been ensured by the A.N.C. leadership in our own region that all the members of the movement and the mass democratic movement are part of the negotiations process? No! This failure has instilled in our people the perception that negotiations are the sole province of the A.N.C. negotiators. The ANC leadership in Transkei has not reported back to the organs of the ANC, to the masses of our people about the setbacks that are encountered in the negotiations process. To us negotiations are not transparent, is this situation deliberate or is it a manifestation of the total failure to put together the Regional Negotiations Commission which was a product of a national decision of which Transkei was part of? This needs to be corrected. The masses of our people need to be consulted, in

127  




fact they want to participate in the formulation of policy and political decisions of our movement.

## ELECTIONS AND THE ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN.

The Elections Campaigns is about:

- \* mobilising our structures and members in the election campaign to ensure an election victory for the A.N.C.;
- \* mobilising and canvassing in all communities for people to vote for the A.N.C.;
- \* availing our structures and resources for full participation of our people in the A.N.C. election machinery at all levels.
- \* Do our leadership know what a winnable regional list is? Can the Transkei leadership boldly claim that it has integrated itself in the Elections campaign and has a deep understanding of elections beyond rhetorically agitating our people to be ready for national elections.

There seems to a general lack of interest towards the Election Campaign and especially in ensuring that the Regional Elections Commission is politically activated so as to be a resourceful and vibrant vehicle towards a convincing A.N.C. victory.

From what has been reported by our participants in RELCOM the leadership of the ANC seemingly cannot go beyond offering its lip service resources to elections in general and RELCOM in particular. The conspicuous absence of the leadership of the ANC at the recently held workshop of all R.E.C.'s was not only viewed as an act of undermining a decision it was part of, but ~~was rather viewed as reflection of a leadership~~

128  
113



that was seriously having problems in identifying strategic priorities of our unfolding political struggle. In election work Transkei has the worst performance. It is in a serious back-log. Something must be done, very fast.

#### PEACE DESK/PROCESS

Our region has been sending people to attend meetings on the Peace process. Feed-back from these comrades has not been taken seriously by the leadership of the ANC. Extremely disturbing in all the confusion related to the Peace Process and the existence or non-existence of its structures in Transkei are the reports we receive that this region through various comrades, including the chairperson of the ANC, has been giving different perceptions in relation to violence, peace and the involvement or intervention of the ANC and its allies. A Peace Desk should have been established in our region.

If there are problems in relation to the establishment of a Peace Desk in the region only the ANC REC is aware of any.

#### OTHER DESKS.

If they do exist desks like Education, Health Constitutional Affairs, etc., their functioning must be semi-clandestine.

#### ADMINISTRATION.

Viewed from a distance the administration in ANC regional offices seems to be in shambles if not in a chaotic state. Following are some and not all of the features of the Magwa style of Administration:-

- (1) Absence of a person or persons who assume/s a firm and effective supervisory role.

- (2) Absence of a clear daily routine in relation to administration and other political activities.
- (3) There seems to be deterioration in office productivity.
- (4) There seems to be continual tensions amongst full-time functionaries or staff members.
- (5) There doesn't seem to be servicing or conscious upgrading of skills of the office personnel within the ambit of administration.
- (6) The better part of the workforce seems to be demotivated and included in this category are the full-time organisers of the ANC.

These buildings (Magwa House) and the personnel working in it are supposed to reflect or mirror the physical and concrete existence of the ANC. Day in and day out people come to these offices. Hoping that its not to exaggerate to say that the majority leave these premises having not adequately received the kind of assistance and attention expected from the Regional Head-quarters of the "government in-waiting". How many important documents are stuffed in these offices: documents, publicity and propaganda material that should have been filtered to branches and to the people in general.

#### TO CONCLUDE

The problems must not continue. Left unaddressed by the ANC R.E.C. problems will force our organisation to spend much time solving internal problems more than intensifying the struggle. We won't rest until positive corrective measures are taken. Honesty, openness and frankness even if it is painful to some, must characterise our joint efforts in improving the work of the ANC. As things stand we don't seem to have a well-motivated leadership and there is no hope that this leadership can

130  
 130  
 130



reproduce a well-motivated leadership.

The non-implementation of the Programme of Action adopted at Conference is an insult to the collective memory of the ANC membership who confidently elected the ANC R.E.C. to office. The R.E.C. has departed from the practices of democracy. If the R.E.C. continues like this, it deliberately defines itself outside the political terrain in Transkei and maybe outside the realm of national politics. The subject is the issue of an ineffective leadership. Its the issue of ANC branches who feel marginalised and neutralised by they own leadership. Its about the ANC lacking in being sponsors of unity, unity of the democratic formations in our regions. We do not expect to be presented with defensible positions, we want remedial steps to be taken after this assessment. A resourceful and creative leadership is demanded to take us to victory. No bad, arrogant, impolite and imposing approaches are going to be tolerated. To be detolerated are leaders who act and speak as individuals. This should not be viewed as an attack on the leadership. The message that is clear is that the R.E.C. should not postpone its responsibility as it is presently doing.

Finally, we hope the eyes of the leadership are opened to the weaknesses they have, and also to the large amount of challenges ahead of us. We view this eye-opener as a definitive contribution. You have to set a high and good moral and political example. The first step in doing that is to listen to each other, listen to others, carry your mandate and above all be disciplined. "Unless indiscipline is eliminated, our organisations are threatened with disunity, division and suspicion. All forms of factionalism, individualism and cliquism must be stopped. We are working not in our individual capacities, but as activists of a people's "MOVEMENT". April, 1986, N.E.C.C.

131  
114



Definitely with a disciplined conduct we can detect political dangers such as the enemy within our ranks, which always tries to sow chaos, create disunity by closely studying and identifying any weaknesses in us, using weaknesses to cripple and sabotage our efforts. With our collective, organised strength, let us increase the momentum of our march to final victory.

ISSUED BY: ANC WOMEN'S LEAGUE AND ANC YOUTH LEAGUE ; R.E.C.'S,  
TRANSKEI REGION

*Sp. Mantsien* (Secretary for ANCWL TRANSKEI)

*QITHI.M* (DEPUTY-CHAIRPERSON - ANC)

**ANNEXURE "I"**

**DEBT**

**RESCHEDULING**

132  
104



132  
107

# African National Congress

51 Plein Street  
Johannesburg 2001  
P O Box 61884  
Marshalltown 2107



Tel: (011) 330-7000  
Fax: (011) 333-9090  
Telex: 421252

## DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC PLANNING

**Subject Matter:** South Africa's Foreign Debt.

**Decision Required:** Acceptance of the Final Agreement with the proviso that every effort be made by the SA Government and the ANC to negotiate bilateral re-financing arrangements with the larger creditor banks.

**Date:** 26 August 1993

---

### 1. Introduction

1.1. The total amount of debt that SA owes at this point in time - both bank and non-bank and private and public - is less than \$18bn. Of this total, \$5bn will still be in the standstill net when the third interim arrangement expires on the 31 December 1993. The proposed repayment schedule for the affected debt is shown graphically in the two attached annexure 2 & 3 which also give an idea of the structure of our debt repayments till 2001. Annexure 1 is a tabular representation of the repayment amounts of the \$5bn within the net.

1.2. South Africa has been in a partial debt standstill situation since the

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**ANC 134**



end of August 1985, i.e. for a period of almost eight years. This means that the essentially short-term claims on South Africa in 1985, mainly very short-term intr-bank claims, have already been rescheduled into eight-year loans. Up until now the debt situation has been governed by three successive interim arrangements. The current "Third Interim Arrangements" will expire at the end of 1993.

1.3. Until S A is able to bring its debt arrangements to a final conclusion it will remain, in terms of international perceptions, a debt-rescheduling country, and this undesirable status will inhibit the flow of new capital to S A. Without new capital flows our balance of payments position will continue to be under severe pressure; this will result in a continuously depressed economy with grave consequences in the form of high unemployment and significantly increased poverty.

## 2. Outline of the new Debt Arrangement

2.1. At a meeting in London with the Technical Committee of creditor banks and the S A Debt Standstill negotiating committee the following tentative arrangement, to take effect on 1 January 1994 and run to 2001, was agreed to:-

2.1. (a) A **final** arrangement in terms of which South Africa's outstanding affected debt (approximately US\$5 bn at the end of 1993) will be repaid over an eight-year period.

2.1. (b) An uneven spread of repayments that takes into account the maturity profile of South Africa's non-affected foreign debt (which shows a heavy concentration of maturities in the years 1995 to 1998) -

the spread provides for the repayment of 40 percent of the outstanding amount of affected debt during the first five years of the tenor of the new arrangement and 60 per cent during the last three years. (Refer to Annexure)

2.1. (c) An up-front repayment of 10% (or \$500mn) of the outstanding amount in february 1994.

2.2. It must be noted that the acceptance of an eight-year debt arrangement with a spread of repayments to accommodate the maturity profile of South Africa's non-affected foreign debt, is dependent, from the point of view of creditor banks, on an appropriate up-front payment, a further small repayment in August 1994, and a slight loading of repayments in 1995. A quid pro quo principle is reflected in these elements of the new arrangement.

### 3. Conclusion

3.1. As the attached letter from Cde Trevor Manuel to Derek Keys dated 21 July 1993, indicates; we were concerned about the \$500mn "upfront" payment in February 1994. The standstill coordinating committee has subsequently gone back to the creditor banks to negotiate an easier spread of repayments. We will hear the outcome of that meeting at the end of August.

3.2. Whatever the outcome, it is recommended that we accept the existing agreement or any more favourable agreement that may have been negotiated in the interim. There are two reasons why we should



accept the agreement:

3.2.1. It is important that we normalize our economic relations as rapidly as possible in the run-up to elections.

3.2.2. Indications from some of the major creditor banks suggest that it may be possible to negotiate "side letter" agreements on a bilateral basis, to ensure that the money that is re-paid will immediately be reloaned to South Africa. The reason for this strange arrangement relates to the laws governing respective creditor banks in their own countries. DEP & DIA need to coordinate strategies to ensure that these possible "side letter" agreements come to fruition.

ends

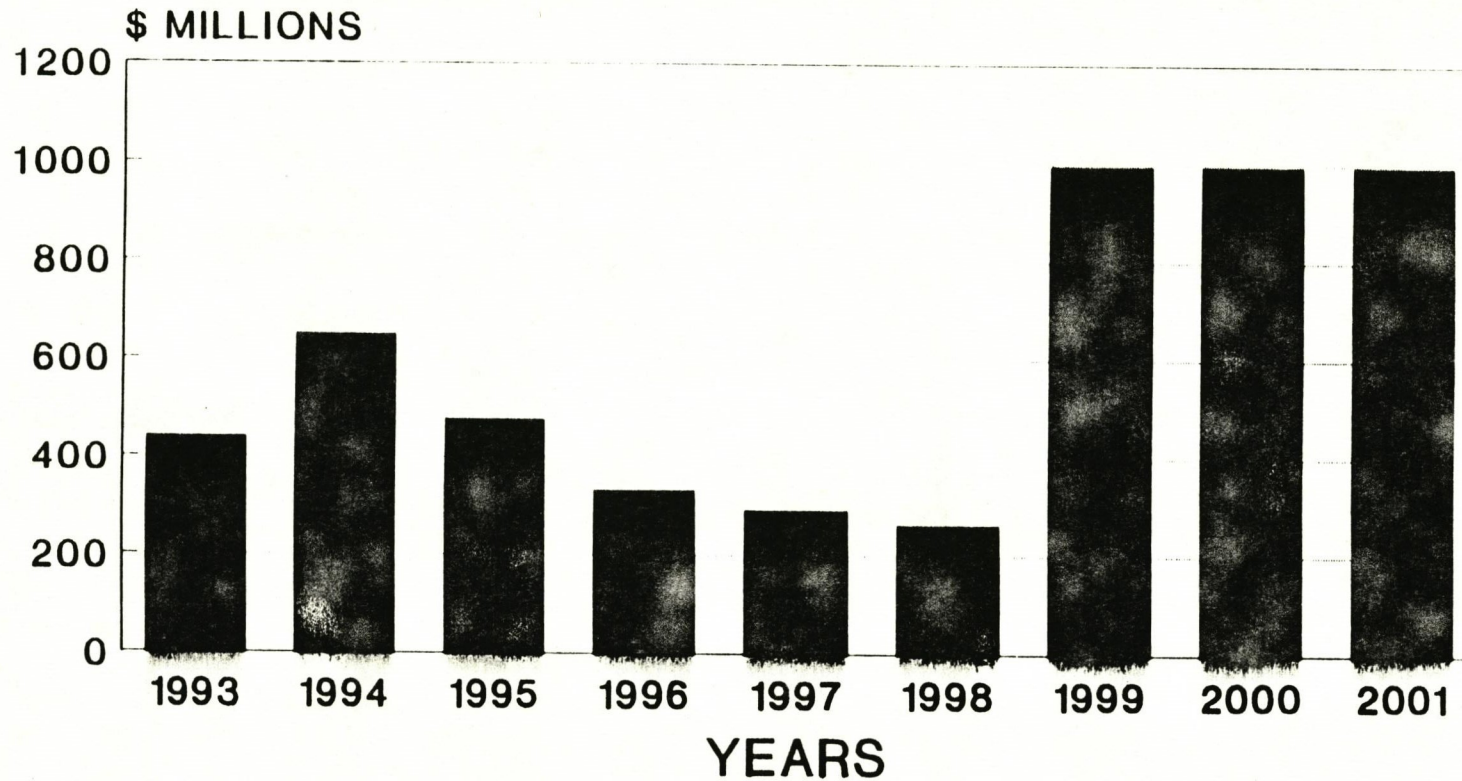
NEGOTIATED REPAYMENT OF AFFECTED DEBT		
Repayment dates	Repayments as % of original amount (\$5 billion)	Repayment amounts (\$ millions)
1994 : February	10,0 (up front)	500
August	3,0	150
1995 : February	4,775	239
August	4,775	239
1996 : February	3,325	166
August	3,325	166
1997 : February	2,925	146
August	2,925	146
1998 : February	2,625	131
August	2,625	131
1999 : February	9,95	497
August	9,95	498
2000 : February	9,95	497
August	9,95	498
2001 : February	9,95	498
August	9,95	498
<b>Total</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>5 000</b>



Annexure 2

# S A DEBT REPAYMENTS (NET)

## Tentative Final Standstill Agreement

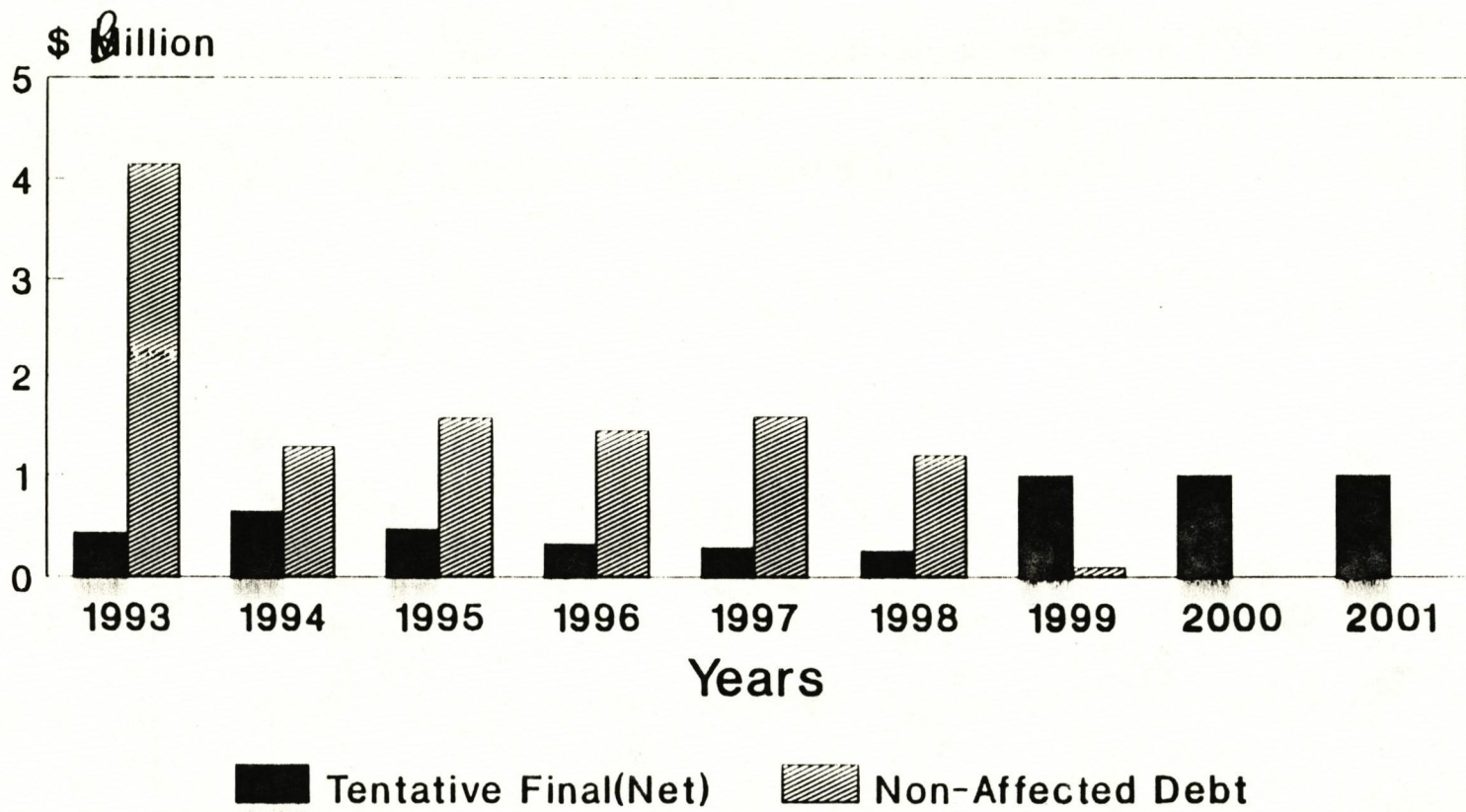


■ PROPOSED REPAYMENTS

ANC - Economics Dept.

129

# South Africa's Foreign Debt Repayments in the 1990's



ANC -Economics Dept.  
Non-Affected Series incl inter  
company and ST credits (Banks)



# ~~African National Congress~~ African National Congress

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3 COPIES



Tel: (011) 330-7000  
Fax: (011) 333-4509  
Telex: 421252

21 July 1993

Minister Derek Keys  
Ministry of Finance  
Pretoria

Telefax: 012.323 3262

Dear Sir

## **ANC RESPONSE ON FOREIGN DEBT ARRANGEMENTS**

I apologise for the delay in responding on this important matter. As indicated earlier, we sought to have discussions on the rescheduling at appropriate decision-making forums within the African National Congress. This process has now run its course.

The broad position of the ANC is one which supports agreement on a final debt arrangement at the earliest opportunity. This position was arrived at taking account of the need to normalise our international financial relations. Undoubtedly, the signal that South Africa is removed from the list of rescheduling countries will be a boon. The advantage of this signal coinciding with the lifting of financial sanctions will be an added bonus. At this stage, we are of the view that financial sanctions should remain until the Transitional Executive Council is formally in place.

**UBR141**

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We are concerned that the national best interest principle may not be best served by the settlement negotiated to date. Of particular concern is the "bullet payment" for 1994 because we anticipate an increase in domestic demand in order to underpin and secure the political process. We would therefore request that the negotiators have a fresh attempt at an alternate spreading of the load. This request does not, however, detract from the exigency of securing a final arrangement.

The African National Congress is appreciative of the consultations on this matter which have taken place and we would appreciate being apprised of progress in the negotiations.

I thank you.

Yours sincerely



Trevor Manuel  
Head: Department of Economic Planning

cc. N.R. Mandela; President  
M.C. Ramaphosa; Secretary-General  
T. Mbeki; Head: Department of International Affairs

1002 142



**ANNEXURE "J"**

**GATT**

**NEGOTIATIONS**

**NR 143**

# African National Congress

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Johannesburg 2001  
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## DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC PLANNING

**Subject Matter:** GATT/South Africa Trade Negotiations

**Decision Required:** Support for the National Economic Forum's approach on the negotiations with GATT. The NEF has agreed on a phased reduction in the protection levels of certain industries as per requirements of GATT.

**Date:** 26 August 1993

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### **Background Information**

#### 1. **About GATT.**

1.1. GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) is the international multilateral institution which was formed after world war 2 (1947/48). It provides for a set of rules which govern trade policies of individual member countries. GATT membership currently extends to well over 110 countries which account for about 90% of world trade. South Africa is a founder member of GATT.

**ANC 144**

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1.2. GATT operates according to two principles: reciprocity and non-discrimination. There is also a subsidiary principle of transparency. Reciprocity is the principle according to which when one country lowers its tariffs against another's exports, it can expect the other country to lower its tariffs in return. Non-discrimination lies behind the concept of "most-favoured nation" (MFN) status which is accorded to all members.

## 2. Why are we involved in GATT negotiations

2.1. Everybody agrees that South Africa's trade policy has to be radically reviewed and changed. Since the post war period, South African manufacturing has enjoyed rates of protection which are no longer sustainable from both a competitiveness and multilateral trade rules points of view. We have also indicated the same in our policy document.

2.2. On June 1 and 2 1993, the Director-General of Trade and Industry led a South African delegation to the GATT HQ in Geneva for a meeting to review South Africa's trade policy. These review meetings take place on a four yearly basis for South Africa. They also take place on a regular basis for other member countries.

2.3. There was a lot of unhappiness about the government's approach to the trade negotiations with GATT. We were for example concerned about the following: a) the effects of the offer on employment, b) the effect of the offer on domestic prices, c) the effect on South Africa's balance of

payments position and, d) the effect on future industrial development policies. As a result, the NEF Long-term working group (LTWG) demanded that the issue be discussed at the NEF level before the final offer to GATT is made at the end of this month. A task Force (TF) was created. COSATU felt that the ANC should be involved in this discussions. The DEP then agreed to send a representative to attend the discussions of the TF of the LTWG on the GATT offer. We however retain the right of disassociation with the final result if the SA government deviates from the agreements at the TF of the NEF LTWG.

### 3. Discussions at the TF of the NEF LTWG

3.1. South Africa's offer to GATT has been discussed in the TF of the NEF LTWG for the past two weeks. This offer has to show a further lowering and rationalisation of the tariff structure across industries. In practice, this would mean that together with the existing bindings, approximately 50% of the South Africa's industrial tariff lines would be bound in GATT, with differing adjustment periods. A number of industries are able to agree to this process but the clothing and textiles sector still remains the most difficult one. It will be given a higher maximum level and also a longer period of adjustment. These proposals are still subject to further analysis. Several other sectors have been identified as problem areas for which the Task Force of the LTWG did not have sufficient information for a final submission. These will be marked by asterisks in the submission to GATT on September 1 1993.



The TF of the LTWG has agreed in general with the new offer to be made. However, COSATU and business are to finalise their opinion by Monday, 30 August 1993, so that the government can submit the offer to GATT on time.

3.2. There are two outstanding issue in the GAT offer. These are on agriculture and services. No conclusion has been reached on agriculture. The services offer, according to the government, does not require a new submission now. Negotiations on services will resume two years after the signing of the Uruguay Round.

4. The South African offer should be submitted to GATT by September 1 1993.

ends.

**ANNEXURE "K"**

**PWV**

**WOMENS'**

**LEAGUE**

\* Report not available  
at time of publication



Adelina was found  
at home of ...

**ANNEXURE "L"**

**WOMEN'S**

**LEAGUE**

**NATIONAL**

**CONFERENCE**



94

PO Box 61884  
Marshalltown 2107  
Tel: 330-7143  
Fax: 330-7144  
Telex: 43-1466



17th Floor  
51 Plein Street  
Shell House  
Johannesburg  
2000

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**ANC  
WOMEN'S LEAGUE**

---

RECEIVED 13 JUL 1993

27 May 1993  
Cde Cyril Ramaphosa  
ANC Secretary General  
SHELL HOUSE

Dear Cde Cyril,

ANC Women's League 2nd National Conference 5th-9th December 1993  
in Durban

The NEC of the Women's League would like to inform you of the above envisaged Conference under the theme "Now Is The Time, Vote For Women's Empowerment". A Preparatory Committee under the convenorship of Cde Albertina Sisulu has been established here at HQ.

The holding of this Conference has been made more imperative by the unfolding political situation which we all hope will come out with a dispensation favourable to all. This has in turn placed a lot of demands for the Women's League to respond.

It is hoped that this Conference will adopt the present draft Constitution of the Women's League and of course a new structure responding to the challenges imposed by the transitional phase and the envisaged date for elections for a Constituent Assembly.

We shall appreciate continuous support and assistance from all members of the NEC and its structures in preparing for our Conference.

AMANDLA!

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'A. Sisulu', is written over a large, light-colored oval scribble.

A. SISULU  
CONVENOR-NATIONAL CONFERENCE PREP. COMMITTEE

c.c ALL ANC NEC

150



02:

**ANNEXURE "M"**

**YOUTH  
LEAGUE'S  
NATIONAL  
CONFERENCE**



# AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS YOUTH LEAGUE

P.O. Box 6259,  
Johannesburg  
2000



51 Plein Street,  
Johannesburg 2001  
Tel: (011) 333-6750/9  
Fax: (011) 333-9458

## OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL

RECEIVED 21 JUL 1993

TO: ANC  
ATT: CYRIL RAMAPHOSA  
FROM: S.G.O.  
SUBJECT: NATIONAL CONGRESS  
DATE: 21/07/93

Dear comrades

The Youth League is planning to hold its 2nd National Congress from the 11th to 14th December, 1993 in Johannesburg.

The initial theme for this congress is "Every youth a combatant for Peace, Democracy and social Justice."

A National Congress Preparatory Committee has been established and it is in the process of making arrangements. Top on the agenda of this congress will be discussions on the future of the ANC Youth League, its relationship with the ANC Post Apartheid and our role in that period. We will also examine what type of ANC we would like to see developing post Apartheid. We shall also tighten up our role in the Elections mass campaign.

We therefore would appreciate any ideas assistance and support from your side.

Comradely Yours

Rapu Molekane  
SECRETARY GENERAL

152

FIGHT      PRODUCE      LEARN

125



**ANNEXURE "N"**

**STRATEGIC**

**PLAN:**

**TEN POINT**

**PROGRAMME**

# ADOPTED TEN POINT PROGRAMME

1. STRENGTHENING THE REGIONS	DEADLINE	BY WHOM
<b>1.1 Reorganising the regional structure</b>		
a. REC's to complete process of selecting strategic priorities and setting up reorganised regional structure, refer to appendix one.	End August	REC
b. REC to do a skills audit/assessment of all regional staff and consider reallocation on basis of new plan	end August	REC
c. Identify needs to carry out regional plan and draw up a budget for period August to June 94. (Post elections, one of the key tasks will be national conference)	end August	RWC
d. REC to adopt ten point plan and submit completed action plan	mid Sept	REC
<b>1.2 Annual Regional Conferences</b>		
a. To minimise disruption to try and hold before the end of Nov. Use conference to consolidate programme and revitalise branches	end Nov	REC

154

<p><b>1.3 Regional General Councils</b></p> <p>a. Hold at least two; one in Sept/Oct and the second in Nov/Dec</p> <p>b. Common agenda items and a head office team to be sent to regions</p>	<p>end Aug, Oct</p>	<p>REC</p> <p>SGO</p>
<p><b>1.4 Code of Conduct</b></p> <p>a. Regions with codes to submit them to HO</p> <p>b. Draft to be adopted at NEC</p>	<p>mid Aug</p> <p>Aug/Sept</p>	<p>SG's</p> <p>SGO</p>
<p><b>1.5 Centralised Communication</b></p> <p>a. Distribute guidelines on lines of communication between regions and HO and regional depts and HO depts</p> <p>b. Distribute report formats to regions and departments</p>	<p>Aug</p> <p>Aug</p>	<p>SGO</p> <p>SGO</p>
<p><b>1.6 Sub-regional Offices</b></p> <p>a. Each region to finalise sub-regional demarcations</p> <p>b. Open 3 fully equipped sub-regional offices with organiser and administrator</p> <p>c. Open two sub-regional offices with organiser and administrator</p>	<p>Aug</p> <p>end Aug</p> <p>end Oct</p>	<p>REC</p> <p>REC/Elec</p> <p>REC/Elec</p>



156 731

<p><b>1.7 Leagues</b></p> <p>a. Leagues to use 10 point programme to develop their own programme at national and regional level and ensure maximum integration into overall ANC programme</p> <p>b. Regions to ensure leagues are effectively integrated into regional programme - monthly bilateral recommended</p> <p>c. Leagues to consider reorganising along lines of appendix 1</p>	<p>end Aug</p> <p>ongoing</p> <p>Sept</p>	<p>leagues</p> <p>RWC</p> <p>Leagues</p>
<p><b>1.8 New Membership System</b></p> <p>a. The proposal to be formally adopted by NEC</p> <p>b. Implement - return recruiter mandates and arrange one regional training workshop at which national OD is present</p>	<p>Aug/Sept</p> <p>end Aug</p>	<p>NEC</p> <p>reg OD</p>
<p><b>1.9 Mass Struggles</b></p> <p>a. Regions to consciously engage themselves in initiating or supporting mass struggles and encourage branches to take up local issues as discussed in election manual</p>	<p>ongoing</p>	<p>OD/branches</p>
<p><b>1.10 Branch Visits</b></p> <p>a. Set up a regional task team to visit every branch to ensure that branch is functional and is engaged in 10 point programme</p>	<p>end Sept</p>	<p>SG/OD/Elec</p>

<p><b>1.11 National OD meeting</b></p> <p>a. Regions to send delegation to national meeting of OD</p>	<p>30 Aug</p>	<p>OD</p>
<p><b>2. IMPROVING HEAD OFFICE</b></p>		
<p><b>2.1 Restructuring</b></p> <p>a. All departments to study ten point programme and proposals for restructuring</p> <p>b. Head office summit with regional reps to finalise programme and restructuring</p> <p>c. All programmes, ten point, Elections and HO programme to be put into a composite programme for NEC</p> <p>d. National Skills audit to be done</p> <p>e. ANC post elections and future of alliance; discussion document to NEC</p> <p>f. Consider other political scenarios for transition and develop programmes</p> <p>g. Based on skills audit, relocate and develop training programme</p>	<p>before 14 Aug</p> <p>14/15 Aug</p> <p>Aug/Sept</p> <p>end Oct</p> <p>Aug</p> <p>Aug/Sept</p> <p>Oct</p>	<p>depts</p> <p>SGO/depts</p> <p>SGO</p> <p>SGO</p> <p>NWC</p> <p>NWC</p> <p>SGO</p>



158  
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<p><b>2.2 NEC Meetings</b></p> <p>a. To be held in Aug/Sept and December</p> <p>b. Ensure adoption of code of conduct, marshals plan, 10 point programme etc. ensure documents are processes for decision</p>	<p>Aug/Nov</p>	<p>SGO</p> <p>SGO/depts</p>
<p><b>3. BUILD MEANINGFUL ALLIANCE AT ALL LEVELS</b></p>		
<p>a. The tripartite alliance to be the core of broader alliances The elections and reconstruction processes offer concrete basis to do this</p> <p>b. Regions to develop mandated positions on electoral front (LP Ximoko and others) for NEC meeting</p> <p>c. Strengthen PF/MDM alliances by forming regional forums for elections and other issues</p> <p>d. Hold bilateral discussion to improve links with MDM structures and ensure proper follow up</p> <p>e. NEC to be vocal in support of PF/MDM campaigns and get involved where feasible</p>	<p>ongoing</p> <p>Aug</p> <p>Sept</p> <p>Sept</p> <p>ongoing</p>	<p>alliance</p> <p>REC</p> <p>REC</p> <p>SGO</p> <p>NWC</p>



159  
231

<b>4. ELECTIONS</b>		
<b>4.1 Phase one : Now to end August</b>		
a. Set up structures at all levels, election political committees as well as co-ordinating teams and task teams		
b. Recruit volunteers, especially at branch level - 1 for every 100 voters		
c. Ensure that regional and branch level co-ordinators are trained.		
d. Branches to complete questionnaire and community profiles and have a plan for how to reach every voter		
e. Door to work - talk to every voter, use it to ensure people have ID's, know how to vote and why to vote ANC		
f. Open three sub-regional offices		
g. Campaigns for free political activity and local issue campaigns to intensify during this period		
h. Budgets for campaign to be finalised		
i. Fundraising - try to 10% of budget		
j. Build regional PF/MDM forum		
k. Each sub-region to organise at least one blitz into one area	end Aug	REPC/Elec

160 : :  
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**4.2 Phase two : September to December**  
**We are the ANC - we are ready to govern**

- a. Evaluate work done in phase one - make all changes necessary to succeed in phase two
- b. Ensure we get the first detailed report from every branch as described in pages 129-30 of manual
- c. Need to continue extensive door to door work, small workshops, public meetings etc to contact every one of the 22.5 million voters; confirm that they know how to vote and why they should vote ANC popularise ANC policies
- d. List process to be finalised in this phase, with local nominations, regional nominations conferences and a national nominations conference in Nov - before it goes to NEC in Dec
- e. Elections platform to be workshopped at all levels with reconstruction programme and be adopted at reconstruction conference in Dec
- f. two more sub-regional offices to be opened
- g. Begin to urge branches to identify and set up local offices
- h. Training of partisan monitors, election day logistics co-ordinators as well as final round of training for local and regional co-ordinating teams.



- i. While we would have worked in rural areas, squatters and with women; we need a special focus month of work to be dedicated to these areas.
- j. Fundraising to help reach 50% of budget for regions and branches
- k. Media work in this period will focus on mobile video units, audio cassettes, songs, plays, print media etc all focusing on two key areas; how to vote and why to vote ANC - our policies.
- l. Organise meetings and a programme of work which involves Officials and senior leadership. Madiba will be visiting a number of regions in this phase. Need regions to organise to get leadership involved in the campaign.
- m. Update on elections related issues to be on the agenda for the two RGC's in this period
- n. Sub-phase for jorling and reviving the spirits from mid Dec to mid Jan. Regions might choose to do some work in rural areas and with students.

**4.3 Phase three : January to end March : mobilising for victory**

- a. Third contact with voters, emphasis on popularising our candidates and our platform. Final reminder on how to vote - since electoral act will be finalised.
- b. Major media blitz - targeted media at all sectors and to focus on key messages that would have been finalised

Sept to Dec

REPC/Elec



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<p>by this time. Issuing of pre-marked ballots will be key in this period.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>c. Theme fortnights; we will divide this period into theme fortnights, eg. one on education, one on jobs etc, this to be finalised in strategy meeting in October/Nov.</li><li>d. Training will focus on ensuring we get skills to organise for election week</li><li>e. Plan for logistic of election week, transport, monitors etc.</li><li>f. Local offices to be opened and operational in this phase</li><li>g. Major mobilisation drive; mass rallies, marches etc.</li></ul>	Jan to March	REPC/Elec
<p><b>4.4 Phase four : Victory week</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>a. Plan for the detailed logistics of the election day/days</li><li>b. Last brief contact voters; remind how to vote, where to vote and how to get there</li><li>c. Special effort for rural, squatter areas and women</li><li>d. Strategic rallies and meetings addressed by leadership</li><li>e. Post elections work : plan for the victory party, keeping the calm, begin the process of reconciliation</li></ul>	April	REPC/Elec

163

<b>5. PEACE AND STABILITY</b>		
<b>5.1 National Peace Keeping Force (NPKF)</b>  a. Set up structure that will co-ordinate our involvement in the NPKF  b. Begin to identify process to recruit people who could become part of the NPKF. Communicate with regions on this issue  c. Joint training of NPKF  d. NPKF operational	Aug  End Aug  Sept/Oct  Dec/Jan	NWC  MHQ/Regs  TEC  NPKF
<b>5.2 Marshals</b>  a. Plan to be forwarded to regions for discussion on how to structure our marshals  b. Regions to identify chief marshall and prepare to implement plan	Aug  Sept	OD  reg OD
<b>5.3 Intra-organisational conflict</b>  a. OD/Nat to produce a report with clear recommendations to NEC and regions  b. Post NEC decision - need to implement disciplinary measures	Aug  ongoing	OD/Nat  REC/OD/NWC



<p><b>5.4 Hostile Areas</b></p> <p>a. Produce a plan in consultation with affected regions on how to organise in hostile areas including farms</p>	<p>Sept</p>	<p>reg OD/OD</p>
<p><b>5.5 National Peace Accord</b></p> <p>a. Need to intensify efforts through the NPA structures</p> <p>b. NPA code of conduct to be adopted</p> <p>c. National Peace campaign of NPA - ANC participates</p>	<p>ongoing</p> <p>?</p> <p>Sept</p>	<p>Reg's/Peace Desks</p> <p>NEC</p> <p>Reg's/Peace desks</p>
<p><b>6. PREPARING TO GOVERN</b></p>		
<p><b>6.1 Reconstruction</b></p> <p>a. Joint Policy Committees to be set up at national and regional level</p> <p>b. Alliance workshop at national level to agree reconstruction prioritise</p> <p>c. Consultation with MDM forces at national level</p> <p>d. Policy depts to update sectoral work with more detail</p> <p>e. Regional workshop to get feedback on reconstruction programme</p> <p>f. Alliance summit on reconstruction programme</p>	<p>end Aug</p> <p>21/22/Aug</p> <p>Aug/Sept</p> <p>Sept/ongoing</p> <p>Oct</p> <p>Nov</p>	<p>REC/Pol Depts</p> <p>Pol Comm</p> <p>Pol Comm</p> <p>Pol Depts</p> <p>Pol Comm's</p> <p>Pol Comm</p>

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<p>g. ANC Consultative conference - Reconstruction and Broad strategy conference</p> <p>h. Committee to develop our input for next years government budget</p> <p>i. Broad SA Reconstruction and Development Conference to build consensus around our reconstruction programme; to include donors</p> <p>j. Develop a clear approach to the setting up of interim local governments as well as a strategy for how to work in the interim</p> <p>k. Begin to identify people to enter interim local govt and train</p>	<p>Dec 16..</p> <p>ongoing</p> <p>Feb 94</p> <p>Aug/ongoing</p> <p>Aug/ongoing</p>	<p>Pol Comm</p> <p>Pol Comm</p> <p>Pol Comm</p> <p>L/G dept's</p> <p>L/G depts/REC</p>
<p><b>6.2 Armed Forces</b></p> <p>a. MHQ to develop scenarios for armed forces in the interim in consultation with relevant structures</p> <p>b. Begin to look at defence sub-council, participants, back-up etc</p> <p>c. Registration of cadres for reception points (and NPKF) and briefing cadres on the process</p>	<p>Aug</p> <p>Aug</p> <p>Aug/Sept</p>	<p>MHQ</p> <p>MHQ</p> <p>MHQ</p>
<p><b>6.3 Human Resource Project</b></p> <p><b>6.3.1 Civil Service</b></p> <p>a. Detailed analysis of current civil service structure</p>	<p>Sept</p>	<p>Prep to Gov unit</p>

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<p>b. National skills audit</p> <p>c. Develop policies on structure and type of civil service we want</p> <p>d. Develop a strategic plan for our intervention in the civil service and begin to identify and train people for key posts</p>	<p>Oct</p> <p>Sept/ongoing</p> <p>Oct/ongoing</p>	<p>Pre to Gov unit</p> <p>Pre to Gov unit</p> <p>Pre to Gov unit</p>
<p><b>6.3.2 Interim Period</b></p>		
<p>a. Finalise our approach to TEC, interim regional and local govt, forums in the interim and parastatals, identify people and begin to train them</p>	<p>Aug/ongoing</p>	<p>NWC</p>
<p>b. Identify the likely needs of the ANC post elections and begin to plan for the human resources we will need to keep the ANC organisationally strong</p>	<p>Jan/ongoing</p>	<p>NWC</p>
<p><b>7. Negotiations</b></p>		
<p>a. Work towards the most favourable and speedy settlement on a full transitional package for CA, free and fair elections, a facilitating interim constitution and a TEC with regional and local impact</p>	<p>end Sept</p>	<p>Neg Comm</p>
<p>b. Package to include state allocation to parties on basis of electoral support; for elections and below</p>	<p>end Sept</p>	<p>Neg Comm</p>

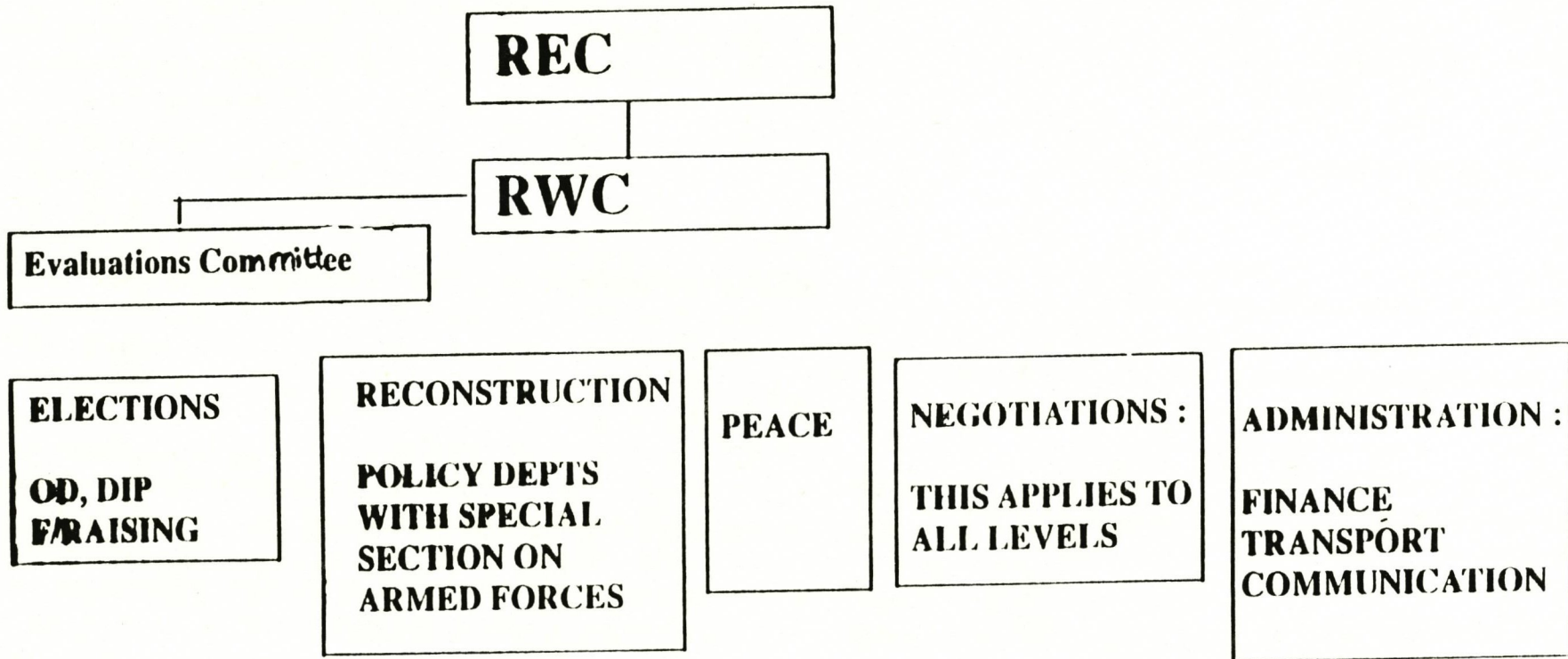
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<b>8. TEC</b>		
a. Develop a detailed plan for our intervention within the TEC, including the level of personnel we will deploy, the type of advisor, research and admin capacity we will need as back-up and the strategy we will deploy once in there, as well as a code of conduct for ANC participants	Aug	NWC/Neg Comm
<b>9. SECURITY - IN HOUSE</b>		
a. Draw up a detailed plan with budget for securing leadership, membership, offices and information	end Aug	NAT
b. Regions to submit 30 names for people to be trained and a budget to ensure these volunteers have resources to operate	mid Aug	Reg's
c. Begin to train 30 people and implement overall plan for security which should attempt to increase volunteers per region	Sept	NAT
<b>10. RESOURCES</b>		
a. Regions to move towards becoming self sufficient	Sept/ongoing	REC
b. Elections allocation to regions will be based on numbers of voters and other criteria.	mid Aug/ongoing	Elec/Officials
c. HO budget will be developed based on programme	Sept	SGO/TGO
d. Develop a plan to more effectively raise, manage and account for resources	Sept	TGO



# 1. Strengthening Regions

## a. Reorganise Regional Structures - based on 5 key tasks



162

# ANNEXURE "O"

## DISCIPLINARY

## COMMITTEE

\* Not available at time  
of publication.



\* Not available at time  
of publication \*

**ANNEXURE "P"**

**CODE**

**OF**

**CONDUCT**



# **CODE OF CONDUCT FOR OFFICERS, ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES AND MEMBERS OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

## **Background**

The National Executive Committee has been, for some time now, discussing the necessity of a code of conduct for members of the National Executive Committee. Such a code is anticipated in the Constitution of the movement. At its meeting in February 1993, a preliminary discussion of such a draft was held by the NEC and the feeling was that such a code was long overdue and required urgent attention. Regions were subsequently asked to discuss the draft and to submit responses by the middle of March. No replies were received.

At its meeting in June 1993, the NEC decided that the draft was too restricted as it dealt largely with a limited range of topics and personnel and that a wider and more embracing code should be adopted covering the rights and duties of members.

## **1. Introduction**

- 1.1 Except where otherwise expressly mentioned, this Code shall apply to all members and employees of the African National Congress. To ensure that members shall have complete confidence in the integrity of our Movement, every member shall respect and adhere to the fundamental principles of ethical and moral conduct and service as identified in the Constitution of the African National Congress adopted in July 1991 and in this Code.
- 1.2 The ANC is an instrument created by the people of South Africa to achieve their goal of a just and democratic South Africa, to build a world in which all our people live together



as equals. In fighting for justice in our land, we must ensure that justice, fairness and equity exist at all times inside our organisation; our members and the people of South Africa must know and feel that justice is not merely an ideal but the fundamental principle that governs all our actions.

- 1.3 Accordingly, we must at all times act justly in our own ranks, observe the rules and practices which enable us to act in a united fashion and establish the embryo of a system which we envisage for a liberated South Africa - democratic decision-making, answerability of officials and acceptance of decisions arrived at by the appropriate organ.
- 1.4 In addition, as the ANC is a movement and not a government, there are ties of solidarity and common purpose and endeavour which bind us. Respect for each other's views presupposes an acceptance of certain basic approaches to debate within our movement - the rejection of personal insult, respect for clearly identified and democratically arrived-at policies and the non-racist and non-sexist character of our movement.
- 1.5 The Constitution (Article C6) states that the principles of freedom of speech and free circulation of ideas and information shall operate within the ANC and members have the right (Article 10) to "offer constructive criticism of any member, official, policy programme or activity of the ANC within its structures". The best interests of the movement are served by members respecting the need for debate within and not outside the movement.
- 1.6 In order to ensure the best interests of the movement, every member should take all necessary steps to understand and carry out the aims, policy and programme of the ANC and explain these to the people. Under our Constitution, members must combat propaganda detrimental to the interests of the ANC and defend the policy aims and programmes of the ANC.



- 1.7 The substance of our national aims is reflected in Article Ef of our Constitution which enjoins members to "fight against racism, tribalism, chauvinism, sexism, religious and political intolerance or any other form of discrimination or chauvinism". Members should not countenance any such manifestations within our structures.
- 1.8 No democratic movement can tolerate the existence of any organised grouping, faction or tendency within its structures or ranks. Members must utilise existing avenues for changes in policy and refrain from publishing and/or distributing any material without authorization which purports to be the view of any such grouping (Article Ei). In addition, members shall not engage in factional activity which goes outside the recognised norms of free debate inside the movement and which threatens its unity.

## **2. Officials**

- 2.1 All elected officials at branch, regional and national levels and all employees owe a special duty of respect to members. Consistent with the demands of their work, they must be accessible and available to members and must ensure that their behaviour is neither officious nor intolerant towards members.
- 2.2 They shall provide an efficient service to members. Communication and correspondence must be replied to as speedily as possible and they shall be accountable for all their acts and omissions to the appropriate organ in the movement.
- 2.3 Such officials shall not abuse their office or employment by using their position to obtain material, sexual or other undue advantages from members of others.
- 2.4 Members shall respect the authority and competencies vested in officials under the Constitution and assist them in the fulfilment of their functions.

### **3. Property**

- 3.1 Members, officials and employees shall recognise that they are trustees of the property which belongs to the movement. They shall recognise also that it is the sacrifice of the members that enables our movement to acquire the property to perform its functions.
- 3.2 They shall not make unauthorised use of the organisation's property for personal advantage and shall account to the organisation for any such advantage obtained.
- 3.3 They shall behave honestly in relation to the property of the organisation and shall at all times take appropriate measures to protect and maintain such property.
- 3.4 They shall not make negligent or careless use of the organisation's transport and shall be responsible for any loss incurred through careless or negligent use.

### **4. Discipline**

- 4.1 Members shall recognise that the best form of discipline is self-discipline, which holds the movement together.
- 4.2 However, they shall recognise further that the Constitution of the organisation provides, in the last analysis, for disciplinary proceedings to be taken for proven violations of the Constitution, principles, norms and decisions of the ANC, for any abuse of office, corruption, sexual harassment or misappropriation.
- 4.3 Proceedings may also be brought against members who behave in a disgraceful way that brings the organisation into disrepute or which manifests a flagrant violation of the moral integrity expected of members.



- 4.4 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 rules of the organisation are not directly affected. Neither should such proceedings be used as a means of stifling debate or denying members their basic democratic rights (Article Y of the Constitution).

## **5. Members of the National Executive Committee**

- 5.1 Members of the National Executive Committee, the second highest organ in our movement after the National Conference, owe a special responsibility to the organisation and members. They shall be available at all times to perform tasks as determined by the NEC and the National Working Party.
- 5.2 All NEC members based at Headquarters or present in Johannesburg on official business shall keep the Secretary General or his or her Deputy informed of tasks being carried out by them and shall (unless their duties make it impossible) report to Headquarters or the office in which they are involved on a periodic basis.
- 5.3 No NEC member shall leave the country without the authority of the Secretary General or the Deputy. All such applications for foreign travel must be made in a timely fashion and must specify the purpose of the trip, the period of absence and contact points throughout the trip. Where permission is refused, an appeal may be made to the President. When the journey is on the official business of the movement, a report shall be submitted to the Secretary General's office.
- 5.4 In the case of NEC members based in regions other than Headquarters, they shall inform the Region to which they are attached concerning the details of their internal travel.



- 5.5 Attendance at meetings of the National Executive Committee and the National Working Committee is obligatory and shall take precedence over any other meeting or commitment. If a member is unable to attend because of any prior arrangement or engagement, he or she shall seek permission for absence from the Secretary General or his or her Deputy.
- 5.6 All members of the National Executive Committee shall be members of and attached to a Branch.
- 5.7 The proceedings of the NEC and the National Working Committee and other leading structures are confidential. No NEC member shall convey the contents of the proceedings of meetings to external agencies without express or implied authorization. Formal statements on behalf of the organisation shall only be made by the national officers or those authorised to do so. It shall be the duty of NEC members to ensure the safety of all documents in their possession.
- 5.8 All NEC members shall strictly adhere to the letter and spirit of decisions of the NEC.
- 5.9 Except in cases of genuine urgency, all requests by regions and other structures for NEC speakers or their participation in conferences and meetings in any of the movement's structures shall be transmitted through the appropriate Headquarters in charge of allocating such speakers.
- 5.10 NEC members shall periodically keep the Secretary General of his or her Deputy informed, with written reports where necessary, of meetings and assignments carried out with embassies and other officials of governments.
- 5.11 Departmental heads shall regularly report on the progress of their departments to the NEC and seek guidance on the broad thrust of their work.



**6. Disclosure of Interests by members of the National Executive Committee, Regional Executive Committees, candidates for local, regional and national elections and employees of the ANC**

6.1 Apartheid has debased and devalued standards of ethical behaviour in public life, specially in relation to the accountability of politicians and public servants. Most democracies have enlightened and transparent rules concerning the disclosure of pecuniary interests and material benefits of leading officials. These guidelines are not violations of privacy nor attempts at witch-hunts for past transactions, but are meant to establish high standards of behaviour and to combat perceptions concerning possible conflicts of interests. Such disclosure is healthy for our movement and will strengthen our position when we advocate such an approach for members of our democratic national Parliament in the near future.

6.2 The National Executive Committee shall establish a Committee on the Declaration of Financial Interest which shall maintain a Register of Financial Interests which shall be updated from time to time. The Committee shall draft comprehensive rules for the topics covered here but shall be bound by these provisions.

**6.3 General Disclosure of Financial Interests**

Every member of the NEC and the other categories mentioned above shall make a general disclosure of financial interests which shall be entered in the Register. Such a statement shall cover (i) the name of employer or whether self-employed (ii) salary of income (iii) real property interests (iv) pensions (v) directorships and consultancies (vi) pensions (v) directorships and consultancies (vi) personal economic interests i.e. ownership or interest in stocks, shares, bonds or any business.



## 6.4 Directorship and Companies

Every person in the above categories shall register any directorships or consultancies with the Committee. In addition, if any member in these categories is offered a directorship of any company in future, such an invitation shall be reported to the Committee, which may recommend whether or not the acceptance of such a directorship is in the best interests of the organisation.

- 6.5 The obligation to report arises regardless of whether the directorship is paid or unpaid or whether it is a state, para-statal or private company.

## 6.6 Gifts

For the purpose of this Code of Conduct, a gift refers *inter alia*, to:

- (1) Any item of value supplied free of charge or at a reduced rate to the organisation for the use of an individual;
- (ii) Any item of value given to an individual official or person in the categories identified above;
- (iii) Any form of subsidisation of the ordinary expenses of an individual official or category of persons identified above, for example, the payment of rent, purchase of flats or houses, provision of clothing, meeting the expenses incurred by members of the individual's family such as payment of school fees, provision of leisure facilities, holidays, overseas travel, etc.

- 6.7 Any member in the above categories who is offered or receives a gift over the value of R100 shall immediately report it to the Committee on Financial Interests. The Committee shall make recommendations to the National Working Committee as to whether the receipt of any such gift is in the best interests of the organisation. The details concerning the gift shall be recorded in the Register maintained by the committee.



## **7. Payment for Activities carried out on behalf of the Organisation**

Any payment received in cash or kind, above the value of R100, for services rendered as a representative of the ANC, such as speaking as a member or employee of the organisation, shall be reported to the Committee and handed over to the organisation. This provision shall not apply to the payment of travel and accommodation expenses incurred by and paid for by the individual.

## **8. Register of Interests**

The Committee on Financial Interests shall periodically update the register by seeking and obtaining the necessary information from the individuals concerned. Such an updating shall occur after a period of three months following the drawing up of the initial Register and every six months thereafter. In the case of election candidates, the Register shall be reviewed once the candidates have been chosen. The Register shall be open for inspection by any member of the National Executive Committee who shall have reasonable access to the Register.

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August 1993

**ANNEXURE "Q"**

**MEMBERSHIP**

**SYSTEM**



# CONFIDENTIAL

## BRIEFING DOCUMENT FOR THE NWC ON THE NEW MEMBERSHIP SYSTEM

### BACKGROUND 'FACTS'

- 1 Over the last 3 years, National Office has issued 5 million application forms, but only 2 million membership cards. However National Office has only received R 500 000.
- 2 Virtually every region has a different policy on how much pensioners, the unemployed and students should pay, or whether a payment can be made in one go, or over several payments. As a result, the national membership office has no idea how many paid up members there are - nor can it be established.
- 3 Some regions have thrown away their older membership forms, so the national membership office has no idea how many members have joined the ANC - nor can it be established.
- 4 Only one region (to date) has informed us of how many branches it has. Southern Natal has 149 branches; of which 26 have not launched and 62 have not held an AGM within the last 15 months - leaving 61 constitutionally-recognised branches.

### THE NEW MEMBERSHIP SYSTEM

#### **RECRUITER MANDATE**

Every person who wishes to collect money in the name of the ANC must be identified, and mandated by their branch. This forms a legal contract between the recruiter and the ANC, and makes the branch responsible for any unaccounted for money. The recruiter will be issued with a special card to identify him/herself.

#### **RECRUITER PACK**

The pack is a small self-contained hard-covered pack which can be carried in a pocket - and taken into offices and factories without comment. It will contain 20 application forms, the top copy of which will be kept by the new member as a receipt and temporary membership card. Also included in the pack are bank deposit slips (to ensure that the money goes to the right account). No recruiter will get another pack until they have returned the previous one, and the money checked by the book-keeper.

2 ...

### **MEMBERSHIP CARD**

This has been simplified, and now forms part of a letter of welcome from the president. The card will not be issued by the recruiter, but the letter (and card) will be given to the branch secretary to deliver - thus ensuring that the new member is brought into the branch. In addition, details of how to contact the branch should be written on the letter (in the space provided).

In future we hope to present each new member with a folder, containing summaries of the ANC constitution, policies, etc, as well as details on their local branch. It will also contain details on how to join the ANC Friendship Club. However, since it will cost +- R1,50 per member, we need to finalise the sponsorship.

### **FINANCE**

Since three regions have never paid any membership fees to their branches, and others simply hand cash over to the recruiters, our branches are collapsing from a lack of resources. In future, all the money will be deposited into a single bank account, the national membership office (using electronic banking procedures) can ensure payment to branches within one week of the money being deposited.

**However, full accountability of monies is not possible unless every person pays the same amount - without exception.**

### **CONCLUSION**

The new system will reduce fraud considerably, and ensure that where it does occur, it is not repeated.

The new system will make it easier for recruiters to sign up new members.

The new system will ensure that new members are able to become active members of the ANC.

The new system will ensure that all membership finances are fully accountable - and properly audited.

***If the new system can gain political approval during July, we will be able to introduce it before November - and hence avoid interfering with the election campaign. If it is not introduced, the ANC will be shown to be corrupt and incompetent - how come we can only account for R 500 000 out of a potential R 60 000 000 collected as membership fees ?***

G Mulholland  
National Membership Officer

7 July 1993

182



**ANNEXURE "R"**

**MOTOR**

**VEHICLE**

**SCHEME**

# AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

## MOTOR VEHICLE SCHEME (Second Draft)

### 1. INTRODUCTION

This document sets out in some detail a motor vehicle scheme for the African National Congress which makes provision for:-

- a motor vehicle scheme and
- a motor vehicle control system

The number of vehicles owned by the ANC has increased over the past two years and consequently there has been an escalation in the expenses regarding acquisition of the vehicles, and maintenance thereof. There has also been an alarming increase in the reckless handling of motor vehicles. A motor vehicle scheme is therefore necessary to address these problems.

### 2. MOTOR VEHICLE OWNERSHIP SCHEME

#### 2.1. Objectives of Motor Vehicle Scheme Ownership Scheme

##### 2.1.1 To enable eligible Staff Members to own Vehicles

The motor vehicle scheme will enable eligible staff members whose duties require them to travel regularly to own the vehicles that have been allocated to them through a subsidy system financed by the ANC.

##### 2.1.2 To Reduce Costs Related to Vehicles

It is hoped that through this scheme we would be able reduce the excessive costs the ANC incurs on the 252 vehicles it currently owns.

##### 2.1.3 Making more Resources available

Through the motor vehicle ownership scheme more resources can be unlocked and spread around to enable the work of the movement to be done more effectively.



## 2.2 The Vehicle Ownership Scheme

The motor vehicle ownership scheme will be based on a subsidy paid by the ANC to the benefit of the participating staff member. There will be two motor vehicle ownership schemes:-

For Staff at National level and the other for Regional Staff

### 2.2.1 The Subsidy System

**National Staff** - The subsidy will be 40% for national staff members.

**Regional Staff** - The subsidy would be 50% for staff at regional level

The ANC will pay the full purchase cost (including taxes and interest) of the vehicle but charge 60% for national and 50 % for regional staff of the purchase price to the personal account of the respective staff member.

The amount will be considered an interest free loan to be repaid by salary deductions over a period of three years.

#### Example:

a vehicle which cost R45 000 would entail a loan repayments as follows:

#### National Staff

Price of vehicle R45 000

Loan for vehicle R27 000

Subsidy for vehicle 40%

Payments over three years = R750.00 per month

**Regional Staff**

Price of vehicle R45 000  
Loan for vehicle R22 500  
Subsidy for vehicle 50%  
Payments over three years = R625.00  
per month

**2.2.2 Eligibility for Participation**

Only those staff members whose work requires them to travel will be eligible to participate in the Motor Vehicle Ownership Scheme. The following staff members will therefore be eligible to participate in the scheme.

**2.2.2.1 National Level**

Head of Department  
Deputy Head of Department  
Organisers

**2.2.2.2 Regional Level**

Full time REC members  
Organisers  
Heads of Departments



2.2.2.3 Staff members who are exempted from participating in the scheme

2.2.2.3.1 Those exempted by virtue of the positions they hold

Vehicles allocated to the following shall be exempted.

- President  
Deputy President  
National Chairperson  
Secretary General  
Deputy Secretary General  
Treasurer General
- Pool Drivers
- Security Drivers
- MHQ Drivers
- Vehicles used at ANC  
Missions Abroad

The ownership of these vehicles would remain with the ANC.

2.2.2.3.2. Those who are eligible but chose not to participate in scheme

Those staff members whose jobs require them to travel but decline to participate in the ownership scheme will be required to pay some consideration towards the usage of the vehicles. It is assumed that the vehicles allocated to them are used for work and personal purposes. As all vehicles depreciate in value each year at the rate of 33.3% of the value. Those who choose not to participate in the scheme will be required to cover some of the costs of the depreciation to

the value of 25% over 36 months. On a vehicle costing R45 000 the 25% depreciation would amount to R11 500 and over 36 months the repayments would be R312,00 per month.

2.2.2.4 Type of vehicles

Only vehicles with an engine capacity not exceeding 1600 cc will be purchased.

2.2.2.5 Registration

Vehicles will be registered in the name of the ANC. Change of ownership thereof will only take place once the full repayment of the loan is completed.

2.2.2.6 Insurance

All motor vehicles will be comprehensively insured by the ANC.

2.2.2.7 Annual Licensing Fees

The participating staff member will be responsible for the annual licensing fees payable to the Municipality licensing authority.

2.2.2.8 Maintenance

The proper maintenance of the vehicle shall be the responsibility of the staff member who will be expected to keep the car in good running order. Maintenance costs will be defrayed by the ANC. Repairs and cost of needed spare parts will also be paid by the ANC. Any maintenance cost exceeding R3 000 a year will be to the account of the staff member and shall be deducted from the staff members salary.



#### 2.2.2.9 Accidents

In the event of a motor vehicle accident the staff member shall be liable to pay the excess amount required by insurers irrespective of whether they are to blame for the accident or not.

The staff member shall be responsible to ensure that a report is made to the SAP within twenty four hours and that a completed insurance claim form is forwarded to the insurers as well as to the Transport Department within a three days. Failure to do this shall lead to disciplinary action.

#### 2.2.2.10 Fuel Expenses

Each participating staff member shall pay an amount of money to be determined by the National Working Committee towards fuel expenses. At this stage the National Working Committee recommends that each participating staff member pays 30% of the total fuel costs they spend on the vehicle on a monthly basis.

#### 2.2.2.11 Traffic Fines

All fines for traffic violations shall be paid by the participating staff member irrespective of who was driving the vehicle at the time of the violation. If the ANC as legal owner of the vehicle should be compelled to pay such a fine the amount paid will be deducted from the participating staff member's salary with a penalty of 25% of the fine.

#### 2.2.2.12 Compulsory withdrawal from Scheme

The ANC shall repossess the vehicle and terminate the staff member's participation from the scheme if it is evident that he/she is incapable or unsuitable for driving safely or otherwise he/she fails, neglects or refuses to keep the vehicle in proper working condition. The staff member whose participation has

been withdrawn for the scheme will be entitled to be refunded 50% of the loan repayments they would have made.

#### 2.2.2.13

##### Voluntary Withdrawal from Scheme

When a participating staff member resigns, is transferred abroad or leaves for other reasons, he/she will have the option of paying the total remaining loan amount in one lump sum and get the vehicle registered in his/her name or to hand the vehicle back to the ANC and be refunded 65% of the loan repayments made.

The normal withdrawal from the motor vehicle ownership scheme will be when the agreement expires after three years when the full loan amount has been repaid. The ANC will then immediately transfer the legal ownership of the vehicle to the staff member, who thereafter shall have to take full responsibility for all costs of the vehicle.

#### 2.2.2.14

##### Legal Agreement

Every participating staff member shall be required to sign an agreement between the ANC and themselves which will set out the full details of the scheme.



2.2.2.15 Transitional Arrangements towards effecting ownership

The existing vehicles that will be offered to eligible staff were purchased at different times during the years 1990 - 1993. The ANC has adopted a policy of depreciation by 33.3% a year. This will mean that vehicles entering into the scheme in 1993 will do so with a reduced value as listed below. N.B. vehicles purchased in 1990 have been depreciated at the rate of 25% a year.

- Any vehicle purchased in 1993 will retain its full purchase value = 100%
- Any vehicle purchased in 1992 will be valued at 75% of its purchase value.
- Any vehicle purchased in 1991 will be valued at 50% of its purchase value.
- Any vehicle purchased in 1990 or earlier will be valued at 25% of its purchase value.

The depreciated price of the vehicle will be charged to the personal account of the concerned staff member and considered a loan to be repaid as follows:

- Installments over a period of 36 months for a 1993 vehicle
- Installments over a period of 24 months for a 1992 vehicle
- Installments over a period of 12 months for a 1991 vehicle
- Installments of over a period of 12 months for a 1990 vehicle

Example 1 - (For Regional Staff)

A vehicle purchased in 1992 at a price of R40 000 has been depreciated to R30 000. The staff member will be granted a loan of R15 000 to be repaid by R625 a months for twenty four months.

Example 2 - (For National Staff)

A vehicle purchased in 1990 at a price of R30 000 has been depreciated to R7 500. The staff member will be granted a loan of R4 500 to be repaid by R375 a month during twelve months.

3. MOTOR VEHICLE CONTROL SYSTEM

3.1 Objectives of the Motor Vehicle Control System

3.1.1 To ensure that the property of the movement is properly looked after and accounted for.

3.1.2 To enhance the responsibility and accountability of the staff members over the property of the movement.

3.1.3 To ensure that costs related to motor vehicles are reduced.

3.2. Drivers Licences

Any vehicle must only be driven by licenced drivers who must obtain an advanced drivers licence certificate in addition to the valid ordinary drivers licence.

3.3 Log Books

All ANC owned vehicles must be provided with a log book in which important technical information about the vehicle shall be noted. Any driver of a vehicle shall record in the log book all travels (destination, meter reading at start and end of trip, number of kilometers driven and signature). Petrol refills, repairs, oil change etc. according to instructions printed in the book.

Staff members participating in the Motor Vehicle Ownership Scheme do not need to record their travels.

3.4 Fuel

Transport Department will arrange for a system of purchasing fuel.



### 3.5 Traffic Fines

All fines for traffic violations shall be paid by the actual driver of the vehicle at the time of the violation. Should the ANC, as the legal owner of the vehicle be compelled to pay such a fine the affected staff member will be expected to pay the fine together with a 25% penalty.

### 3.6 Accidents

Any traffic accidents if not minor involving an ANC owned car shall be reported immediately to the police and to the insurance company. A detailed report should be presented to the Transport Department.