

**ANC**

***NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE***

***REPORT ON REGIONS  
AND ADDITIONAL REPORTS***

***8 - 10 JUNE 1992***

## **1. Report on Regions**

## **2. Additional Reports**

- Organising Department**

- Election Strategy**

- Elections Structure**

- Research Department**

## **3. Youth League**



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**African  
National Congress**

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# **ORGANISING DEPARTMENT**

**REPORT TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

**STATE OF ORGANISATION**

**IN THE REGIONS**

**June 3, 1992**

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***The people shall govern!***

1. **Introduction:**

This report is compiled partly from the reports sent up by the regions and partly from our departmental interaction with the regions. It also re-enforces the assessment of our organisational performance that was lodged to the Secretary General for the attention of the National Executive Committee about a month ago.

The regional reports have not given us the type of regional profile we need in order to make an organisational assessment. We have provided the regions with a report format in order to record and rationalise certain types of information. In addition, the reports are not sent promptly to allow a self critical re-appraisal by the department and the regions themselves. Reading from the reports we get the impression that most of the regional reports are not drawn up by the Secretaries but are just a compilation of data collected by the regional organisers. If this particular trend persists there is no way that the NEC will have a clear picture of the situation on the ground.

THE INPUT OF THE REGIONAL SECRETARIES IS VITAL TO THE PROCESSING OF A REPORT INTENDED TO GUIDE THE NEC.

2. **Growth:**

Attached to this report are the membership figures, but we are concerned that in many instances these are not accurate. Some regions are actually beginning to say that they fear their paid up membership is much less than the figures they are submitting to us every month. For example, E. Tvl, who at the National Conference boasted membership of 65 000/83 000 now says its paid up membership is 22,050.

Our achievements since National Conference are variable. There is an uneven development of the regions. Some regions are very weak, and others are relatively strong and playing a leadership role in their area.

This is a picture of our strength in terms of population of a region and its ANC membership:

<u>Region</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
PWV	5,715,500	100,267	1.75%
N. Tvl	4,289,600	32,000	0.74%
E. Tvl	1,653,300	78,000	4.7%
W. Tvl	1,484,400	15,952	1%
N. Cape	698,700	17,590	2.5%
E. Cape	930,600	113,619	12.2%
W. Cape	669,400	56,000	8.3%
Border	938,000	103,285	11%
Transkei	3,378,900	69,152	2%
Natal	6,119,700	122,979	2%
OFS	2,181,200	39,072	1.8%

\* Note that Natal regions and OFS have been put together because population figures are only available for the provinces

But quantitative growth doesn't necessarily mean qualitative growth. We are trying to build a democratic ANC which empowers ordinary members to contribute to and influence their own future. That necessitates an organisation with viable structures, structures that are linked to and rooted in the community and personnel with skills to run those structures.

Some of the factors that have enabled the relatively strong regions to grow and consolidate their work are:

- \* ability to identifying campaigns that appeal to the people such as the Peoples Assemblies, Anti-Bop campaign and the plight of pensioners
- \* forging links with other mass formations and embarking on joint activities with them
- \* proper planning and formulation of regional strategic perspectives
- \* a well organised administrative machinery
- \* demarcation into properly functioning sub-regions

Internal organisational activities have boosted our capacity to activate our branches. We refer here to such activities as preparations for the National Policy Conference, regular discussions on negotiations and Regional General Councils.

In most areas preparatory work on elections has created very high expectations among our members and holds the potential for creating a sense of purpose amongst our membership and activists.

We have been able to identify a number of problems in and out of our movement which are seriously hampering our growth.

- \* The violence is making it very difficult to organise and consolidate branches. Our full time organisers in the areas torn by violence especially Natal, and PWV are consumed in this work.
- \* Repression in Bophutatswana, Ciskei and Kwazulu
- \* Not all regions appear to have a clear perception of the strategic drive of the movement. Hence an inability to engage in capaigns
- \* Lack of self confidence and therefore ability to take the initiative.
- \* Improper and mechanical deployment of resources

- \* The overall image of the movement, especially in the Coloured, Indian and white areas is not enhanced by negative publicity.
- \* Our inability to harness the energies of our MK ex-combattants into disciplined organisational activity
- \* The apparent infiltration of our structures by agents provocateurs

### 3. Conclusion:

We are confident that with proper identification and prioritisation of what we require here and in the regions, our capacity to grow is phenomenal.

The recently adopted Programme of Action should be able to increase our capacity to consolidate and grow. We have a chance here to focus both our political work and the movement as a whole.

We must follow up from the Policy Conference and ensure that our policies reach our people and are understood so that they can be fought for.

We have already undermined some of our political work by dragging our feet on the issue of elections. The mass activity being mapped out in the Programme of Action must be seen as the basis on which we will build our election machinery.

The combination of these inter related activities will help to draw in all sections and departments to work in a co-ordinated way. By concentrating our resources in these spheres we will deal with many of the problems outlined above that are impacting seriously on our growth and impact as a movement.



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GROWTH OF ANC MEMBERSHIP BY REGION: JULY 1991  
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 TO APRIL 1992.  
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REGION	JULY, 1991	APRIL, 1992.	GROWTH
PWV	77429	100267	22838
N.TVL.	22160	32000	9840
E.TVL.	65000	78000	13000
W.TVL.	11262	15952	4690
N.CAPE.	15260	17590	2330
E.CAPE.	57854	113619	55765
W.CAPE.	53000	56000	3000
BORDER	68756	103285	34529
TRANSKEI	46384	69152	22768
N.NATAL.	2500	6846	4346
S.NATAL.	50596	68560	17964
N.MIDLANDS.	26401	47573	21172
N.OFS.	20554	20554	NIL
S.OFS.	15000	18518	3518
	532156	747916	215760

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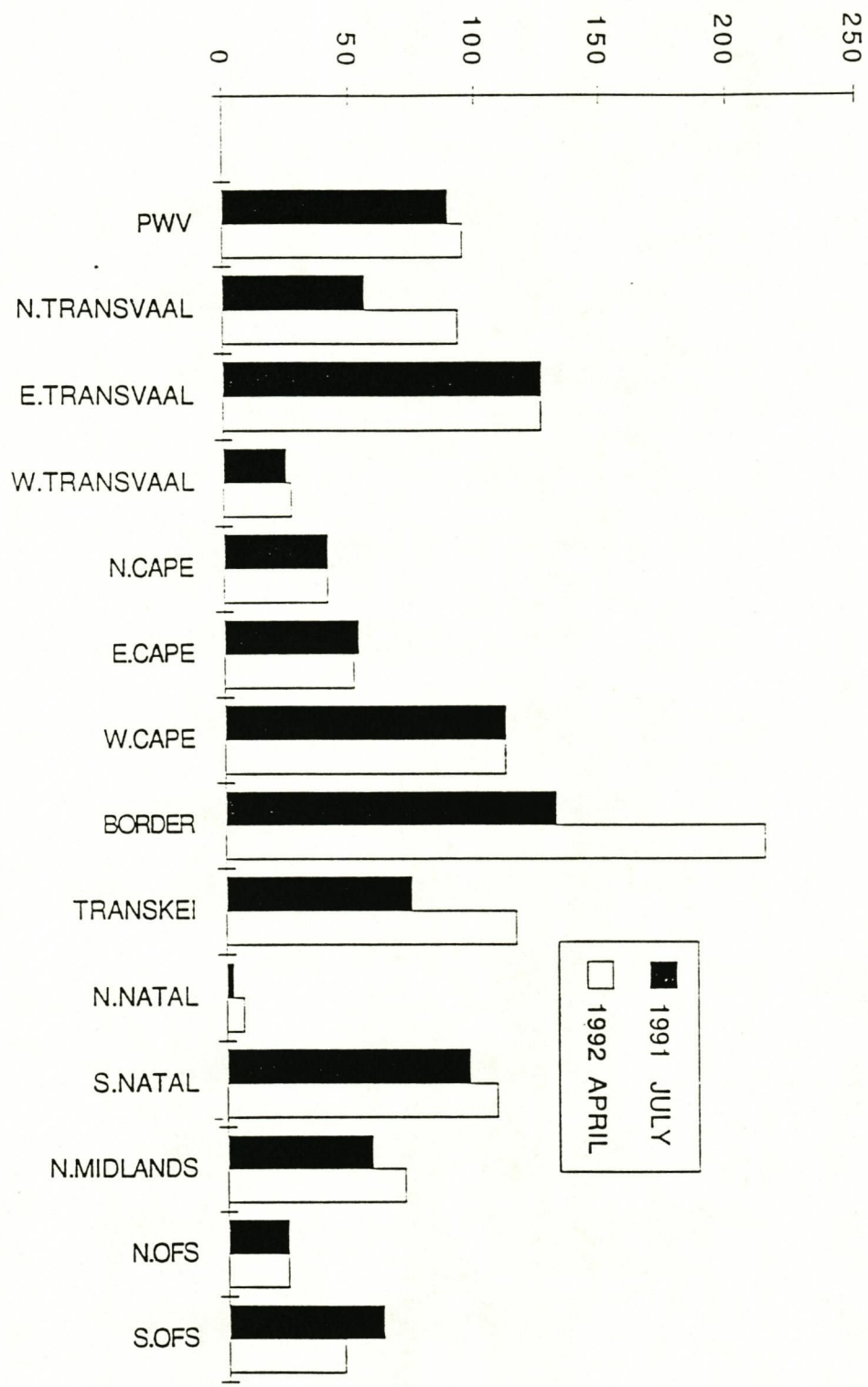
## GROWTH OF ANC BRANCHES BY REGION: JULY 1991

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TO APRIL 1992  
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REGION	JULY, 1991.	APRIL, 1992.	GROWTH.
PWV	89	95	6
N.TVL.	56	93	37
E.TVL.	126	126	0
W.TVL.	25	27	2
N.CAPE.	41	41	0
E.CAPE.	53	51	0
W.CAPE.	111	111	0
BORDER	131	214	83
TRANSKEI	73	115	42
N.NATAL.	3	7	4
S.NATAL.	96	107	11
N.MIDLANDS.	57	70	13
N.OFS.	24	24	0
S.OFS.	61	46	0
	946	1127	198

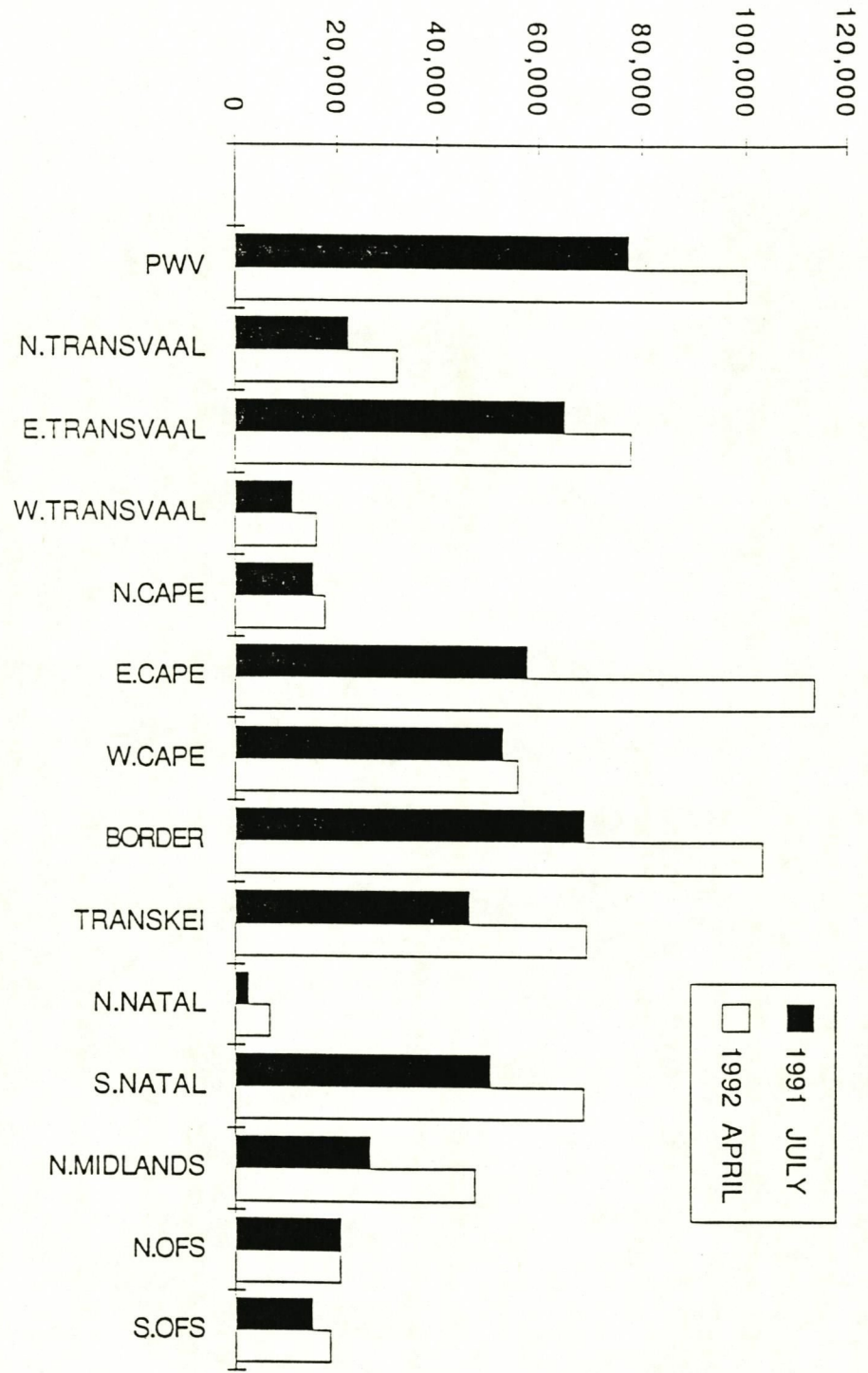
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GROWTH OF ANC BRANCHES BY REGION: JULY 1991 TO APRIL 1992



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GROWTH OF ANC MEMBERSHIP BY REGION: JULY 1991 TO APRIL 1992





***ORGANISING***  
***DEPARTMENT***



# **ANC ORGANISING DEPARTMENT JOHANNESBURG**

## **Report to NEC on Activities of the Organising Department January - June 1992**

The Organising Department is a very busy department. It has 11 NEC members, seven of whom are in the NWC.

3 of the NWC members are also in Codesa and were attending meetings at least twice a week.

The general diary of activities from January were as follows:

### **Sectoral Meetings**

White farmers in Harrismith

Popcru

SACP



Cosatu

MK

Youth League

Women's League

Peoples Progressive Party (Bop)

preparatory meetings on the mobilisation of whites

National Launch of South African Civic Association in E. Cape,

Bop ex political prisoners

National Peace Accord

OAU and monitoring of violence

Train massacre commission  
Peace Accord Operations Committtee

Meeting of sports journalists and sports personalities

Alliance meeting in Durban

Patriotic Front Convening Committee

Young Christian Students

Patriotic Front and Japanese Economic Commission

**Meetings Addressed by members of Organising  
Department:**

Indian community in Malhabor, PE  
Memorial service in Tzaneen

AGM Zeerust  
 Community in Leeufontein  
 Meeting in Ga Seleka  
 Court case in Groblersdaal  
 AGM Workers Library  
 Elections at Workers Library  
 AGM Dobsonville branch  
 Wolmarans  
 Komatipoort  
 Bloedfontein  
 Diepkloof AGM  
 American Chamber of Commerce  
 Grahamstown Sports Conference  
 Nocsa  
 Sandton Sports Award  
 Cricket Society of SA  
 The white community in and around Johannesburg

### **Ongoing Activities:**

80th Anniversary celebrations.

Re-organising Marshalling structures - consulted with most regions and conducted training workshops

Monitoring REC elections - W. Tvl, N. Cape, SOFS, NOFS,

Preparations for budget Day (March 18th), Sharpeville Day (March 21st)

Photo exhibition of 80th Anniversary

Qwaqwa taxi conflict

Accompanying President on his visits to the regions

Revival of W. Tvl region

Strengthening of SOFS region

Visits to the prisons

May Day activities

Ciskei re-incorporation

Bop re-incorporation

Finalising new system of membership application and cards

Human Rights commemoration

Australian and New Zealand Cricket Tour

### **Visits to the regions:**

W. Tvl - Schweizer Reneke branch, Koster, Rustenberg, Zeerust, Dinnokana (Building ANC Section, Rural Areas, Political Education, Peace, Campaigns & Head of Dept.)

SOFS - (DPE, BAS, Peace, Head of Dept)

NOFS- 13 branches visited (BAS, Peace, DPE, Campaigns, Head of Dept.)

Border region - (Rural Areas, Campaigns, Head of Dept., BAS, DPE)

N. Cape - (Peace, BAS, DPE & Head of Dept)

Transkei - (BAS, Head of Dept)

E. Tvl - (Mass Organisations, Campaigns, DPE, BAS & Peace)

E. Cape - (BAS, Head of Dept)

Northern Natal - (Peace, BAS, Campaigns, Head of Dept, Mass Organisations, DPE)

Natal Midlands - (Peace, BAS, Campaigns, Head of Dept, Mass Orgs, DPE, Head of Dept)

S. Natal - (Peace, BAS, Campaigns, Head of Dept, Mass Orgs, DPE, Head of Dept.)

N. Tvl - (Rural Areas, Campaigns, BAS, DPE)

W. Cape - (Peace, Rural Areas, Head of Dept, Campaigns, DPE)

PWV - (Peace, Campaigns, Rural Areas, BAS)

### **Internal meetings:**

weekly meetings of co-ordinating committee for the release of political prisoners

Political prisoners committee

Weekly meetings of Alliance Campaigns Co-ordinating Committee

Campaigns Co-ordinating meetings

Bop strategising meeting

ANC/TIC/NIC and some regions to discuss organising in Indian communities

### **Rallies addressed in:**

Mampuru village, Beckersdal, Lenasia, Kuruman, Oukasie, Hartebeesfontein, Medunsa Stadium, Senekal, Border region, Ngobe, Mafalane, Sesalamani, Malelani, Nchabaleng, Mohlaletsi

### **Produced (written material):**

Campaigns bulletins

Induction manual and pamphlet

Discussion paper: Should white democrats vote in the referendum

Film: History of ANC (planned)  
NEC deployment  
Tabloid of 80th Anniversary  
People's budget leaflet  
Budget day poster  
Yes to votes for all poster  
80th Anniversary video  
Youth Conference video  
MK booklet  
Discussion paper on election strategy  
Booklet on history of the ANC

### **National meetings organised by OD**

National campaigns committee meeting April 11th  
National DPE meeting 23rd March  
Organisers national meeting 28th February

### **Training:**

5 days training regional political education officers  
2 sessions 5 days each for regional organisers  
leadership training of branch leadership

## **Problems in implementing Movement decisions:**

Co-ordination between different sections of the Organising Department remains a massive problem. This is made especially difficult by other demands made on the leadership in this Department.

Lack of resources also makes for much confusion with the Treasury and results in problems in planning. Budgets are not approved and inefficient procedures and lack of follow through by the service sector of our movement hampers our work.



# **ELECTION STRATEGY**





# **ELECTION STRATEGY FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY \ INTERIM LEGISLATURE**

## **1 INTRODUCTION**

**1.1** It is urgent that we develop an election strategy. If we succeed in reaching agreement on an elected constituent assembly based on proportional representation and one person one vote, we shall have no more than a short space of a few months in which to mobilise people a) to vote and b) to vote for the ANC.

**1.2** At the same time in order to win agreement at Codesa for an elected constituent assembly, we need to ensure that the Patriotic Front forces within Codesa are consolidated around our demands for a two phase interim government and for an elected constituent assembly. The key to getting agreement on these issues depends, firstly, on the degree to which we succeed in consolidating the Patriotic Front forces in Codesa, and the progress we make at the bilateral level with the government. We have to ensure that questions of regionalism, regional lists and a non-elected constitution making body are deprived of any potential to erode the cohesion of the Patriotic Front forces in Codesa.

**1.3** It is our view that a proper election strategy is capable of addressing both these problems simultaneously. In this regard it is necessary that we a) define the objectives of an election strategy; b) define the social forces which need to be mobilised into the camp of democracy; c) determine the form in which the democratic forces will participate in the elections; d) develop an approach for an election platform of the democratic forces; and e) develop a perspective for the conduct of the election campaign.

## **2 OBJECTIVES OF AN ELECTION STRATEGY**

**2.1** We focused the content of our struggle for liberation around the central demands for national democracy. In order to achieve this goal we have sought to mobilise our people in terms of two camps: the camp of the anti-apartheid forces, and the camp of those supporting apartheid. The centrality of the ANC and its allies was the bedrock of the anti apartheid forces.

**2.2** As we move through the current and coming phase of the struggle we need to bring this same focus but centred this time around the question of democracy. On the basis of this heritage, it is important that this focus should be redirected towards the camp of democracy and the camp of anti-democratic forces. Such a refocus brings to the fore the need to win our demand for an elected constitution making body (Constituent Assembly) as well as win the forthcoming elections.

**2.3** Thus, achieving a democratic system and realising democracy in practice becomes the central focus of our electoral strategy.

### **3**

#### **THE SOCIAL FORCES FOR DEMOCRACY**

**3.1** In order to maintain its power, the rulers of our country sought to divide our people on racial and ethnic lines. Along this path they created institutions aimed at enhancing such divisions.

**3.2** For our part, we strove to build the unity of our people. In this process, we constantly sought to outflank the divisive tendencies that the regime tried to exploit. Accordingly, we encouraged a proliferation of organisations and structures on the basis that this would provide a range of vehicles which would enable us to reach out to our people at the grassroots level in both the urban and rural areas in order to draw them into active struggle. In other words, we saw the proliferation of these organisations as strengthening the mobilisation of the people and the leadership role of the ANC.

**3.3** In terms of class forces, we recognised that the overwhelming majority of our people were the working people and those eking out a living in the rural areas. We also recognised that the system of race rule placed objective constraints on the middle strata of our population whose rightful place was in the liberation struggle. We also moved from the premise that we needed to encourage and draw anti apartheid forces within the white community into the struggle for national democracy.

**3.4** In focusing on democracy, these same social forces remain the basis of our election strategy. It would be premature to think of reshaping the ANC at this stage along traditional class lines.

**3.5** With regard to the proliferation of organisations which exist in our country today, our emphasis should remain a dynamic one. We should avoid a mechanical approach centred around questions which prematurely seek to determine whether an organisation should disband or continue to exist. This type of question should evolve its answers in the course of consolidation the democratic forces, building the democratic platform and establishing cohesion amongst the democratic forces in the work of the constituent assembly as well as the interim legislature. In this process some organisations may well disband or merge with the ANC; others may continue to exist by developing a closer identity with the camp of the democratic forces led by the ANC. The ANC should at all times be seen to be the force encouraging the process of national unity, lending unity to the diversity of our people, giving shape to the social compact of the diverse and contradictory social forces in our society, giving content to non-racialism and non-sexism and being the cementing agency of the democratic forces. Along this path we enhance and ensure the leadership role of the ANC.

#### **4 IN WHAT FORM SHOULD THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS?**

**4.1** In organisational terms, the democratic forces which we seek to mobilise under the umbrella of the ANC are spread across the structures of the ANC and its allies, viz the SACP and Cosatu. They are also to be found in the multiplicity of the organs of civil society, in trade unions that have not yet come within the fold of Cosatu, in professional organisations and business groupings, in parties which have come into existence through the bantustan and tricam system, in organisations and structures which exist amongst the traditional leaders and the religious organisations.

**4.2** In addition, we need to be extremely mindful that the white community in general and the parties belonging to the white community will be under going an immense process of transformation, redefinition and realignment. Accordingly the constituency in this community will require from us a constant search for viable ways in which we can ideologically and organisationally impact upon it. Theoretically, we have always challenged the claim of white parliamentary parties to be the authentic and unique spokespersons of the white community. We are now in the phase where our assertion to be the leading force of democracy for the entire peoples of our country must find adequate organisational expression. We shall be doing so in the context where the ruling nationalist Party will be seeking to carry its white constituency and its image as the representative of the whites into a future which reaches into the black constituencies.

**4.3** In practical terms four options stand out with regard to the form in which we should participate in the elections:

**4.3.1** *An ANC List* - We could campaign in terms of a straight ANC list. Such a list would be drawn up by the leadership of the ANC in consultation with its regions. All those elected would act as a cohesive body acting in accordance with ANC decisions. All other organisations belonging to the democratic\Patriotic Front forces as well as our alliance partners would then be expected to campaign on their own with the possibilities of entering into election pacts. The additional disadvantage of this approach is that it restricts our capacity to draw in the trade unions, civics, and other organs of civil society. Our base is narrowed and the possibilities of creating a public awareness that the elections involve two camps - the camp of democracy, and the anti democratic camp - is blurred.

**4.3.2** *An ANC alliance list* - This would widen our base but still exclude a number of forces. Furthermore, it would enable the anti-democratic forces to raise the issue of the ANC-CP alliance to the forefront of the election campaign. In this way, public perception would be focused incorrectly.

**4.3.3**     ***An ANC pact list*** - This would involve putting together a number of bilateral or multilateral pacts. The very exercise would be fraught with all sorts of inbuilt tensions. Instead of emphasis being placed on national unity and the cohesion of the democratic forces, attention would fall more on the independence of the parties involved in such pacts. Along this path the constituent assembly and interim legislature would increasingly become sites of the sort of horse trading that goes on in the House of Delegates

**4.3.4**     ***An ANC (Democratic Front or Patriotic Front) list*** - This approach could avoid the negative tendencies inherent in the idea of an ANC Pact list as outlined above. It has the potential for us to engage the entire spectrum of democratic forces into the process of developing an ANC (PF) list, as well as the election platform of the democratic forces organised under the overall leadership of the ANC. Such an approach should have the added flexibility which would give us the capacity to draw in leading individuals from our society who belong to the patriotic and democratic camp. This approach enhances our strategy to fight the elections as well as win our positions in the negotiations process around the perception that both these exercises involve a struggle between the forces of democracy and the forces against democracy.

## **5**           **GUIDELINES FOR A NATIONAL LIST**

From the above it is clear that we recommend that our approach should centre around the concept of an ANC (democratic front or Patriotic Front) list. In this regard, it is important that we have a clear set of guidelines which determine the way in which we construct such a national list:

- 5.1**        Through a process of consultation, the list will be put together by the ANC.
  
- 5.2**        Our alliance partners viz. the SACP and Cosatu would be enabled to bring forth their lists and suggestions.

- 5.3** The ANC regions would be encouraged to bring forward names for such a list via a process of heightened branch and regional activities, almost akin to the US primaries.
- 5.4** The autonomous structures of the ANC, viz. the Women's League and the Youth League would engage in a similar exercise
- 5.5** We would also reach into all the individuals and structures of the democratic forces - the bantustan and tricam parties, the NIC/TIC, the civics, religious groupings, sporting and cultural bodies, teachers organisations, traditional leaders etc - in order to draw them into the process.
- 5.6** The ANC would take all these suggestions into account with a view to putting together a balanced list which would take into account regional, class, gender, as well as racial and ethnic factors.
- 5.7** Such a list would then be taken to the tripartite alliance for approval.
- 5.8** The culmination of the process would be to organise mass conferences/rallies of the PF forces where the lists would be presented for public approval.
- 5.9** In constructing the national lists, we should bear in mind that if there are for example 400 seats in the constituent assembly, then our lists will have to be structured in blocks, each block reflecting the spread of the overall list, but prioritised in such a way that the public shall have a very clear understanding that if the ANC were to win only 200 seats, then which of the 400 names would place in this first 200. If the ANC were to win 250 seats, then which of the 400 names would find a place.

**DEVELOPING AN ELECTION PLATFORM**

- 6.1** Essential to having an ANC (PF) list is a clear perspective for developing a common platform which would unite the democratic forces. There is every likelihood that the elections would have a twofold character - a) elections for the constituent assembly and b) such elections would simultaneously establish an interim legislature. At the same time, after a democratic constitution has been adopted, either fresh elections would have to be held in order to establish a parliament in conformity with such a constitution, or the constituent assembly/ interim legislature would become the new parliament if it is not in contradiction with the terms of the new constitution.
- 6.2** The implications of the above are that the election platform in the first place would have to be built around the work of the constituent assembly. Accordingly concrete constitutional proposals would form the key element of our platform.
- 6.3** Secondly, on the basis of ANC initiatives, the democratic forces would have to be drawn into a process whereby the second aspect of an election platform dealing with the economic and social goals of an ANC (PF) government. In this regard, the forthcoming ANC policy conference could provide an important starting point in this process not only for the ANC structures, but also for the organisations we shall be drawing into the camp of the democratic forces. In this way, we shall be initiating a process which will involve the elaboration of the election platform, the election strategy, as well as the campaigning strategy.

[21st April 1992]

1) Registration  
2) ANC (PF).  
3) - off. action -  
Constituent. advancement,  
- untl. unity.





***ELECTIONS***

***STRUCTURE***



## Report of NWC sub-committee on Elections

14th April 1992

This is a report and recommendations arising out of two meetings held by the Organising Department, the DIP and the Elections Commission as mandated by the NWC.

### 1. Significance of elections for the Constituent Assembly and our approach.

Elections are a key part of our people determining their own future and can be seen as the culmination of hundreds of years of struggle against colonialism and for national liberation. The elections must be seen as a contest between apartheid and democracy.

Being elections for a Constituent Assembly, people would be voting over who should draw up a new constitution. This would in fact be a more fundamental question than who should govern. In reality they would choose whether this should be a truly democratic constitution, or one that provides for something less, the retention of white privilege in one or other form.

Even if there is a period of transitional government, by consensus between parties with unequal popular support, it would be important that the electorate has spoken. It would mean that within that consensus government, the ANC would speak with the known support of a certain proportion of the population. Obviously the greater that number the more significant will be our role in the interim government and constitution making.

Equally, we need to concentrate our minds on the disastrous meaning of an electoral defeat. Let us understand very clearly what it would mean to lose an election. Let us understand that we have to win and win overwhelmingly. That is what the people want.

The key question is how do we equip ourselves to run an election campaign. The elections must be seen as our largest campaign for the attainment of political power. It therefore involves substantial organisational tasks.

We must regard the preparations for elections as urgent since the regime, knowing we need time to organise, might try and spring them on us early.

## 2. Our broad organisational approach

Our broad organisational approach can be seen in three parts.

- 2.1. Firstly - how do we strengthen our organisational capacity? This becomes crucial when we discover that, according to Development Bank figures 71% of voters are concentrated in 4 regions and some of those 4 regions are our weakest. This is an indication of the work that needs to be done. These figures show our organisational weakness in relation to where our voters are.
- 2.2. Secondly, we need an integrated approach. We need to gear the whole movement for this task. The structures to guide this process must be located within ANC national and regional structures. Parallelism would undermine our organisation.
- 2.3. Thirdly the ANC's mass approach and outside input are not mutually exclusive. We must use our wealth of experience in mass struggle and infuse it with the experience of elections experts.
- 2.4. Fourthly, violence is becoming the biggest obstacle to conducting free and fair elections. The conditions under which elections have to be conducted take into account such problems as violence and lack of free political activity in many parts of the country. Therefore the removal of this impediment must feature prominently in our work in Codesa and in our mass action.

## 3. Phases of election strategy

Work for the elections falls into two phases. The first phase can be seen as the preparatory phase and the second phase is the running of the Campaign itself.

### 3.1. The preparatory phase

This phase has the following elements. These elements are not listed in sequence or in order of importance. They should not be mechanically separated but blended into each other and intertwined. They should run concurrently as part of the preparatory process.

The first element is that of sensitising the mass of our people to the issue of elections generally. We need to put the issue of elections on the agenda and raise it wherever we find ourselves. We need to start talking about it everywhere so that our people get used to the idea that elections are coming and that it involves them. This should not be confined to the ANC alone. The concept of elections needs to spread to the four corners of our country. It must be taken there by the church, by the trade unions and by all the organs of civil society. This part of the preparatory work is not about telling people to vote for the ANC. It is about telling people about exercising their democratic right and the

# Registration Lists.

importance of voting in general.

The second element deals with information gathering. One aspect of this is the identification of constituencies and target groups. A base line poll is necessary in this phase if factual evidence and not sentiment is going to determine what course of action we take. Another aspect is information that needs to be gathered at regional and branch level about our constituencies. What are the issues that concern are people (in order of priorities), what languages are spoken in our areas (for the production of propoganda), can most of the people in our locality read or do we need to produce visual material etc. etc. This information will be vital to our message getting across to our people and must be gathered and processed systematically.

The third element is voter education. This should include voter identification as well as registration. Our people must learn to participate in the democratic process in a way that is completely new to them. How do you vote, how do you select a candidate, what is a candidate , what identifaction will they need to register etc. etc.

The fourth element in this preparatory phase is that of training our cadres to organise and prepare our people in this new context.

As many of our cadres should be used in this preparatory phase as possible enabling voters to get used to them so that when we mount the actual ANC campaign, the public know those faces and trust them and therefore identify with the ANC.

Voter educational material should be prepared for this phase with an emphasis on visuals.

### 3.2. The second phase - the ANC election campaign

This phase is the implementation of the election campaign. It has its own phases and plan.

#### 4. Political message

This is key to the whole campaign and needs to be discussed fully. A small group has been set up to make proposals for a structured discussion on this.

37  
Anticipate other side's  
strategy & message.

Subject matter -  
how projected.

## 5. Structures

### 5.1. Electoral Commission

The Commission's tasks are to strategise on broad political and organisational approaches to the elections and to share regional and sectoral experiences.

The Electoral Commission should be composed of:

- \* 5 NEC members, 2 of whom are NWC assigned to full time electoral work
- \* a secretariat of 3 people
- \* Fourteen representatives from the regions
- \* reps from:
  - DIP - TGO
  - Organising
  - Legal and Constitutional
  - Land Commission
  - Negotiations Commission
  - DAC
  - Public Relations
  - Women's League
  - Youth League
  - Cosatu
  - SACP

N.B. Guidance on how ANC/SACP alliance is going to handle the elections will determine where the SACP features in our structures.

### 5.2. Head Office Planning Committee

The Planning Committee deals with operational strategy. It must plan the unfolding of the campaign. It must supervise the work of the management structure (see below). This committee should be easy to convene and strategically powerful. It should be composed of:

- \* NWC/NEC (as above)
- \* reps from:
  - \* Secretariat
  - \* Organising Department
  - \* DIP
  - \* YL
  - \* WL
  - \* TGO
  - \* Negotiations Commission

\* Legal and Constitutional

\* Cosatu

SACP

**5.3. Management Structure**

This full time committee would see to the implementation of the campaign. It should be headed by two NWC members working with the elections commission secretariat.

**5.4. Electoral Forum**

This should be made up of the Election Commission, structures of civil society and our allies in the broad Patriotic Front. The function of this forum is to enable us to mobilise outside of our ranks in order to reach as wide an audience as possible and to ensure immediate co-ordination among our patriotic front allies.

**6. Opinion polls**

Opinion polls are central to an election campaign. Polls should be conducted throughout the campaign until the eve of the election. The first one should take place immediately to find out the views and attitudes towards the ANC. It should be conducted nationally amongst the various population groups and sectors.

*Selected groups interviews.*

A small group has been set up to find out who could best conduct this poll and how it could be funded.

**6. Funding**

Funding and the provision of resources will be crucial. A small group was mandated to find out from TGO what funds have already been provided for the elections, voter education etc. and who is managing those funds.

*Publicity?  
Image?  
Languages/radio.*



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***RESEARCH***  
***DEPARTMENT***



# R E S E A R C H   D E P A R T M E N T

REPORT   JUNE 1992

While still establishing the department and recruiting staff, we have tried to function and provide a service. Currently, the Department is forced to function from the 8th floor amidst the dirt and noise of the building works.

There has been close consultation with departments over our research agenda and setting up the library. Inter-Departmental Research meetings are held and a Library Committee will be established.

We defined our priorities as providing research support for negotiations and for the organising department.

Support for Negotiations   We have managed to mobilise considerable support from outside our ranks and from the international community, and have been able to provide the Working Groups with comparative material from a range of countries, including Australia, Cambodia, El Salvador, India, Mauritius, Namibia, New Zealand and Zimbabwe. This has included comparative assessment of countries in transition (11), elections and malpractices, and most recently electoral laws and elections. A special group was set up to look at police, military and security to service working group 1 and the bilaterals.

A special project is now being established to study structures of government, to provide information initially for interim government, and later for transformation. The research is being contracted to the Universities of Wits, Stellenbosch and Western Cape, and the department will manage and co-ordinate the work, and arrange for our own comrades to undertake the necessary strategic analysis.

Organising: A senior researcher has been assigned to work with the organising department and the needs are being worked out. We are finalising arrangements for conducting a series of National and Regional Opinion Polls over the next 18 months. The surveys will be done professionally, but ANC comrades will be assigned to the project as consultants.

Archives and ANC Museum   Agreement has been reached with the University of Fort Hare to place our archives on permanent deposit. A legal agreement is being finalised by our lawyers. A special gallery in the complex will be dedicated to an ANC museum with special sections for MK, Women's & Youth Leagues.

Research Systems: We have been concerned that state and parastatal institutions such as the HSRC, DBSA, FRD are trying to engage the ANC in ways that legitimates them with their present policies, research agendas and personnel

We are co-operating with COSATU and the CIVICS in a project for which we have secured funding. Studies are being commissioned on the present research system. This will provide a basis for a high powered international and South African Mission which will take the process further, and produce a report that will assist us in formulating a national research policy that will be geared to transformation of our society.

Problems:

1. Staff: a. All staff provided for in budget have not been appointed. There has been difficulty in recruiting people with the necessary skills at ANC salaries, and impossible for librarians. We have appointed an Assistant Librarian and are considering how to proceed.

b. The policy of recruiting from within ANC ranks is not a feasible option in the present circumstances and needs to be reviewed. As departments will usually only release workers with whom they are dissatisfied, the policy simply circulates staff whose work is not satisfactory around the various departments, rather than providing a way of solving the inter-linked problems of over-staffing and inefficiency, and lack of personnel.

2. The department's work has been hampered by lack of space. Even when we moved to the 8th floor the building works with noise, dirt and electricity cut-offs affects work. As a result we still do not have a library in the building.

The extent of the works and the refurbishment, with constant changes, appears to be expensive and contradicts ANC's expressions of the need for economy.

3. The department is not being adequately utilised by the other departments or the leadership. A more active engagement would allow us to provide a better level of service to the movement.

Frene Ginwala  
Head of Department

***YOUTH***  
***LEAGUE***

4:6



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# AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS YOUTH LEAGUE

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## BRIEF REPORT OF THE ANC YOUTH LEAGUE TO THE ANC NEC MEETING

8 - 10 JUNE 1992

### INTRODUCTION

This report will be a brief summary covering the following topics:

- State of organisation
- Activities of the Youth League
- Problems and short comings and
- Way Forward

### STATE OF ORGANISATION

Since our congress in December 1991 we have not grown any significantly in terms of membership. We presently have a total of 714 launched branches and 287 316 members. These figures are based on reports that we have received from our 14 regions. We should state that we are still using manual ways of counting and keeping membership records.

Amongst other problems that inhibit and disturbs growth in the Youth League are the following:-

- High fees that Youth Leaguers pay
- Inexperienced and new leadership
- The complexity and intricacy of the current phase of the struggle
- Shortage of resources, equipment and funds
- Violence and repression in most areas

These and other problems will be addressed at length in our forth-coming NEC meeting which has not been held in a long time due to financial problems. We would like the NEC to consider and take a decision on this proposal that has been raised with the officials, that the joining and subscription fees for dual membership of the ANC and Youth League for those Youth who wish to join both be R12.00 instead of R19.00.

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**FIGHT**

**PRODUCE**

**LEARN**



The ANC should take R9.00 and the Youth League R3.00. This will mean that the ANC Youth League joining and subscription fee will be R3.00. This arrangement will not mean that the ANC fee must be reduced.

### ACTIVITIES

Besides being involved in supporting of the general programme of the ANC towards attaining our liberation and building the movement as a whole, we have embarked on a programme to unite the organised youth of our country. We have successfully pinned down more than twelve Political, Cultural, Social and Economic Youth formation to a declaration in support of Codesa and the negotiations. A conference of all these Youth Organisations and more will take place this week to look at marginalised Youth and developmental programmes for Youth. We have been involved in the Anti Aids education programme more specifically in Transkei and the Eastern Transvaal. We commemorated April 6 by holding Mass rallies in most of our regions. We are looking at launching an anti-crime and violence campaign.

### PROBLEMS AND SHORT COMINGS

Besides the problems listed earlier we have serious problems of discipline among our members, particularly in areas affected by violence where you find members of the same branch being divided around those who are armed and those who are seen to be cowards and want to talk only. Infiltration by the cops and criminal activity is now rife in most areas and this creates problem within Youth League structures.

We have not been able to in any significant way move into the coloured, Indian and White areas. The relationship of the ANC and Youth League in most regions and branches still remain unhealthy.

There is little cooperation between the Youth League and ANC depts particularly those that deal in part with youth matters like Education, Culture etc. The NEC should instruct such depts not to ignore or overlook the Youth League when planning and deciding on programmes that affect the Youth.

### WAY FORWARD

We think that the leadership should begin to take an interest in what the Youth League is doing. We should not meet only when there are problems and complains. If we are empowered by having discussions constantly with the leadership most of our problems may be resolved. It is desirable that the SGO, the Organising department and the Officials have within their work schedule, time to meet and discuss with the Youth. We wish that this be made a norm

**RAPU MOLEKANE**  
**SECRETARY GENERAL**