

# African National Congress

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## OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL

18 March, 1993

**TO: ALL NEC MEMBERS\***  
**ALL HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS**

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Please find herein enclosed the decisions of the NEC meeting of 16 - 18 February 1993. We apologise for the delay in distributing these decisions which was caused by circumstances beyond our control.

\* We request all Regional Secretaries to make copies available to all NEC members in their regions.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'V. Mbatha', is positioned above the typed name.

Khulu Mbatha  
Co-ordinator



# **AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

## **NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 16 - 18TH FEBRUARY 1993 DECISIONS**

### **1. COMMISSION ON FORMER DETAINEES**

This NEC

Noting

1. that the Motsuenyane Commission on Former Detainees will be completing its work in May 1993;
2. that the Thami Zulu and Stuart Commission reports which the Skweyiya Commission recommended be released to the public had not yet been considered and released by the NEC

Decides

- a) to direct the NWC to consider and release the Thami Zulu and Stuart reports;
- b) to develop a pro-active and appropriate media strategy in dealing with the reports;
- c) to meet with the families of those who died in exile and further explore ways of commemorating their deaths so as to effect reconciliation;
- d) requests the Motsuenyane Commission to hasten the work of the Commission.

### **2. ANC / IFP BI-LATERALS**

This meeting of the NEC

Noting

1. the decision of the Natal Midlands region asking the NEC to reconsider its position on bilateral talks with the IFP;



### 3. **GOLDSTONE INVESTIGATION ON MK**

This NEC reaffirms:

The principle that the Goldstone Commission should investigate the involvement of all armed formations in the violence ravaging our country.

Noting:

That no armed formations, including the SADF have come forward to enable the Commission to engage in this investigation.

Decides:

- a) Accordingly, the ANC is unable to invite Goldstone at this stage to investigate MK;
- b) In the meantime, the ANC is systematically investigating all instances where there are allegations and/or evidence of involvement in the violence by any member of MK;
- c) Where such investigations are completed, we shall consider making such information available to the Commission.

### 4. **SANCTIONS**

This NEC noting:

The proposal presented by the Department of International Affairs, resolves:

Having reviewed the process leading to the democratic election of a Constituent Assembly and the formation of an Interim Government of National Unity;

Confirming its resolve to ensure the earliest possible establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, its sub-structures, the Independent Electoral and Media Commissions and the enactment of a Transition to Democracy Act;



Calls on the international community to ensure strict observance of the arms and oil embargoes until a democratic government has been installed.

Reaffirms its commitment to do everything in its power to address the burning questions of poverty, unemployment, racial inequalities in the distribution of wealth and income and the social imbalances that are a result of the system of apartheid.

Calls on the investor community, domestic and international, to seek active ways of involving those who were marginalised by apartheid in the projects of investment that they embark upon.

Calls on the investor community, especially the domestic investors, to respond to the positive climate that will be produced by the lifting of these sanctions by initiating an investment programme that will create new jobs and enable the country to address the various and urgent socio-economic needs of our people.

## 5. **BUDGET**

This NEC noting:

The proposal presented by the Department of Economic Planning;

Resolves;

The National Party government is being shown to be singularly incompetent in managing public finances. In support of the statement, the following can be noted:

- \* an ad hoc approach to expenditure in social services;
- \* repeated revelations of corruption and graft by both senior civil servants and cabinet ministers (without the application of ministerial responsibility);
- \* a totally inadequate delivery system characterised by duplication and a bloated bureaucracy;



We call on all ANC regions to be actively involved in mobilisation in order to express opposition to the budget policy of the regime, and to rally support for the ANC's economic policy. In the execution of this tasks, we appeal to regions to be mindful of the responsibilities and constraints which a democratic government will face.

## 6. **MK COMMISSION**

This NEC noting:

1. The lack of progress in this commission thus far as outlined in the NWC Report;
2. Further proposals from MHQ with regard to a permanent coordinating structure for the military.

Decided:

- a) that the Commission on MK should continue its work;
- b) Comrade Thenjiwe Mthintso be approached to head the commission;
- c) the Commission be instructed to draw up a time frame for the completion of its work;
- d) further, that the Officials urgently attend to the establishment of a permanent NWC Committee to oversee the work of MHQ and NAT.

## 7. **DEPLOYMENT OF NEC MEMBERS**

This NEC adopted:

The revised deployment for NEC members to regions (see final NEC Documentation)



## 10. GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY

This NEC, noting:

The joint proposal from the Negotiations Commission and the regime for a Government of National Unity after the adoption of a new constitution:

Resolves that:

Further to our adopted document "Negotiations, a Strategic Perspective", this meeting of the NEC decided as follows:

- a) We reject the National Party's power sharing proposal either for a permanent or fixed period;
- b) In the interest of reconstruction and peace and the need to minimise the potential threat to democratic advance from divisive forces in the period immediately following the adoption of the new constitution, we declare our support for an Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) which should exist up to the point of the adoption of a new constitution, the IGNU would continue in the same form as a Government of National Unity and Reconstruction (GNUR) in order to phase in structures provided for in the new constitution.

The GNUR would exist for a specified limited duration, whose term would come to an end by the first election under the new constitution, which would be held no later than five years after the elections for the CA.

- c) Such a GNUR shall be governed by the overriding principle that minority parties shall not have the powers to paralyse the functioning of the executive or to block the process of restructuring, more particularly:
  - i) it shall be made up of an executive in which there will be proportional representation of all the parties elected to the CA subject to a minimum threshold of 5% of the seats in the Constituent Assembly;



e) The meeting of the NEC resolved that work should continue to build a national consensus on the question of future regional government, through discussions with other parties and organisations. All decisions concerning the powers, functions, boundaries and structure of regional government should be decided by the Constituent Assembly. Any Commission on Regions that may be established by a multi-party forum would, apart from delimiting electoral regions for the Constituent Assembly elections, only make recommendations to this Assembly.

f) **Programme of Reconstruction and Development**

In endorsing the package concerning inter alia a Government of National Unity, the NEC affirmed that such arrangements must, during the transition period itself, be reinforced by an effective programme of reconstruction and democratic transformation.

The ANC immediately needs to embark on a process to consolidate its ranks, supporters and those of the broad democratic forces around a transitional strategy to empower the oppressed majority.

This will entail:

- i) identifying those key sections of the organs of state that require restructuring as a matter of priority;
- ii) evolving an affirmative action programme, with definite time frames, to reconstruct the organs of state in conformity with a democratic society;
- iii) a far-reaching programme of social economic reconstruction to address the pressing needs of the majority of South Africa;



We also demand that UNITA respects the outcome of the democratic elections, which the United Nations and other international observers certified as being free and fair.

We further call on the international community to extend no assistance of any kind to UNITA but take all necessary action to oblige UNITA to desist from its actions which are designed to impose itself on the Angolan people by force of arms, and thus subvert the efforts of the people to achieve democracy, peace and development.

In particular we demand of the South African government that it should extend no assistance whatsoever to UNITA and take resolute action to ensure that South African territory is not used by anybody to provide such support.

The UN Security Council and the guarantors of the Bicesse Agreements are obliged to take all necessary action to end the carnage in Angola and to ensure the success of the process of transformation visualised in these Agreements as well as in Security Council resolutions.

The anti-democratic activities of UNITA should not be allowed either to derail the peace process in Angola nor to compromise the process of change in which the region of Southern Africa, including our own country, is involved.

We further resolve to keep this situation under constant review and will take all action within our power to support the government and people of Angola in their effort to secure democracy and peace for themselves.



4. With regard to Voter Identification, endorsed the procedure outlined that one or two types of documents can be used by voters to identify themselves; the identity books (Books of Life) issued by the South African government, TBVC Territories or South African passports being the first, and voter cards issued by the Independent Elections Commission being second. Those without the first category of document can use amongst others, birth certificates, baptismal certificates or affidavits signed by two citizens to get their voters card.
5. To embark on a major drive to encourage all those without valid identity documents to apply for the SA Identity Document. The ANC should liaise with Home Affairs to speed up the process.
6. That at least three international people should be included in the Independent Elections Commission.
7. That the ballot paper for the elections should have a single column of parties listed in alphabetical order with spaces for the name of the party, its symbol, the picture of the party and a space to mark the ballot. The ballot should be produced by an internationally based commercial company with a reputation for producing security documents. However, the matter of which symbol the ANC would use on the ballot paper needed further processing and was referred to the NWC.
8. That the broadest definition for what is considered a valid ballot should be used; any mark which indicates unambiguously the intention of the voter should be valid, although as the ANC we will popularise the cross in our own material.
9. That the DIA should produce a motivated proposal for the NWC on which international bodies could facilitate the monitoring of elections and act as the body which coordinates all international monitoring of the elections.



14. **CODE OF CONDUCT**

This NEC noting:

That this matter was long overdue and required urgent attention;

Decided:

The proposed Code should be urgently discussed by regions and finalised by the NWC within one month.



The NEC endorsed the multi-party Negotiations Planning Conference to be held on 25 February 1993 with a view to a speedy resumption of CODESA. The ANC will enter into discussions with a range of political parties in pursuance of this objective.

The NEC emphasised the important inter-connection between the negotiations package and a far-reaching process to restructure the organs of government, the judiciary and the civil service, in the transition period to bring these into conformity with a non-racial democratic political order.

In pursuance of this goal, the ANC will convene a major conference of reconstruction and strategy before the end of June 1993.

The NEC noted with grave concern the present situation in Angola. It is clear that the renewal of the war is a direct consequence of Dr Jonas Savimbi's refusal to accept the electoral verdict of the Angolan people. South African government's involvement in ongoing supplies and other logistical support to UNITA have also fuelled the conflict.

The NEC recorded our indebtedness to the Angolan people and their government for years of solidarity with the South African struggle at great cost to their country and themselves. Accordingly, the meeting resolved to launch a national campaign of solidarity and support for Angola, including demonstrations and other manifestations.

The forthcoming general elections will be the first occasion in the history of our country in which all South Africans will participate as equals. These elections will mark an historic turning point as the culmination of decades of struggle for a democratic franchise.

The election campaign will be most important mass action the ANC and other democratic forces will wage in the course of the coming months.

The NEC discussed and endorsed an extensive report from Elections Commission and has instructed all levels of our organisation to gear themselves for that campaign which we will wage under the slogan "Now is the Time" - "Ke nako" - "Sekunjalo" - "Nou is die Tyd".



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OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL

2 December 1993

**TO: ALL NEC MEMBERS  
ALL REGIONAL SECRETARIES**

I hereby wish to inform you that the NEC meeting will now take place  
on  
*Wednesday, 15 December 1993.*

As you are aware this meeting will be followed by the *National  
Nominations List* conference on *Saturday, 18 December*. We bring  
to your attention that an NEC meeting will then be held on *Sunday  
and Monday 19 - 20 December 1993*. This meeting will among other  
things finalise the list process.

Yours in the struggle

Khulu Mbatha  
Co-ordinator

The People Shall Govern!



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OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL

RECEIVED

1994 -01- 11

NR-LK

CIRCULAR

URGENT !!

DATE : 11/01/94  
TO : W/TVL, PWV, N/CAPE, E/CAPE & W/CAPE  
ANC REGIONS  
FROM : SECRETARY GENERAL  
RE : MEETING ON NEW REGIONAL BOUNDARIES

Dear Comrades

The above mentioned meeting will take place on Wednesday, 12 January 1994 at 18H00 in the 10th floor Boardroom at Shell House. Comrades attending the meeting will be accomodated at the Karos Johannesburg Hotel and will leave for their respective regions the next morning.

Each region should send 5 delegates, preferably consisting of 3 Regional Officials and 2 delegates from the branches that will be affected by the new boundaries. Kindly send us the names of the delegates as a matter of urgency so that travel details and accomodation can be arranged.

Yours in the struggle

*Ellen Hajo*  
ELLEN HAJIE  
POLICY CO-ORDINATOR

**The People Shall Govern !**



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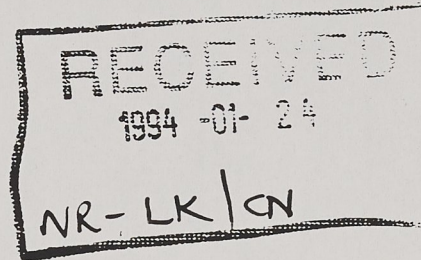


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## OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL

### INTERNAL MEMORANDUM

DATE : 24 January 1994  
TO : All Regional Secretaries  
FROM : Secretary General  
SUBJECT : Process of finalising Provincial Lists



Dear Comrade

Please find enclosed the guidelines for finalising the Provincial Lists. Regional Secretaries should read through the guidelines and phone Cde Donne' or Cde Theps with any queries they may have.

The most important task for the regions is to contact all those nominees who are on more than one list to ensure that we delete all duplications from the various lists.

Please send all completed lists back to the SGO by lunch time on Tuesday 25 January. We are hoping to finalise all the lists by Wednesday.

Thank you for your assistance.

Yours in the struggle

pp M.C. Ramaphosa  
SECRETARY GENERAL

**The People Shall Govern!**



## Process of Finalising Provincial Lists

All Regions are advised to implement the following steps to ensure that when the NEC meets to finalise all lists we will be able to do it easily.

1. OFS Province needs to use the formal results of their 2 regional conferences in consolidating the Provincial lists. The results of the regional conferences need to be respected along with proportion of electorate in the 2 regions.
2. ALL Provinces need to CLEAN UP their Lists. This to be done by :
  - a. Getting formal acceptances from all people on the list, if not in writing - at least telephonically.
  - b. Getting formal withdrawals from people not intending to stand - this has to be in writing.
  - c. Asking people who appear high up on the two provincial list and some who appear high up on the national as well as any regional list to CHOOSE which list they want to remain on. We need to reduce the number of duplicate names as much as possible.
3. We then need to ORDER the lists. We suggest that regions first order the Province to National Assembly List. In ordering the list we need to ensure the affirmative action principle is followed - one third of the list must be women.

We suggest it be done in the following way. Using the PWV Provincial legislature list which has 100 names as an example. For the top 50% or top 50 names we need 17 women. What we do is list the first 35 names as elected, from highest vote to lowest. Assume we get only 7 women in the top 35 names, we then need to ensure that in the remaining 15 names that make up the top 50% we include 10 more women. This will ensure that in the top 50% we have 17 women. From the 51st name onwards we ensure every third name is a women. This will mean that number 53, 56, 59 etc will be women, ensuring that 17 women make up the bottom 50% of the list.

This system is what was used to finalise the national list to national assembly.

4. Step four is to do some analysis of the list. Here you need to answer the following questions, and other similar questions which you think are relevant in your region.
  - a. How many Cosatu people are in the top 50% and bottom 50% of the lists.
  - b. How many YL people are in the top 50% and bottom 50% of the lists.



- c. How many people from each race group are in the top 50% and bottom 50% of the lists.
- d. How many people from the relevant PF / MDM organisations are in the top 50% and bottom 50% of the lists.
5. After looking at the analysis and the almost final lists, think about the changes you think are politically necessary. egs. a Cosatu person who is important is low on the lists and you think that person should be promoted to a higher position. Another example is Cde X who is placed number 3 on the region to national assembly list but does not appear on the provincial assembly list at all. The region feels that Cde X will be more valuable in the Province and you want to recommend that Cde X be given a high position on the Provincial list.

Please list all your recommended changes with brief explanations/motivations for the NEC to decide upon. Please note that regions are not allowed to make these changes without an NEC decision.

Note : If you need any help with implementing these steps, you can either call Dipak Patel or Donne Cooney at head office. It may even be useful to send one person to meet with these 2 comrades at head office.

These steps must be completed by Tuesday 5.00pm and sent to head office.



LIST OF PF NAMES FROM W. CAPE

1.	SALIE MANIE	COSATU	RLNA
2.	D OLIPHANT	COSATU	RLNA
3.	THOMAS ABRAHAMS	LP	RLNA
4.	ANVER ESSOP	LP	RLNA/PL
5.	DOUGLAS JOSEPHS	LP	RLNA
6.	JAMES SWIGGELAAR	LP	RLNA
7.	SOHRUB OOSTHUIZEN	LP	RLNA
8.	ABRAHAM DAMONS	LP	RLNA
9.	LILY JOSEPHS	LP	RLNA
10.	KENETH LATEGAN	LP	PL
11.	ABRAHAM DELPORT	LP	PL
12.	CHRISTIAN LEANDER	LP	PL
13.	JOHN KRIEGER	LP	PL
14.	JEANNE HERANDIEN	LP	PL