

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE HELD ON 15 NOVEMBER 1990 AT THE ANC HEAD OFFICE

1. ATTENDANCE:

- ANC : A. Nzo, J. Nhlanhla, P. Jordan, M. Valli, Moosa, M. Phosa, P. Mayibuye, T. Mdise
- SACP : J. Slovo, J. Nkadimeng, C. Hani, S. Chilowa, J. Cronin, G. Mantash, E. Pahad
- COSATU: J. Naidoo, J. Gomomo, M. Mayekiso, V. Khumalo, F. de Villiers, (Apologies: C. Ramaphosa, F. Gona).

2. STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF ALLIANCE

The following decisions were arrived at:

- 2.1 The alliance should be referred to as the Tripartite Alliance.
- 2.2 The Alliance Co-ordinating Committee, comprising of the three Secretary-General plus six members per organisations, should meet at least once every two months.
- 2.3 Joint National Executive Committee meetings should be held at least once per year.
- 2.4 The Secretariat of Alliance would comprise of the Secretary-General plus one other person from each organisation. The secretariat would appoint a secretary from amongst its members. It would meet fortnightly or as after is necessary.
- 2.5 The secretariat would identify the matters which one are to be addressed at Alliance level.
- 2.6 Structures of the Alliance should exist not only at a national level, but also at a regional, local and departmental level.
- 2.7 Decisions of the Alliance Co-ordinating Committee would have the status of recommendations to the three organisations.
- 2.8 The secretariat is to produce a draft document outlining the functioning of the Alliance.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION ON THE FUNCTIONING OF THE ALLIANCE

- decisions of the alliance should be taken on the basis of consensus.
- each ally should maintain its independence and shall be entitled to seek mandates on crucial decisions of the alliance.

- the allies should not be expected to agree on all policy matters.
- the allies would consult each other on major policy decisions and campaigns.
- the Alliance should develop relationships with organisations outside the alliance.
- at this point in time the Alliance is not functioning properly
- the alliance must develop a common program of action; this would be apart from the individual programs of action of each ally.
- what complications can arise, in instances where a comrade is a leader in all three (or two) of the allies?

Can a comrade who is a leader of COSATU represent the SACP or ANC at meetings of the alliance?

We need to distinguish between comrades weaving too many caps and comrades being burdened with too much on their plates - the latter resulting in inefficiency.

If we say that a comrade who is a leader in one organisation should not in addition be a leader of another organisation in the Alliance certain problems could be created e.g.: If leaders of COSATU are to be excluded from serving in the ANC leadership, the leading organs of the ANC would gradually have less and less members of the Working Class in its leadership.

3. THE CURRENT SITUATION

Cde. Phosa delivered an input - see document "Briefing Notes Re: Talks about Talks".

The following points were made in the discussion that ensued:

- 3.1 The allies are not ^{informed} ~~obliged~~ adequately about agreement reached between the ANC and the regime. As a result COSATU leaders are unable to answer questions raised by workers.

ANC leaders do not answer questions about the agreements of the working groups uniformly. It is still difficult to explain satisfactorily the masses why we decided to suspend the armed struggle.

At times we do not take consultation too seriously: On the eve of the 6 August talks a consultation was held with ANC, COSATU and UDF structures. The overwhelming view of delegates was that the armed struggle should not be suspended - but we acted as though they had not spoken.

A question that needs clarification is whether the ANC alone is involved in the present talks are the talks a project of the alliance.

3.2 There is no negotiating team at a national level which guided the negotiating process as a whole. The Steering Committee and members of the working groups do not have a structure to which it reports after every meeting with the regime often, the Steering Committee finds it difficult to obtain guidance from the NEC. The leadership is not involving itself in the details of the negotiations. It is being left to the Working Groups

3.3 The talks about talks process is being used by the regime to separate the ANC from the masses. The ANC is perceived to have made all the compromises and the regime very few.

We have not as yet identified a role for the masses in the negotiating process.

We are gradually ceasing to challenge the regime in areas other than negotiation table.

3.4 We operate as though it is possible to enter into "gentleman" agreements with the regime - this results in us agreeing to ambiguous vague formulations of agreements. This allows the regime to give distorted interpretations to agreements.

Although we have joint working groups with the regime, it continues to act unilaterally e.g. the refusal to renew indemnity of 3 NEC members; the arrest (and now trial and restrictions) of Cde Mac Maharaj; the detention in terms of the Internal Security Act of Cde Rapu Molekane and others.

3.5 A deadlock has been reached in the Working Group dealing with the suspension of the armed struggle and "related activities". The regime is insisting that MK be treated as though it is a surrendering army - it, for example, insists that MK hands over its arms. The regime is also insisting that "related activities" covers all forms of mass action including mass rallies, mass meetings, strikes, boycotts etc. We cannot comply with these demands.

An additional problem is that the regime has introduced linkages unilaterally. The release of political prisoners is being linked to progress in the above-mentioned working group.

- 3.6 The meeting decided to recommend that a comprehensive briefing on the negotiations be given to a joint meeting of the ANC, COSATU, SACP and UDF. This meeting should then review our negotiating strategy as a whole.
- 3.7 Because of our experience in the talks with the regime it now becomes necessary for us to consider the question of an international mediator. *x. Interim govt.*
- 3.8 The Alliance need to prioritise the adoption and implementation of a program of mass action. The talks about talks should not be open ended and allowed to drag on indefinitely. We must stipulate deadlines which are linked to mass action.

The program of action must centre around the demand for an Interim Government and Constituent Assembly and should culminate in major national actions.

The Alliance secretariat was instructed to draft a program of action.

The program of action should give the regime deadlines for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

- 3.9 It is vital that the ANC convenes regular and frequent national conferences at which the lower organs of the organisation and allies are given report-backs on developments in the negotiations. These conferences can also be used to obtain mandates for further talks with the government. This approach would ensure that we move as a united body. It was stressed that although such conferences are costly, the expense is a necessary one.
- 3.10 It was decided that the first joint NEC meeting should be held before the ANC Consultative Conference.

DEVELOPING OUR ECONOMIC POLICY

There is a strong perception that in developing our economic policy, we are responding to pressures from big business. Most meetings at which ANC Economic Policy is elaborated are with business - very few are held with trade unions, civics and other mass organisations.

Our statements and documents say very little about the working people. We must be seen to be addressing in a concrete way the economic aspirations of workers.

We have elevated discussion about economic policy to learned people. Economic issues need to be simplified so that ordinary people can participate in the debate.

The COSATU Workers Charter Conference being held on 17, 18 November 1990 is an important Conference for the ANC and SACP to attend. COSATU had invited the ANC to participate in an economic policy workshop attended by about 70 trade union leaders. The ANC's response to this invitation was inadequate.

When we talk to Anglo-American, we fail to maintain that NUM officials are barred from certain mines.

COSATU was requested to prepare regular briefing documents which would enable ANC and SACP to challenge big business.

SACP reported that is setting in motion the process of changing the economic policy of the Party. A small group of economists will be meeting in the week of 19 November.

VIOLENCE

COSATU delivered a presentation based on the document "Proposals arising from COSATU CEC workshop on violence, 12 October 1990".

The recommendations contained in the document were endorsed.

The decision of the National Working Committee on violence to hold a national workshop of the alliance on 24 November 1990 was endorsed.

6. CAMPAIGN TO FOCUS ON ARRESTED AND DETAINED COMRADES

The ANC informed the meeting that it had issued a call for intensification of the campaign for the release of detainees and political prisoners. We extend our campaign to:

- demanding the repeal of security legislation
- protesting against declaration of areas as unrest areas
- campaigning against the bail conditions of released trialist.
- demanding a end to political trials.

It was noted that the regime has very little to remove obstacles. There is certainty amongst leadership as to how we respond to this. The uncertainty was glaring when cde. Mac Maharaj and others were detained. This uncertainty at leadership level filters down to the grassroots. If Mac Maharaj has appeared in court a year ago, his appearance would have been accompanied by a massive demonstration. It is a serious indictment on us that not even members of the Southern Natal regional interim committee were in court when [cde Maharaj appeared - was the regional committee involved in the press conference afterwards.

The unbanning of the ANC, the release of some of its leaders and the granting of indemnity to a small number of ANC cadres, was a result of inter-alia mass campaigns.

At present, the General Secretary of the SAYCO - an important mass formation is being held in detention and a member of the ANC's NEC is on the run being denied indemnity and castigated as a dangerous criminal, yet there is no mass campaign. We are failing to use every available opportunity to raise these issues.

7. NAMPAK STRIKE

COSATU has embarked upon a campaign to black Barlow-Rand goods. The ANC and SACP was requested to issue a stray statement of support.