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This Program of Action of the ANC attempts to take into
#eccount, amongst others the following considerations:

. (i) The ANC is a National Liberation Organisation at the
'ev helm of the broad South African liberation movement
whose strategic goal is the transfer of power to the
people and the establishment of a united non-racial ,
non-sexist, democratic South Africa based on one
person onavote.

(ii) A key task central to our objective is to unite and
lead all Anti-apartheid forces.

(iii) The immediate strategic objectives are: compelling the
regime to clear obstacles negotiations; tthe
winning over of the broadest cross-section of South
Africans behind our perspective of the transition; and
compelling the South African government to engage in
genuine negotiations.

. (iv) To this end mobilisation of the masses around both
immediate socio-economic issues, as well as political
demands is imperative. Special attention needs to be
paid to devising creative and innovative forms of mass
action.

(v) The democratic forces have a duty to hold and nurture
the capacity to over whelm any attempt to block or
reverse the process of change.

(vi) The strategy of the movement and the idea of the
people's government must relate to the immediate
concerns of the people. We therefore need the
following slogans:

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eves .'., _
Augie. ! .. e._,_. . _
PEACE. FREEDOM AND THE VOTE !
and also
JOBS, HOUSES AND EDUCATION FOR ALL 1
LAND. JOBS AND EDUCATION FOR ALL !
INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY NOW !
BUILDING THE ANC

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Intensify the membership drive. EACH ONE RECRUIT ONE !
Consolidate existing branches of the ANC. ANCWL, and
ANCYL and form new branches to cover the whole
country.

Develop democracy and accountability at all levels
of the organisation with effective communication and
a vibrant political life at branch , zonal and
regional level.

While intensifying our organisation among the working
masses in the urban and rural areas we need to pay
special attention to building the ANC amongst:
professionals, traders, so- called coloured and
Indian community and amongst whites. Special attention
needs to be paid to the vast rural areas.

Formulate and implement a cadre development program.
The building of a strong cadreship from the mass
ANC membership is a priority. In addition, we need to
conduct a systematic political'education amongst the
broad membership.

We need to develop and implement a program of
affirmative action for women at all levels of our
organisation.

2. BUILD AND STRENGTHEN MASS ORGANISATIONS:

Organisations of students, youth, women, traditional
leaders, professionals, sportsperson. cultural
workers together with the civic movement, NECC and
COSATU must be strengthened and consolidated as part
of the broad liberation movement. Members of the ANC
should participate in these mass structures. ANC
branches and members should assist in the formation of
civic and other organisations where none exist.

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3. CONSOLIDATE AND MARSHALL THE FORCES FOR CHANGE:

3.1 BUILD THE TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE AT ALL LEVELS.

3.2 BUILD THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE ANC AND THOSE FORCES

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CONSTITUTING THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT.

Apart from the SAC? and COSATU, the CIVICS, NECC.

' SANSCO/NUSAS. COSAS, CONTRALESA. NSC, COSAW, NAHDA,

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NB:

4. MASS

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SAHSCO, ADJ, UDUSA, amongst others. are the closest and most natural allies of the ANC. We need to develop a structured relationship at national, regional and local level and provide the necessary political leadership.

BUILD THE ALLIANCE OF ALL ANTI-APARTHEID FORCES:

We need to win over the broadest possible cross-section of South African society behind our policies and particularly our negotiating positions. We should continue to reach out to other political organisations. homeland leaders, religious bodies. traditional leaders, business leaders. sports bodies etc. An important element here is the need to intensify our efforts to realise the Patriotic Conference and a Patriotic Front.

Our relations with all the above categories must involve constant and regular consultation, communication and joint programs of action at all levels.

COMMUNICATION AND IMAGE BUILDING.

Successful propaganda work is the lifeblood of any political organisation. Mass propaganda work must be accorded high priority. In addition targeted leaflets should be aimed at workers, rural masses, Coloured and Indian communities, geourity foroee, religious people and whites. Regions, zones and branches need to produce media which links our national demands and campaigns to local imperatives and day to day issues.

BUILD THE IMAGE OF THE ANC; The past eighteen months was marked by a highly sophisticated campaign to tarnish the image of the movement. Special attention needs to be given to the building of the ANC's image. We need to vigorously assest the humanistic and democratic value of the ANC, its unbroken record of principled struggle and it vision of the future and its commitment to peace. The ARC must project an image of inspiration and hope for all South Africans.

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5. PEACE.

5.1 Community defence structures against the counter-revolutionary violence need to be established with (urgency. Decisions of Conference and the NEC need to be implemented without delay.

5.2 We need to actively ensure the success of the peace initiative taken by church and business leaders with a view towards developing. inter alia. binding codes of conduct for the security forces and for political parties.

_, 5.3 The true nature of the violence needs to be . continually exposed locally and internationally. This necessitates systematic gathering, processing and dissemination of information.

5.4 The broadest possible support needs to be mobilised in the campaign to end violence. This should include imaginative events like cultural festivals at which all South Africans celebrate their humanity. Special attention needs to be given to those forces perpetrating the violence. This could take the form, for example, of marches to SADF bases. Every attempt must be made to win over those in the security forces who support peace. A hand of peace and friendship needs to be extended to those members of the security force who genuinely oppose the violence.

8. INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY.

. 8.1 Sanctions need to be utilised in order to achieve strategic objectives of the struggle.

8.2 The international anti-apartheid forces need to be revitalised. A conference of the international anti-apartheid movement should be convened in order to address the form and content of international solidarity during the present period.

7. SPECIFIC CAMPAIGNS.

The implementation of the campaigns enlisted below should not be separated from the implementation of other sections of this program of action:

7.1 Peace Campaign. (refer to 5.4)

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7.2 Campaign fore the removal of all obstacles - focusing on the release of political prisoners, return of exiles and repeal of security legislation.

7.3 Signature Campaign for a Constituent Assembly and Inherim government. Each branch must collect AT LEAST inc thousand signatures by 1 October 1991. This campaign should be used to highlight the demand for the vote. At 'the same time a voter education program needs to be developed.

7.4 (1) National Literacy Campaign.The desire to read, write and count is a crying need among a huge section of our people. ANC branches need to run literacy programs in as many areas as it possible. 1992 should be the year in which the ANC launches a comprehensive . natiOnal literacy campaign.

(ii) The Back to School Campaign should continue in 1992.

(iii) Campaign to occupy unoccupied schools.

7.5 Campaign for parity in pensions allocations. HONOUR THE AGED ! EQUAL PENSIONS FOR ALL SENIOR CITIZENS 1

7.8 Land for the people campaign. This should include land occupation and national solidarity action with local communities.

7.7 Aids Campaign

7.8 Jobs and unemployment.

. 7.9 Campaign for adequate and affordable housing, Electricity for all and an adequate and clean water supply.

7.10 Campaign against hunger. malnutrition and poverty.

7.11 Important Dates.

(a) 9 August 1991 - South African Women's Day.

(b) 27 October 1991 - 20th Anniversary of the murder of Ahmed Timol.

The day should be marked with activities to commemorate all the deaths in detention.

(c)

(d) 16 December 1991 - 30th Anniversary of the launch of M.K. Activities marking the day to be held throughout the country.

(e)/ 8 January 1992 - 80th Anniversary of the ANC. A major National and International focus week on the 'policies. principles and histpry of the ANC.

. DEVELOP POLICY POSITION ON KEY SOCIO-ECONOHIC ISSUES; like Health, Housing, Local Government, Education, the Economy, Land redistribution, Socio-Economic development etc. local and regional consultations on these questions should result in a national policy conference. Policy development must involve the participation of the people and should be linked to the on going struggles.

FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE !

END

JULY 1991