

# CONFERENCE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE.

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9 December 1989

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## DECLARATION

### CONFERENCE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

1. The struggling people of our motherland stand at the threshold of a new S.A. Centuries of struggle against the forces of evil and oppression are now bearing fruit. We are certain of our future and through our concerted will, SA will be free and democratic.

2. We, the thousands of representatives of organisations from throughout SA, gathered here in Johannesburg to plan the next steps of our march to freedom, find our country in a chaotic state in that:

- The minority rulers hold onto power against the will of the majority.
- They perpetrate violence against our people.
- The economy is in total ruin.
- The suffering of our people increases daily - unemployment, low wages, high rents, high cost of living.

3. Our people have made it clear that:

- No minority government is acceptable.
- Apartheid must be completely dismantled.
- Only a united, democratic, non-racial SA is acceptable.
- We will continue to resist apartheid, even defy and actively dismantle it, whatever the cost.

4. Despite its total isolation, the de Klerk regime is fighting back. It has launched its own offensive against our people, movements and our allies abroad.

5. The strategic objective of the regime remains that of reshaping apartheid to make it palatable to the South African people and the international community. More importantly, the clear intention is to protect the privileges of the white minority.

6. We are convinced that the de Klerk government is not interested in creating a democratic SA, nor is it interested in genuine negotiations. Clearly, de Klerk is buying time to re-order the forces of minority domination and win over some of our people to his fraudulent schemes.

7. De Klerk is presenting proposed "reforms" as his great beginning and calls on us to de-escalate our struggle and to end international isolation.

8. We ask our people and the world community to note that the security forces of the de Klerk regime continue their merciless assault on our unarmed people:

- The "hit squads" remain intact and have been given a new mandate to continue the elimination of our leaders and activists.

1 Over 3000 patriots are serving sentences in de Klerks' jails.

2 More than 70 await De Klerks' hangman on Death Row.

3 Over 800 remain under De Klerks' restriction orders.

9. The oppressed people of SA shall be masters of their own history - not de Klerk. The campaigns of mass action by our people have inspired millions of South Africans, both Black and white. We have broken the shackles of the State of Emergency:  
1 Our gallant detainees won their release through the hunger strike.  
2 Our marches have challenged de Klerk to restrain his "dogs of war".

10. The campaigns of mass action has attracted thousands of new people into the fold of the anti-apartheid forces. The moral appeal of the democratic movement has never been greater. This moral appeal has even been extended to the police force where the number of policemen and policewomen, who refuse to be used against their own people, will increase.

11. We want to end apartheid and exploitation as soon as possible. We want democracy as soon as possible. If De Klerk can convince us that he is serious about genuine negotiations on the creation of a democratic SA, and he has created the necessary conditions for negotiations, we are ready to talk about the creation of a democratic SA.

12. De Klerk has done nothing which convinces us that he is genuine. There are no actions to back up his vague promises.

13. We cannot and will not wait until de Klerk is ready. Our struggle to dismantle apartheid and exploitation and to build a democratic future will go on:

- 1 We will continue to galvanise every section of our society - Black and white - into united action against apartheid.
- 2 We will build the maximum unity among all anti apartheid forces.
- 3 We will continue to demand that the International community intensify its efforts to isolate the de Klerk government.

14. We have put the question of political power first on the agenda today. Today we will jointly map out a program to intensify our struggle against apartheid and exploitation, unite our people as never before.

We will not rest until all the people of SA - Black and white - govern in a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa.

## CONFERENCE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

### ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON NEGOTIATIONS AND THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

We, the 4 600 delegates to this historic Conference for a Democratic Future of the broad anti-apartheid liberation forces:

1. Salute the fighting forces of our people who have conducted armed struggle, in view of the situation in which all peaceful avenues have been closed.

### NOTING THAT:

1. Organisations of the people remain banned, restricted and prevented from operating freely and hundreds of key individuals remain restricted.

2. Freedom of assembly, movement, association and speech and free political activity do not exist, thus making consultations with our people difficult, if not impossible.

3. Repression in many forms continues, including detention without trial, political imprisonment, political trials, the state of emergency and suppression of the media.

4. The government totally controls radio and television.

5. All major blocks which constitute and sustain the apartheid system remain in tact.

### BELIEVING:

1. That there can be no solution in the interests of the oppressed and exploited masses whilst apartheid structures and its laws still exist.

2. That the basis and climate for genuine negotiations do not exist and the De Klerk's proposals for negotiations, supported by the Imperialists, are designed to smash our organisations and people in schemes to maintain the status quo.

### REALISING:

- 1. Our immediate tasks are to strive for:
  - 1. One person one vote in a united democratic country.
  - 2. Lifting of the State of Emergency.
  - 3. Unconditional release of all political prisoners.
  - 4. Unbanning of all banned organisations.
  - 5. The abolition of all laws which inhibit free speech, press, association and assembly.
  - 6. A living wage.
  - 7. The right to work.

2. That the demand for a Constituent Assembly of the oppressed and exploited is in opposition to all attempts of the regime to divide us in the name of "power sharing", "group rights" and negotiated settlement.

THEREBY RESOLVES:

1. To adopt the Harare Declaration on how the conflict in SA could be resolved and the solidarity and support of the Organisation of African Unity and the frontline states in particular.

2. To call for a CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY established on a non-racial basis representing all the people of SA to draw up a NEW CONSTITUTION for our country.

3. To call on our people and organisations to mobilise our forces, to organise and intensify the struggle for the creation of a single non-racial democratic SA with a single parliament and a single universal suffrage.

3. To call on the international community to intensify the isolation of the SA regime and to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

4. That real democracy be given to the freely elected delegates of the people, writed in the Constituent Assembly on the basis of one person one vote in a unitary South Africa.

5. Only the constituent assembly has the right and duty to define a new constitution as well as the form and social content of a new and just society.

CONFERENCE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON NATIONAL EDUCATION CRISIS

Noting:

1. The mass expulsion/ exclusion of pupils from schools.
2. A high number of retrenchments amongst teachers in spite of teacher shortage and overcrowding in classrooms.
3. The continuing closure of schools.
4. The continued repression of SRCs and PTSA's
5. The ongoing teacher unity talks aimed at establishing a single, non-racial and democratic teacher's organization.
6. That vast numbers of our people cannot read or write and that this is an impediment to the establishment of a true people's democracy.
7. The state's attempt to privatise education.

BELIEVING:

1. That the state does not have the capacity to resolve the crisis.
2. That students, teachers, the working class and the community at large are the motive forces in the struggle for the control of the education system by the people.
3. That all schooling should be free, equal and compulsory and that all schools should be open to all.
4. That the present curriculum serves the interests of apartheid and exploitation.

RESOLVE:

1. To call on parents, guardians and students to engage in action which ensures that all schools are open to all.
2. To set up local committees to monitor and co-ordinate the registration/ enrolment process as well as teacher retrenchment.
3. To build SRC's and PTSA's and action committees around a programme to get popular control of schooling.
4. To constantly isolate DEC, DET, DNE and the education departments in the bantustans.
5. To deepen the understanding and action around a democratic education system through the setting up of development programmes which would advance our understanding of progressive teaching methodologies and curricula.

6. To build a solid, democratic and non-racial national teachers' organisation.

7. To build non-racialism at schools through non-racial sport, social interaction, sharing information and experiences on inequality in education.

8. To highlight conditions of poverty, housing shortage and lack of educational facilities as our students experience which influence their performance at schools.

9. To embark upon a campaign to unban the restricted NECC and other organisations in the education sector.

10. To take up the unbanning of the people's liberation movements by renaming our schools and through mass education around the National Democratic Struggle through a co-ordinated national political education programme.

11. To embark upon a nationally co-ordinated literacy campaign.

ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY

#### CONFERENCE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

#### ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE

##### THE CDF NOTING:

1. International pressure is a very important component in our all round offensive against apartheid and exploitation.

2. The struggle for liberation has reached a critical stage.

3. International campaigns, more specifically sanctions, disinvestment, cultural and sports boycotts have hurt the apartheid regime badly and forced them to retreat on a number of fronts.

4. International pressure has helped us in our struggle internally to force the apartheid government to meet some of our demands like:

- a. Release of some political prisoners.
- b. Namibian independence.
- c. SA withdrawal from Angola.
- d. Allowing protest marches in the cities.

5. Where the international community has slackened pressure, the apartheid regime has reverted to hardline and aggressive positions and repression.

##### BELIEVING:

1. International pressure should be intensified on all fronts including mandatory and comprehensive sanctions.

2. That sanctions that have been imposed have not been properly applied and have been circumvented in various ways.

3. That we need to combat the false illusion that pressure should be eased on the apartheid regime.

##### RESOLVE:

1. To intensify all international pressure especially mandatory and comprehensive sanctions.

2. To identify and combat those circumventing the sanctions campaign through setting up internal monitoring committees to force companies to adhere to the sanctions campaign.

3. To call upon the IMF and other international banks to reverse the decision on the rescheduling of SA's debt and not to reschedule SA's outstanding debt.

##### OBJECTIONS: 3

ABSTENTIONS: A FEW

ADOPTED OVERWHELMING

# ADOPTED LABOUR RESOLUTION

1. The Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF) unanimously recognises:

- every person has a right to full employment;
- the right of every worker to join a trade union of his/her choice;
- the right of workers to be paid a living wage;
- the right of workers to work in decent and safe working conditions;
- the right of workers to strike;
- the right to adequate social security.

2. The CDF recognises that the Labour Relations Amendment Act (LRAA) is part of the national repressive campaign of the regime.

3. The CDF further recognises that privatization and deregulation are not a solution to the fundamental economic problems in South Africa. These measures increase the unfair distribution of wealth in South Africa and make economic development dependent on the increased oppression and exploitation of the working class.

THEREFORE RESOLVES THAT ALL PARTIES AGREE TO CAMPAIGN FOR AND USE OF ALL AVAILABLE MEANS TO ACHIEVE:

1. work for all and human unemployment benefits
2. the payment of a living wage to all workers.
3. the implementation of all Worker's Summit decisions including the repeal of the amendments to the Labour Relations Act.
4. the passing of legislation which establishes a national minimum wage covering all workers in South Africa including homelands, agriculture, domestic services and the public sector.
5. the acceptance of the proposal for changes to the Labour Relations Amendment Act and other labour legislation from trade union federation.

6. the repeal of Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activity Act and to oppose its replacement by any similar act or legislation having a similar purpose.
7. the extension of the protection of all industrial legislation to cover all workers in South Africa including the homelands, agriculture, domestic service and the public sector.
8. an end to the exemptions from the provisions of legislation and of wage regulating measures for rural and small businesses.
9. an end to the privatisation of the wealth of South Africa especially the major state enterprises and services such as Sats, ESCOM, GPO and hospitals.
10. the enhancement and extension of wealth and resources of the country including an extensive programme of non-discriminatory skills training.
11. the acceptance of Private Pension and Provident Funds should be only supplementary to the provisions of an adequate state pension for all people.
12. an adequate unitary UIF and Workmen's Compensation for all workers as well as a decent social security system. All workers in S.A agriculture, domestic service and public sector should be included in the UIF.
13. affordable housing and services for all people.
14. a free, comprehensive and adequate non-discriminatory health service.
15. non-discriminatory and improved education from primary to tertiary level.

FURTHERMORE RESOLVES THAT:

A restructuring of the economy is required where, through process of democratic planning, resources will be allocated to stimulate the growth of employment and the developments of industry and agriculture for the benefit of all people.

IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THE ABOVE:

The trade union movement, and its allies, will begin discussions programmes of action for 1990. These discussions will address the following possible actions:

- \* industrial area marches during the week;
- \* factory, mine and shop occupations;
- \* blacklisting of companies;
- \* stay-away actions;
- \* all strike actions should be supported by a co-ordinated anti-scabbing campaign;
- \* solidarity action against identified employers who use the LRA amendments;
- \* defying the interdicts of the Industrial Courts;
- \* worker's conferences;
- \* country-wide marches should be organised on agreed dates to deliver resolutions of this conference;
- \* mass rallies;
- \* isolating and campaigning against companies like Barlow Rand which are leading the attack against unions for a living wage;
- \* intensifying the boycott of overtime and the demands for reduced working hours to create more permanent jobs;
- \* the development of strong structures in the factories, mines and shops and in the communities to link struggles on the ground and to support workers in their demands for a living wage;
- \* occupation of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange to prevent trading in shares of privatised enterprises such as SATS, ESCOM and the CPN;
- \* acts of defiance such as refusing to pay for privatised or expensive hospital treatment;

to fight for:

- the repeal of the LRA;
- the temporary removal of restrictions on Economic Activities Act;

- the passing of uniform and agreed labour legislation to cover all workers in all sectors in all areas of South Africa.

THE PARTIES TO THE CDF WILL UNDERTAKE TO ACTIVELY SUPPORT THE AGREED PROGRAMME OF ACTION.

In addition, parties to the CDF commit themselves to:

- not applying for the deregulation of any business or area or sector that would have the effect of removing any rights currently enjoyed by workers;
- the paying of a living wage and jobs for all;
- to help formulate a worker's charter to incorporate the demands of the workers;
- support strike action by workers in those corporations which is aimed at resisting or opposing privatisation or improvements in conditions of employment or for recognition especially the SATS dispute.

ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT

THIS CONFERENCE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

NOTING:

1. that the Black Local Authorities and all bodies of minority rule do not represent the aspirations of our people, especially the black communities, and are an extension of the apartheid system.

THEREBY RESOLVES:

1. To work towards the dismantling of puppet structures of local government and replace them with non-racial, democratic, single and accountable structures of the people and to refuse to recognise or deal with town councillors in any way at all, and call for their immediate resignation.
2. To call upon our local structures to start a process of forming single non-racial municipalities by:
  - a) conducting discussions at street, bloc, zone and township levels
  - b) demanding a common tax base between townships and neighbouring white towns/cities. All income from rates, taxes and government subsidies be expended pro rata in each suburb of such towns
3. To embark upon mass based campaigns and people's action to create single non-racial and democratic municipalities in a united non-racial South Africa and to improve living conditions in all our communities.
4. To call upon ESOON, the water boards, provincial administrations and the Post and telecommunications in all areas to negotiate directly with people's structures and provide affordable electrical power to all, adequate water supplies and sewerage, proper roads, decent and affordable housing and adequate telephone and postal services in all areas.

ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON RESISTANCE IN RURAL AREAS

THIS CONFERENCE NOTING:

1. That the colonial wars of conquest and racial restrictions on ownership foisted upon our people by the apartheid regime have deprived them of their birthright and have created conditions of severe poverty, landlessness, environmental degradation, homelessness and overcrowding especially in the rural areas of our country.
2. That the bantustans were created to entrench white minority rule.
3. That the struggles of our people against the bantustan system have reached unprecedented heights.
4. The division of South Africa into ethnic units is totally unacceptable.
5. The heroic struggles being waged by our rural communities against forced removals and incorporation into bantustans.
6. The steadfastness of our people in their opposition to bantustans

THEREBY RESOLVE:

1. To campaign for the abolition of the Land Act, Illegal Squatting Act and other racist laws to ensure an equitable redistribution of land and resources to all people and to campaign for the preservation and rehabilitation of that land.
2. To ensure the provision of land for the landless leading to the creation of settled communities.
3. To initiate a process leading to the dismantling of all bantustans.
4. To campaign against the isolation of rural communities.
5. To demand and enforce referenda in all bantustans to confirm popular opinion on a united South Africa.

ADOPTED RESOLUTION OF REPRESSION

NOTING THAT:

1. Repression exists in many forms, for example:

a. A state of emergency is still in force after three and a half years, and repressive security legislation initiated 26 years ago and more remain on the statute books.

b. Emergency detainees had to embark upon a national hunger strike to the death in order to win their freedom.

c. Detention without trial continues, while over 600 released detainees are heavily restricted.

d. Political trials are at the highest level ever, while over 3 000 political prisoners languish in apartheid jails.

e. Political executions continue, with 84 condemned political prisoners now on death row.

f. Many organisations are banned, while 32 organisations are forbidden to engage in any activity whatsoever and in practice local organisations of the people are suppressed and/or harassed.

g. Peaceful gatherings, meetings, marches and demonstrations continue to be banned, restricted or disrupted. The regime has only allowed selected public demonstrations because of mass pressure.

h. Freedom of reporting by the media is severely curtailed, and anti-apartheid newspapers are under constant threat of suspension.

i. Peaceful political actions such as boycotts, stay-aways, campaigns and creation of people's structures are classified and often suppressed as subversive.

j. Vigilantes with the open complicity of the security forces rampantly perpetuate acts of murder and terror against opponents of apartheid.

k. Hit squads based both inside and outside of security force structures have been revealed as being responsible for numerous killings, abductions and other barbarous acts.

AND BELIEVING THAT:

1. Such violations of basic human rights are rejected by the majority of South Africans and by the international community, and cannot be allowed to continue.

2. Without an end to repression there cannot be a climate of free political activity and basic democratic rights for South Africa's people.

RESOLVES TO ACTIVELY STRUGGLE FOR:

1. The abolition of the national state of emergency and the Public Safety Act.

2. The abolition of all repressive laws including the Internal Security Act.

3. An end to political trials and executions and the release of all political prisoners.

4. The unbanning of all organisations.

5. The unshackling of the media.

6. The ending of state support for vigilantes.

7. An end to all other forms of repression.

FURTHERMORE WE RESOLVE TO CALL FOR:

1. An independent and open Commission of Inquiry must be instituted into death squads, if necessary by a non-governmental organisation. The International Commission of Jurists should be requested to send top international jurists to participate in the commission to ensure that the truth is not suppressed.

2. The charging of members of the death squads in open court, and investigation into the highest ranks of the apartheid state, including those in charge of the government, army, police and others responsible for apartheid terror.

3. The dismantling of the National Intelligence Service, the Security Police, the State Security Council, the JMC system in whatever form, and all those institutions responsible for state terror.

4. Full compensation for victims of state terrorism and their families.

5. The implementation of punitive measures against the regime by states on whose territory these illegal acts have been committed, including the expulsion of South African diplomatic missions in these countries.

6. The launching of an enquiry into international collaboration with South African death squads, and a campaign to end all intelligence, training, material assistance, and other collaboration by Western agencies with apartheid security forces.

TO THIS END WE RESOLVE TO EMBARK ON A PROGRAMME OF ACTION AGAINST REPRESSION WHICH INCORPORATES ALL THE ABOVE DEMANDS.

ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON APARTHEID ARMY

This conference

Noting:

1. The system of military conscription whereby all white males are legally obliged to fight in defence of apartheid;
2. The growth of objection to service in the SADF as shown by the recent stand of 771 objectors and the thousands of conscripts who leave South Africa annually to escape military service;
3. The imprisonment of those men who have refused to serve the SADF - some of whom are currently serving 6 year sentences;
4. The allegations that members of the SADF, including conscripts have been involved in death squad activities;
5. The increasing recruitment of poor and unemployed black South Africans into the security forces;

And believing:

1. That conscripts should have the right to refuse to serve the SADF;
2. That the current system of compulsory conscription should be ended;
3. That the question of whether a system of conscription should exist at all is an issue to be decided by all citizens of non-racial democratic and united South Africa.

Therefore resolves:

1. To call on all peace loving white conscripts not to serve the SADF and to work with the mass of our people in building a non-racial and democratic South Africa;
2. To demand an independent open judicial enquiry into SADF/SAP and other security force involvement in death squads
3. In the context of the need to create a climate for negotiations as laid out in the OAU declaration, to campaign for:
  - 3.1 an end to conscription into the SADF;

3.2 moratorium on all objector trials;

3.3 the unconditional release of jailed objectors;

3.4 the unconditional return of exiled objectors;

4. To call on foreign governments to provide asylum for conscientious objectors and other South African political refugees;
5. To campaign for local and international companies and organisations to end material, spiritual and financial support to the security forces eg. Armscor, Harton Rand and Atlas Air Corporation;
6. To initiate awareness campaigns directed at both conscripts and black security force members in order to educate them about the role of the SADF in upholding apartheid.

CONFERENCE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON THE NATAL VIOLENCE

THIS CONFERENCE NOTES THAT:

1. Thousands of people have died in political violence in Natal over the past three years and thousands more have become refugees in the land of their birth.
2. Many of the perpetrators of the violence appear to be immune from prosecution despite overwhelming evidence against them.
3. The complicity of the state security forces on the side of warlords and vigilantes.
4. Despite the failure of several attempts over the past three years, the people of Natal share an intense desire to restore peace in the region.

AND RELIEVING THAT:

1. The democratic forces are today posing an unprecedented challenge to the bankrupt apartheid system.
2. The state has resorted to the use of vigilantes, warlords and criminal elements to unleash senseless attacks on the people.
3. The restoration of peace among the people in the region is fundamental to the achievement of a future democratic order.

THIS CONFERENCE THEREFORE

1. DEMANDS:

- a. The immediate withdrawal of the South African Police, the KwaZulu Police and the Special Constables from the areas where allegations of improper conduct have been made.
- b. That the perpetrators of the violence be arrested and charged for their crimes.
- c. That disciplinary action be taken against all police officers involved and the immediate suspension of policemen against whom substantiated complaints have been lodged.

2. CALLS ON OUR PEOPLE:

- a. To become involved in the process of bringing about peace locally, nationally and internationally, and exposing the culprits of the violence.

ADOPTED RESOLUTION AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY

This Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF) notes the following:

1. That the death penalty is a violation of fundamental human rights and is a clear demonstration of state vengeance and terror against the oppressed.
2. The death penalty is final and irreversible.
3. That the death penalty is used disproportionately against Blacks and members of the working class, who are sentenced by an entirely and often hostile judiciary.
4. That the death penalty has been proven to have no deterrent effect.
5. That there are currently over 300 people on Death Row in S.A.
6. That S.A has one of the highest rates of execution in the world.

RESOLVES THEREFORE THAT as one of the preconditions for negotiations that the imposition of a moratorium on all executions until the death penalty is abolished in its entirety.

This conference further resolves to take the following action:

1. To declare Xmas 1989 a "XMAS AGAINST DEATH PENALTY" and to request all organisations present to implement this on a regional basis.
2. That organisations working for the abolition of the death penalty form regional working alliances to ensure that the campaign moves forward.
3. That organisations present here today make this issue a priority for 1990.
4. That all petitions currently circulating against the death penalty be prepared for submission on 21st March 1990. on this date, all petitions must be submitted.
5. That this conference calls on the State President to reprieve those currently sentenced to death as a gesture of goodwill before the start of 1990.

11-DEC-89 MON 16:27

CONFERENCE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON CHILDREN

NOTING:

1. Children are the principal victims of apartheid.
2. Children are hardest hit by poverty.
3. Children's education, health and welfare are at stake under apartheid.
4. Children grow up malnourished, ill clothed, poorly-housed, homeless and under-educated.
5. Children are growing up in a society reeking of violence, evil and corruption.
6. Children are beaten, shot and detained by police and army.
7. Children are sucked into child labour, crime and physical, emotional and sexual abuse.

BELIEVING:

Our children are the flowers of the future and the reason for our struggle. Children need to be guaranteed of a future which will restore harmony, value human life and be instilled with positive alternative values. A future where there is no sex, gender, racial and class division where children can develop human potential to the fullest.

THEREFORE RESOLVES TO:

1. Encourage the democratic movement to actively take up the plight of children in our country.
2. To encourage the campaign for children's rights and protection.
3. To work towards a national day to commemorate a day for all children in South Africa.

ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON WELFARE

This Conference for a Democratic Future stands committed to a non-racial, democratic and unitary welfare system within a unitary state. We believe that such a welfare system must promote justice, peace and equality. It must ensure the equitable distribution of resources based on need. The state should take an active responsibility for welfare of its people and such participation of the people in stating policies and services at a mass level.

We call on social service workers, welfare organisations, community service organisations, religious groups, trade unions, social service consumers and all other organisations and institutions concerned with social services to:

a) reject apartheid in welfare and the state's privatization policy in welfare;

b) actively work towards dismantling the present welfare system;

c) to evolve an appropriate welfare policy for a future S.A

ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON HEALTH

THIS CONFERENCE, NOTING:

1. That this health and welfare system is racially segregated, fragmented, undemocratic, inadequate and in a state of near collapse.
2. That health and welfare are inextricably linked.

RESOLVES TO COMMIT OURSELVES TO:

1. The establishment of a National Health Service that is:
  - a. In principle, free and accessible to all.
  - b. Centrally planned and democratically controlled.
  - c. Based on the principles of primary health care.
2. Engage the masses in a process of structured consultation with a view to the drawing up of a HEALTH CHARTER that will reflect the aspirations, needs and demands of the people.

WE SEE THE PROCESS UNFOLDING IN THE FOLLOWING WAY:

1. The establishment of grassroots structures in all regions.
2. Formulating a health charter together with grassroots structures.
3. Mass action against the privatisation of health and welfare services, increased tariffs and segregated services.
4. Intensification of defiance campaign against segregated health institutions.

CONFERENCE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON PRIVATISATION AND ECONOMIC POWER

NOTING:

1. The transfer of public assets by the apartheid regime to the hands of certain individuals under the guise of privatisation.
2. That this move will only serve to further consolidate wealth in the hands of the capitalists.

NOTING FURTHER:

1. That the real aim of the government is to avoid the participation of a future government in the economy of the land.

WE THEREFORE CALL:

1. Upon our people to reject privatisation.

THE HOUSE NOTING THAT:

1. Political power without economic power amounts to no power at all.
2. The economy of the land is ruined by maladministration by the present minority regime.
3. The tale of unemployment, poverty of the masses, lack of facilities for the oppressed masses of our land, we therefore call upon our people to reject CAPITALISM and FREE MARKET SYSTEM as solutions to our economic problems.

CONFERENCE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON SPORTS BOYCOTT AND REBEL TOURS  
TO SOUTH AFRICA

NOTING:

1. That the sports boycott of South Africa by the international community is intended to accelerate political change in our country.
2. That non-racial sportspersons in our country have made tremendous sacrifices in the struggle to attain full political rights.
3. That sponsors of sport and sportspersons within white sports organisations have an obligation to lend their support and actively join the process towards the creation of a mass based non-racial and democratic sports movement.
4. That the South African Cricket Union (SACU), despite massive opposition nationally and internationally, are persisting with their plans to arrange a rebel cricket tour to South Africa thereby undermining our sportspersons and the people of our country.
5. That the SACU by its action is perpetuating apartheid.
6. That the South African Rugby Board in collaboration with the International Rugby Board continues to organise rebel tours against the Gleneagles Agreement of 1977 and against the wishes of the majority of our people in South Africa.

HEREBY RESOLVE:

1. That the SACU cancel its rebel cricket tour forthwith.
2. That the SARB together with the IRB cancel forthwith the coming rebel tour of South Africa in 1990 and all future tours to this country.
2. To call upon all sports organisations to uphold and honour the universally accepted moratorium on tours to and from South Africa.
3. That the sponsors of the local programmes of the SACU impress upon the union that a rebel cricket tour is not in the interest of the future of sport in our country and that in fact it retards the creation of a truly mass based sports movement in South Africa.
4. That the non-racial sports movement communicates with the sponsors of the rebel tours and prevail upon such sponsors the necessity to actively support the ethos of non-racialism as espoused by the recognised non-racial sports organisations.
4. To call upon all progressive organisations of the people to actively support the initiatives of non-racial sports organisations in their struggle against racist sport in South Africa.

NOTION TO THE CONFERENCE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE  
THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA AS AN ISSUE FOR  
THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT NOW AND IN A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

This Conference,  
Noting:

1. That South Africa faces grave environmental problems from a large number of sources including irresponsible industrial and agricultural practises and marginalisation of Homelands communities and that these problems are compounded by an inefficient and corrupt government, which places the maintenance of apartheid above the creation of a country which is safe and healthy to live in.
2. That many of the environmental problems now being created under the apartheid system have long term implications, forming part of the legacy of destruction that will be inherited by a post apartheid society.
3. That many of the environmental problems now being created under the apartheid system are irreversible and irreparable.

And believing that:

1. All South Africans have the right to a clean healthy environment, and that the preservation and rehabilitation of the environment forms a part of the process of liberation.
2. Apartheid is a major contributor to the destruction of the South African environment, and that the destruction of apartheid is therefore a necessary precondition for the preservation and rehabilitation of the environment.
3. Apartheid however is not the only threat to the environment, many environmental problems originating from the actions of irresponsible and greedy industries and individuals, especially the actions of multinational corporations, concerned only with the wealth they can extract from developing countries such as South Africa.
4. Development in South Africa needs to happen in harmony with the natural environment, and must not lead to its destruction, as the destruction of the natural environment will inevitably lead to the extinction of humankind.
5. That the environmental problems faced by South Africa form a microcosm of the global environmental crisis, and that the present generation is the generation which must make the decisions which will determine the future of the human race.

Therefore Resolves:

1. To call on the Liberation Movement to campaign wherever possible for the protection and rehabilitation of the environment.
2. To develop policies for a post apartheid South Africa which take ecological issues into account when planning environmental and development policies, and which place global problems as well as specifically local problems on the political agenda.
3. To foster an awareness of the environment, the problems facing it and the solutions to these problems at a grassroots level.

ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON ISOLATING THE REGIME

NOTING:

1. That increasing numbers of whites are indicating their desire for an end to apartheid and a speedy and just resolution to the conflict in our country. Examples of this include:
  - a. The many white South Africans who are participating in the defiance campaign.
  - b. The recent "March of Hope" in Port Elizabeth.
  - c. The All Schools for All People and One City Campaigns.
  - d. The numerous meetings between sectors of the white community and the democratic forces.

BELIEVING:

1. That non-racial harmony in the future, depends, in part, on the extent to which people engage in non-racial action now.
2. That the majority of South Africans welcome whites who are prepared to express in action their commitment to a non-racial democratic future.

THEREBY RESOLVES:

1. That this CDF call upon our white compatriots to break decisively with all apartheid forces, and side with the majority in action to end apartheid.
2. That this action take the form of:
  - a. Marches by whites from towns into townships as an expression of solidarity with the struggling masses.
  - b. Participation in the one city campaigns endorsed by this conference.
  - c. Involvement in defiance campaign activities.
  - d. Organisation and initiatives that can carry our vision of a non-racial democratic society to the broadest possible sections of our society.

DOC C

## Address by Comrade Walter Sisulu to the Conference for a Democratic Future, Johannesburg, 9 December, 1989.

Comrade Chair, my dear comrades, and my dear friends, I am highly honoured by the invitation to be one of the speakers at your conference. I stand here before you, deeply conscious of the historic importance of this gathering: not since the Congress of the People in 1955 has so broad an assembly come together to chart the future of our beloved country. I salute each organisation represented here. Your presence is testimony to your steadfast commitment to democracy and your continuing struggles to win freedom for all our people.

Your diversity is our strength. In collective action, we explode the myth that an innate separateness prevents us from acting together. Our gathering here exposes as hollow De Klerk's insistence that group rights remain the cornerstone of a new South Africa.

To our valued foreign guests, we express our appreciation for their support over so many years. Your presence here today is clear evidence of the legitimisation crisis of successive South African governments. You symbolise international recognition of the justness of our struggle for liberation. We welcome you.

The gigantic task of this conference is to confirm the crucial importance of unity, and to plan a programme of mass action that builds on this unity - a programme that will challenge the apartheid state.

Friends, the history of our struggle teaches lessons of the urgency of unity as the steady platform from which we combat the exploitation of our people. Eighty years ago, the South African Native Convention met to oppose the proposed constitution for the Union of South Africa. It called for an end to racial discrimination. A delegation, which included people like Walter Rubasana, Abdul Abdurahman, Mahatma Gandhi, and the white liberal, W.P. Schreiner, assembled in London. But the imperial powers paid no attention to them. As

Abdurahman put it: "No longer can we look to our flabby friends in Great Britain." It was clear, as long ago as 1909, that political rights would only be achieved through our own efforts and in a process of struggle. The first lesson of history was that our liberty would not come as a result of a change of heart by South Africa's rulers.

In 1911, Pixley Seme proposed the formation of the South African Native Congress. He realised that unity is fundamental to our liberation. He declared: "We are one people. Let us forget the differences between Xhosa-Fingo, Zulus and Tongas, Basutos and other Natives". The following year, close on a hundred delegates, from all parts of South Africa, assembled for the inaugural conference of the A.N.C.

Slowly, but surely, the call for unity was being answered by growing numbers of people.

The first united front to be called was the Non-European Convention of 1927. It was attended by representatives from the ANC, the ICU, the APO, the Indian Congress, the Native Voters' Association, and the Bantu Union. It even had delegates from religious and welfare societies across South Africa. But it was the All-African Convention of 1935 which brought together Africans on a scale as never before.

In 1950, a new era dawned in which mass action by the people was placed at the centre of our struggle. In the face of the Suppression of Communism and the Group Areas Acts, the ANC, the Youth League, the Communist Party, the Indian Congress, and the APO, came together. This unity gained forceful expression in action through the Defiance Campaign, and it resulted in the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955. That Congress, like this Conference, was attended by thousands of people of all races.

Invitations to the Congress of the People were even extended to the Nationalist and United parties. But they chose to exclude themselves from the pursuit of liberty and equality. By so doing, they took the road into the moral wilderness of racial hatred and death squads.

In 1960, the leaders of nearly all the national organisations attended a summit conference which resulted in the All-in African Conference of March the following year. That was the last such gathering in our history, before this one today. In May 1961, the regime struck out viciously at the marshalled forces for democracy, declaring a state of emergency and arresting thousands of us. We learnt another lesson. In the face of our unity and resoluteness, the regime falters. It grows desperate and turns to violence and repression. In response to the rejection of our political initiatives, the people of this country resorted to armed struggle. We hear the government demanding the cessation of these military activities. For the government to make this call in the face of the continued use of states of emergency, the implementation of a set of laws that make our country a police state, and the retention of a ban on political organisations, shows the government's inability to recognise that resistance is the necessary corollary to repression.

The long struggle for unity has also taught us that the technique of divide and rule is the modus operandi of the apartheid state. Our response is to remain steadfast in the search for broader unity. Indeed, we cannot be satisfied with even the broadness of this conference. Our aim is a greater one. It is to unite the whole of our society.

We face another formidable task here today. That is to plan the way forward for a democratic future. The history of our struggle demonstrates that unity, without action, is fragile and temporary. Today we will decide on a programme of action. In the course of the actions decided on, we will build a real and permanent comradeship with one another. We will become a broad people's movement. Our actions will help us to mobilise people and win allies even outside of this conference.

This assembly of delegates, from all corners of our beloved country, is meeting at a time when developments, both nationally and internationally, require fresh analysis. It is a time of new opportunities and new challenges.

The South African regime has its back to the wall. It is confronted by our vital and renewed resistance. It faces a serious economic crisis, and massive international pressure. As a result, the regime has been forced into a state of

transition. It cannot be certain that it can control the events which will result from these changes. This situation provides us with the tremendous opportunity which we have today. It distinguishes this moment from the other occasions in history when we have sought unity in action.

The challenge that faces us is how best to take advantage of this opportunity to realise our goals of a united, just and democratic country. To meet this challenge we need a clear analysis of the present strategies of the ruling class. We need to develop a coherent programme of mass action that will strengthen and unify our people. In doing this we must remain tenacious to our principles, but be flexible in our tactics.

We seek a new way forward. We will dip into the reservoirs of our collective experience and history in order to find that way. We will draw on our rich culture of resistance. The long years of our resistance have sunk the roots of freedom, and the principles of our struggle, deep into society. They cannot be unearthed easily. These roots will hold us steady, and nurture us. They will allow us to use the opportunities and challenges presented by the current situation to make a qualitative leap forward in our struggle.

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How do we understand the current situation? The disastrous policies of the Nationalist government have come to a head in an economic crisis that places unprecedented pressure on the apartheid state.

The government no longer has the means to buy the support of selected constituencies. It is struggling to finance the edifice of apartheid services. The resistance of the people has contributed towards escalating the cost of apartheid.

Sanctions, boycotts and disinvestment have effectively isolated the regime. The government desperately needs its foreign creditors to continue to extend the period of debt repayment. It knows that this depends on it being seen to put its shambled house in order.

The crisis of confidence in the investment climate has fractured the once formidable ruling bloc. Sections within that ruling bloc are increasingly aware that the house can only be rebuilt with the participation of all our people, on the principles of freedom, equality and a living wage. These groups know that under such conditions we are ready to offer them our hand.

The country is experiencing a further crisis: a crisis of morality. The widespread violence in Natal is a malignant tumour in an ailing society. The proven complicity of the police with vigilantes and warlords is viewed with horror. Every day now, new information about government corruption, and terrifying revelations about death squads, shock the population. The country is sickened by this gruesome litany of evil and violence. Ordinary people are saying "Enough!". Members of the security forces, shamed by their betrayal of the norms of human decency, are breaking away from the very order that they are trained to uphold.

Our resistance presents the regime with another crisis. It has done its utmost to break us: whipping our people; declaring the states of emergency; assassinating and detaining our leaders; abducting, poisoning and murdering our activists. It has marshalled all its forces, in most horrible array. And it has failed. We assemble here today in greater numbers than ever before.

In the face of its many crises, the regime has had no choice but to start tinkering with apartheid. Most of De Klerk's moves have been designed to capture media attention and to improve South Africa's image abroad. They are moves that the allies of the South African regime have long urged it to take, accurately understanding that they do not entail any lessening of government power.

But the steps which the regime has taken in that direction are uncertain and tentative. It is not united in choosing this path. Already, De Klerk has restructured the central bodies of power, curbing the security establishment. The result is discontent and cleavage within the apartheid state.

The strategic objectives underlying these changes are clear: reform to the minimum extent that the South African people might be persuaded to accept;

and the protection, as far as possible, of the privileges of the white minority. We are aware that De Klerk has no choice but to go further than his predecessors on these points. But we know that, of his own accord, he has limits beyond which he will not go. It is our historic purpose to take him there; or to go without him.

The ultimate aim of the regime is a so-called "Great Indaba" - a negotiating forum convened on the basis of representation from the tri-cameral parliament, the bantustans, and other "groups", such as the group described as "urban blacks". All of De Klerk's "groups" will have the power of veto. In other words, the white minority "group" will retain the power to prevent fundamental changes to the system. These ideas are incompatible with the principles of our struggle, and are rejected by the people of South Africa. We reiterate our continued commitment to one person, one vote in a united South Africa, as the non-negotiable principle upon which the democratic future will be built.

Economic "reforms" are the other component of De Klerk's "package". The regime seeks urgently to place the economy on a better footing. It wants to ensure the inflow of capital and loans, stabilise the foreign exchange reserves, and to generate more rapid growth. It is wooing big business with its privatisation programme and its concerted drive against the working class. But the benefits of these policies will be confined to a limited section of the population. These measures will provoke a reaction by the working class that is likely to undermine the very objectives which they are meant to achieve. This approach is thus inherently contradictory and ultimately self-defeating. Notwithstanding, it is in these ways that the regime seeks to normalise the internal political situation, and to gain the space and time to pursue its political programme without undue external pressures.

We need to be alert to De Klerk's efforts to present his so-called reforms as "Great Beginnings". This is an attempt to de-escalate the struggle, and to end international isolation. There can be no "Great Beginnings" while his killing machines continue to operate; while our patriots remain on Death Row and in prison; while our activists and leaders are in detention, and our political organisations are banned. Our grievance is our exclusion from political power; our objective is a transfer of power. Segregated beaches have symbolised our

exclusion; but their desegregation is not a transfer of power. That is the fraud that De Klerk seeks to perpetrate.

Through our resistance, in particular through the campaign of Mass Defiance, the people's movement has exposed these strategies for what they are. It has also publicly asserted itself as an energetic and powerful force embodying the stifled aspirations of millions of people. The task of this conference is to decide how best to channel that power and energy as we step forward into 1990.

In the recent mass marches to the city centres, activists and city councillors, workers and concerned business people, have marched alongside one another. This indicates the strength of the moral appeal of the people's movement.

The marches have brought mass struggles out of the ghettos. Ordinary people, both black and white, have shown a powerful desire to stand up and to act. They want to bury the decomposing apartheid corpse, and to replace it with the hope of a new born South Africa.

Through their involvement in the programme of unity in action, in its many different forms, they will have the opportunity to do this. The involvement of a vast range of people in our campaigns will ensure that the people themselves chart and control the direction of the future, including any process of negotiation. This will make it impossible for the Nationalist government, or imperialist elements to hijack such negotiations. The initiative will be concentrated in the hands of the broad liberation movement.

Our aim is to involve the widest range of people possible in the programme of action. Their ranks will include some who have different visions for the future. That is to be expected, even welcomed. We do not advocate that any one group has a monopoly over all the answers. The democratic forces in this country recognise the need for the co-existence of diverse views. The only exception that we make is that we will not accept racism in any form. We argue that diversity is a wonderful resource from which new solutions to our problems will be found.

Our unity today is more important than our differences. To bicker now, or to

relax in our efforts to obtain unity, will be to throw away the hard-won gains of resistance of past decades.

Our gathering today sends a message to the rulers of this country:

Mr. De Klerk, your back is to the wall. When you raise your eyes now, you can look only in one direction. In so doing you meet the eyes of the people. There is much in our steady gaze that you may wish to ignore. There is also much that you must envy. You see our unflinching commitment to the cause of liberty, justice and equality. This is a noble cause, sanctioned by the world community. Like us, you must long for these things. Yet, you have excluded yourself from them.

In fear perhaps, you shorten your gaze to the stoney ground that lies between you and us. Look up. Do not be afraid. Others from your community have stepped boldly forward, and found a home with the democratic movement. We have welcomed them. Like you, they love dearly their country, and their people. Like you, they treasure their culture. Unlike you, however, they have added a love of democracy and of liberty to the things that they hold most dear. They have added a love of all their fellow South Africans.

Come stand on the floor of a conference like this. Like the rest of our delegates, bring a mandate from those who want you to represent them. Submit to the processes of democracy. It is true that you will be only one among many delegates. But you will not be lonely. Come and feel the power of unity and action with the people of South Africa, instead of against them.

To those who have long stood beside you, the homeland leaders in particular, we extend the same invitation.

Mr de Klerk your reforms can only draw you onto the stoney ground between us. It is a ground which has been laid by apartheid. The Land Act, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act - they are stones which have been laid in the path of a united and democratic country. Clear the stoney ground between us and these rocks will not be hurled back at you.

10 DECEMBER 1989

DOC A

## PRESS CONFERENCE

### CONFERENCE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

The roaring success of the Historic Conference for a Democratic Future has underscored the basic assertion of the liberation movement that the only way to defeat apartheid is by broadening the base of Anti-Apartheid forces.

The Convening Committee was faced with the mammoth task of keeping a unique conference of more than 4 600 people on track. That we succeeded in the end to bring it ( conference ) to a successful and united conclusion augers well for future attempts of a similar nature.

As an exercise in Democratic Practice it far surpassed our expectations. Ofcourse, consistent with such a practice there was much debate, and openness among delegates. At times these were so sharp that one could have been forgiven for wondering whether any consensus or decision could be reached in the Conference. But in the end discipline ensured that Conference Business was concluded in the spirit of unity unprecedented in any gathering in the past where such a disparate array of organisations had gathered.

Among the Resolutions adopted at the Conference was one on Negotiations and a Constituent Assembly and another comprising a Declaration of the Conference. BCM took the view that it was going to take all the resolutions as recommendations for further discussions by its constituency but was nevertheless happy with the conference continuing with its deliberations.

The most significant development of the Conference is the adoption of the OAU's Harare Document, especially in view of its eminent discussion at the United Nations on Tuesday 12 December 1989.

In general the Conference was agreed on the need to intensify. The struggle on all fronts. It took the view that President De Klerk's reform initiatives are devoid of substance in terms of those elements he has to put in place in order to create the necessary climate for Negotiations.

To emerge out of the Resolutions would be a common programme which would guide all Anti-Apartheid activity. Indeed one of the major campaigns that will emerge will be around the demand for a Constituent Assembly which was recognized by the Conference as the only legitimate and representative forum that could produce a constitution representative of all our people Black or White.

The Political Declaration as adopted, expressed the Conference shared perspective of the current political situation. Thus a firm basis was established for the Political direction of all Anti-Apartheid forces well into the 1990's, the decade of the Final onslaught against apartheid.

ISSUED BY THE CONVENING COMMITTEE

Mr. De Klerk, you see also in our eyes a challenge: we challenge you to recognise the current situation for what it is. Act now so that we may minimise the damage to our people and our land. Abandon the "Great Indaba" and the "Black Election". Submit to a democratically elected Constituent Assembly.

On the occasion of this historic conference, we call on the people of South Africa, on all of you present today, and the many others who are not here, but who are united in their opposition to apartheid, to seize the present opportunity to move forward in action, together. Let us commit ourselves to taking mass protest to its highest level during 1990.

We call on workers in the mines, the factories, the farms, in the shops and back-yards, to lead the entire people in a campaign for a living wage, and workers' rights.

We call on our people in the countryside to demand access to the land that lies empty and unused. The land should belong to those who work it.

We call on our white compatriots to embark on mass action under the slogan "No to Apartheid".

Today, we make a special call to members of the army and the police force to recognise that breaking from the order that forces them to commit atrocities is a moral imperative. Join the struggles of the people.

We call on each and every one of our compatriots to join hands in the struggle against press censorship, death squads, political imprisonment, and all other forms of repression.

At this conference, let us once again call on the people of Natal to extend the hand of peace and to sheath the weapons of war. Let the rival groups in the townships and villages launch mass peace campaigns so that the meddling of the regime may be exposed.

Let us resolve to build a united front of all anti-apartheid forces, for the establishment of true democracy and lasting peace. Let us not forget that important lesson of modern history: it was only a united front of workers and professionals, communists and capitalists, people of all religions, that made possible the defeat of fascism in Europe in the 1940s.

All our people, black and white, together with the world community, await the momentous decisions of this assembly. Be mindful that Mr. De Klerk and his government tremble as they too wait. Let us disappoint no one.

Forward to the united front for freedom and democracy!

Amandla!