

STATEMENT OF THE
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
ON THE EMANCIPATION
OF WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

May 2nd 1990

The African National Congress's commitment to eliminate racism, oppression and exploitation from our society cannot fail to address also the question of the emancipation of women.

The experience of other societies has shown that the emancipation of women is not a by-product of a struggle for democracy, national liberation or socialism. It has to be addressed in its own right within our organisation, the mass democratic movement and in the society as a whole.

The majority of South African women, who are black, are the most oppressed section of our people, suffering under a triple yoke of oppression. The liberation of women is central to our people's struggle for freedom.

In 1985 Presidents Sam Nujoma and Oliver Tambo made a joint pledge to the women of Namibia and South Africa that we would not "consider our objectives achieved, our task completed, or our struggle at an end until the women of Namibia and South Africa are fully liberated." We consider it long overdue that our organisation and the entire democratic movement establishes principles and initiates practices which will guide us in fulfilling this pledge .

Accordingly, the ANC NEC submits for discussion our views on how to advance and ensure the emancipation and development of women in every sphere of our existence now and in the future.

To achieve genuine equality, our policies must be based on a real understanding of gender oppression and the way it manifests itself in our society. From such a base we will be able to work towards creating the necessary conditions for truly liberating women in the practical reality of our daily lives.

n socio-cultural

Gender oppression is everywhere rooted in a material base and is expressed in socio-cultural traditions and attitudes all of which are supported and perpetuated by an ideology which subordinates women. In South Africa it is institutionalised in the laws as well as the customs and practices of all our people. Within our racially and ethnically divided society, all women have a lower status than men of the same group in both law and practice. And as with racism, the disadvantage imposed on them ranges across the political, economic, social, domestic, cultural and civil spheres.

The manipulation of gender relations has been an important feature of state control over, especially, the African people and the effects have impinged most harshly upon women. Their mobility has been rigidly controlled, and the unpaid labour of African women in the rural areas has underpinned the migrant labour system and subsidised the profits of the mining industry.

Within apartheid ideology African women have been perceived simply as the breeders of future generations of labour. With the creation of the bantustans large numbers have been confined to deteriorating rural environments, dependent on the commitment of absent breadwinners for small cash remittances. Many have been made the sole minders of the elderly, the disabled and the children. Women have carried the main load of responsibility for survival and generational reproduction even though they are often still subject to the legal authority of absent men who are removed from day to day decision making.

Centuries of women's subjugation have deprived and marginalised them in different ways. Nationally, women have the lowest levels of health, education and skills. The majority still bear the sole burden of domestic labour. Their contribution to the creation of our country's wealth is unrecognised and mostly unpaid. Women make up the majority of the unemployed, while those in waged work are channelled into the worst-paid lowest status jobs. Even white, but especially black, women do not participate fully in the decision and policy-making organs of our country.

Notwithstanding these oppressive conditions, women have made significant contributions to our liberation struggle. But, as is evident among the youth, the people's

army and elsewhere in our ranks, we have to acknowledge that their full potential has not been realised. We have not, as yet, fully integrated women's concerns and the emancipation of women into the practice of our liberation struggle.

The prevalence of patriarchal attitudes in South African society permeates our own organisations. The absence of sufficient numbers of women in our organisations, especially at decision-making levels, and the lack of a strong mass women's organisation has been to the detriment of our struggle. As a consequence the particular concerns of more than half of our people are hardly heard when we define our strategies and determine our tactics.

President Tambo summed the problem up when he opened the ANC Women's Conference in 1981:

'The struggle to conquer oppression in our country is the weaker for the traditionalist, conservative and primitive restraints imposed on women by man-dominated structures within our Movement, as also because of equally traditionalist attitudes of surrender and submission on the part of women.'

The realisation of our objective of a non-racial and democratic South Africa is dependent upon the extent to which we are able to address and mobilise all the people of South Africa: men and women.

ANC POLICY

In this new phase of open organisational 'legality,' the ANC commits itself to the development and implementation of a wide range of policies for restructuring the organisation to meet the tasks of the day. In this we believe it imperative to address the inequalities women face in every aspect of our work. By adopting such an approach we will bring women in their millions into active participation in all forms of struggle and at all levels. In this process we will, at the same time facilitate their own upliftment and advance to freedom.

The NEC together with the NEWC is re-examining the functions of the ANC Women's Section as part of the overall restructuring of the ANC. We are determined to ensure that our pronouncements are consistent with our practices and that gender issues are integrated in all spheres of our movement.

We consider the formation of the ANC Women's League essential to fulfilling the tasks of mobilising and organising women into the liberation struggle.

As recommended by the 1987 ANC Women's Conference we are actively considering the appointment of a National Commission on the Emancipation of Women to sensitise, monitor, stimulate and report on the women's position.

Highest priority must be given to finding the means to facilitate women's participation in the struggle and within all the political, administrative and military sectors of the ANC from the grass roots through to the NEC.

Patterns of discrimination and inequality are not self-correcting. Rather, they tend to replicate themselves, as those already in leading positions acquire necessary experience and confidence and appear better equipped to bear responsibility. To break this cycle we need to take affirmative action within the ANC to supplement and reinforce education and advancement programmes based on the principle of full equality.

The Department of Political Education has been instructed to embark on a systematic programme of formal and informal education to promote an understanding of the origin and effects of gender oppression on our people. The ANC Educational Council has been asked to re-examine our educa-

tion policy to ensure that its style and content is non-sexist and avoids gender-stereotyping.

THE DEMANDS OF THE STRUGGLE NOW AND IN A POST APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Our policies have to address simultaneously the material base, the legal system, the political and other institutions and the ideological and cultural underpinning of gender-oppression now and in the future. In this regard the NEC is giving urgent consideration to the recommendations of a recent internal Seminar which examined the formulation of national policy regarding the emancipation of women and the promotion of women's development in our country.

Among these recommendations are amendments to the ANC Constitutional Guidelines, including the categorisation of South Africa as an independent, united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state. Laws, customs, traditions and practices which discriminate against women shall be held to be unconstitutional. Patriarchal rights, especially but not only with regard to family, land and the economy need serious re-examination so that they are not entrenched or reinforced.

ills and resources

In the new South Africa women will not immediately have the education, skills and resources to claim the rights provided in the constitution and laws. It shall therefore be the duty of the state to take appropriate measures to ensure the principle of gender-equality. Equally, our legal system must be easily accessible, with a judiciary which is familiar with the experience and has the confidence of the least privileged sections of our people. Women's right to democratic participation in all decision making must be there in principle and in practice. These and other recommendations, which will be circulated in the Seminar's report should provide a basis for thorough discussion amongst the people so that we can adopt policies which will help create a society free of gender-oppression.

THE CHARTER OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Men and women alike bear the responsibility for eliminating gender-oppression. However, women must take the lead in creating a non-sexist South Africa. They must move the ANC and the MDM to adopt policies and forms of organisation that facilitate the participation of women in the struggle that still lies before us.

Women must lead the national debate for a Charter of Women's Rights which will elaborate and reinforce our new constitution, so that in their own voice women define the issues of greatest concern to them and establish procedures for ensuring that the rights claimed are made effective.

We call upon the ANC Women's League to initiate a campaign for the Charter involving all other structures of our organisation, the membership and supporters throughout South Africa. The campaign should involve millions of women directly in the process of determining how their rights would be protected in a new legal and constitutional order. Such an initiative will provide the opportunity to set an example of democracy in practice, and be a major agency for stimulating women to break the silence imposed on them.

Based upon the demands and needs of African women, the great majority and the most oppressed, it should draw in and represent the wishes of women from all sections of South African society, and as such be an important step in preparing over half the population for full citizenship

and equality.

Although the principal themes of the Charter must be guided by women , men must be engaged in the process, so that we ensure that the Charter has the backing of the widest strata of society.

Although the dominant always find it difficult in the short term to give up age-old privileges and habits, in the long run they only stand to gain from living in a world in which the health, happiness and welfare of all is guaranteed.

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AMBIA

STATEMENT OF THE
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

JULY 25, 1990

The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress met in foil plenary session on the 23rd and 24th July, 1990, chaired by the Deputy President, Nelson Mandela. It discussed a wide-ranging agenda and adopted a number of decisions affecting the present situation and the future course of our struggle for liberation.

The NEC reaffirmed the urgent necessity to move forward as speedily as possible towards a negotiated transformation of South Africa into a non-racial democracy. It reiterated the commitment of the ANC to make its contribution to the realisation of this objective. It observed that, regardless of any problems that might have arisen, this process remains on course.

It welcomed the initiative taken by the Deputy President of the organisation, which has resulted in the agreement that the next meeting between the ANC and the government should take place on August 6, 1990.

Having agreed to the proposal of the government concerning the size of the respective delegations at this meeting, the following were designated to represent the ANC at the August 6th meeting:

Nelson Mandela, Deputy President; Alfred Nzo, Secretary General; Joe Slovo; Joe Modise and Thabo Mbeki.

Among others, this delegation will present proposals concerning the removal of the remaining obstacles to negotiations, the suspension of armed actions and steps that should be taken to initiate the process leading to the elaboration and adoption of a democratic constitution.

The meeting expressed its serious concern at the continuing detention of people under the provisions of the Internal Security Act. Such actions seriously undermine the efforts to create a climate conducive to negotiations and demonstrate that very little has changed with respect to the civil liberties of the citizens of our country. Such arrests should stop and those detained should be released immediately and unconditionally.

The NEC repudiated with contempt the hysteria, fuelled by press leaks by unnamed sources, regarding a so-called "Communist insurrectionary plot," as well as the wild and unfounded speculations about splits and tensions within the ANC and its leading bodies.

ing violence. The government has
The NEC also expressed its grave concern at the increase in white right-wing violence. The government has an urgent obligation to act on this matter and to be seen to be taking such action to end what amounts to the open commission of criminal acts.

The situation in Sebokeng also requires immediate attention. It is important that senior government representatives enter into discussions with the democratic organisations in this area to find a comprehensive solution to the conflict that has arisen. The NEC urges the government to act on this matter without delay.

The NEC also discussed the intolerable situation that obtains in Natal in depth. Convinced that new efforts are required to end the carnage in this area, it appointed a committee to pay special and continuous attention to this issue. The following were appointed to serve on this committee:

John Nkadameng, Gertrude Shope, Jacob Zuma and Thabo Mbeki.

The NEC also discussed the grave crisis afflicting the whole system of black education. To address this issue, the ANC will hold consultations with various formations of the democratic movement on the 29th July, 1990. The meeting was also of the view that this matter is of such gravity that it merits attention at the highest level of government. Steps would therefore have to be taken to secure government intervention at this level.

The NEC also discussed various organisational matters pertaining to the ANC, including progress achieved in its reconstruction as a legal organisation, preparations for the national conference and arrangements for the return of people in exile.

It re-emphasised the need to move with greater speed to establish local and regional structures of the movement. It also undertook to step up the efforts relating to preparations for the conference, which will be the first to be held on South African soil for 30 years. It also resolved to strengthen the organisational structures charged with the task of preparing for the repatriation of those of our people who are in exile.

The meeting also endorsed the creation of a co-ordinating committee of the ANC, the SACP and COSATU.

The NEC congratulated Deputy President Nelson Mandela and his delegation on the magnificent achievements they scored during their six-week international tour.

A report of the proceedings of the meeting will be conveyed to President

nt Oliver Tambo, to whom the NEC
sent its best wishes for a speedy recovery and early return to South Africa
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The struggle continues! Victory is certain!

Johannesburg, July 25, 1990

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DRAFT STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ON THE OCCASION OF THE 79TH
ANNIVERSARY
OF THE ANC: JANUARY 8TH, 1991.

FIIIIQW SOUTH AFRICANS:

TODAY, JANUARY 8TH, WE OBSERVE THE 79TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE

FOUNDATION OF THE ANC. ON THIS HISTORIC OCCASION, I GREET YOU ALL

ON BEHALF OF OUR PRESIDENT, COMRADE OLIVER TAMBO, THE NATIONAL
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANC AND THE REST OF OUR MEMBERSHIP. WE
WISH YOU ALL A SUCCESSFUL NEW YEAR, ONE WHICH SHOULD SEE OUR
COUNTRY TAKE RESOLUTE STEPS FORWARD ON THE ROAD TO FREEDOM,
JUSTICE AND PEACE.

THIS PAST YEAR MARKED A TURNING POINT IN OUR STRUGGLE FOR THE
LIBERATION OF OUR PEOPLE FROM THE YOKE OF APARTHEID TYRANNY. YET
THERE ARE SOME WHO, FOR SELFISH REASONS, SEEK TO BELITTLE THE
VICTORIES THAT THE HEROIC MASSES OF OUR COUNTRY WON THROUGH
STRUGGLE. HISTORY WILL HOWEVER RECORD THAT AS THE LAST DECADE OF
THE 20TH CENTURY BEGAN, THE BALANCE OF FORCES WITHIN OUR COUNTRY
SHIFTED IRREVOCABLY IN FAVOUR OF THE CAUSE OF NATIONAL
LIBERATION, DEMOCRACY, PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

IN PREVIOUS YEARS WE POINTED TO THE UNQUESTIONABLE REALITY THAT
OUR STRUGGLE, SUPPORTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, HAD
DRIVEN THE APARTHEID SYSTEM INTO AN EVER-DEEPENING CRISIS FROM
WHICH IT COULD NOT EXTRICATE ITSELF. THE APARTHEID REGIME
RESPONDED TO THIS CRISIS BY RESORTING TO EXTREME REPRESSION AT

HOME AND EXTERNAL AGGRESSION AND DESTABILISATION.

ALL OF THIS ONLY SERVED FURTHER TO WORSEN THE POSITION OF THE WHITE MINORITY REGIME AND THE SYSTEM WHICH IT SOUGHT TO UPHOLD.

IN THE END, THE APARTHEID RULERS WERE FORCED TO ACCEPT THAT THEY COULD NO LONGER CONTINUE THE MILITARY OCCUPATION OF ANGOLA AND THE COLONIAL DOMINATION OF NAMIBIA. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY CAME TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEY COULD NOT DEFEAT OUR MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION IN ITS STRUGGLE FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICA INTO A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC, NON-RACIAL AND NON-SEXIST COUNTRY.

FOR EIGHTY YEARS, SINCE THE FORMATION OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, SUCCESSIVE WHITE MINORITY REGIMES HAD TAKEN POWER, COMMITTED TO THE PERPETUATION OF THE RACIST AND COLONIAL SETTLEMENT IMPOSED ON THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE BY THE ACT OF UNION OF 1909. DURING THIS PAST YEAR, THE RULING GROUP HAD TO ADMIT THAT IT COULD NO LONGER MAINTAIN THIS SYSTEM WHICH HAD BEEN WIPE OUT THROUGHOUT THE AFRICAN CONTINENT AND THE REST OF THE WORLD, IN THE HISTORIC PROCESS OF DECOLONISATION THROUGH WHICH MILLIONS OF PEOPLE GAINED THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

WHEREAS FOR EIGHT DECADES THE WHITE MINORITY FOUGHT TO RETAIN THE EXCLUSIVE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR COUNTRY, THE DEKLERK REGIME FOUND THAT IT COULD NO LONGER MAINTAIN THE OLD POSITIONS. IT HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO ACCEPT THAT IT WAS THE RIGHT OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, BOTH BLACK AND WHITE, JOINTLY TO DECIDE THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY. BY THE SAME TOKEN,

ACCEPTED THAT THE SYSTEM OF WHITE MINORITY DOMINATION HAD FAILED AND COULD NO LONGER BE SUSTAINED.

THIS IS THE TRUE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DECISIONS THAT THE NATIONAL PARTY GOVERNMENT WAS OBLIGED TO TAKE, RELATING TO THE UNBANNING OF THE ANC AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS AND THE INEVITABILITY OF A NEGOTIATED RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS FACING OUR COUNTRY.

FOR ITS PART, THE ANC UNDERSTOOD THE DECISIVE IMPORTANCE OF THIS POPULAR VICTORY. AFTER ALL, WE HAD, FOR DECADES, BEEN INVOLVED IN STRUGGLE. THE ANC AND THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE WHOM IT LEADS AND INSPIRES, HAD NOT BEEN CONTENT TO TALK ABOUT STRUGGLE. WE HAD ENGAGED THE RACIST ENEMY IN A RELENTLESS OFFENSIVE WHICH GREW IN INTENSITY AS THE OPPRESSOR FOUGHT BACK TO HOLD HIS POSITIONS, DISPLAYING WHAT CHIEF ALBERT LUTHULI DESCRIBED AS COURAGE WHICH RISES WITH DANGER.

THESE FIGHTING MASSES, THE ANC AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS KNEW PRECISELY WHAT REPRESSION MEANT. THEY REQUIRED NO EDUCATING ABOUT THE MEANING OF STATE TERRORISM. THEY DID NOT NEED TO READ LEARNED TEXTS TO UNDERSTAND THE ARROGANCE OF WHITE POWER.

THEY, THE MAKERS OF HISTORY, HELD IN THEIR HANDS COPIES OF THE COMMUNICATIONS SENT TO SUCCESSIVE WHITE MINORITY REGIMES DEMANDING THAT THEY MEET THE GENUINE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE TO NEGOTIATE A JUST SETTLEMENT OF THE PROBLEMS THAT WERE INEVITABLY LEADING THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY TO A CATASTROPHIC CONFRONTATION.

THESE MASSES WERE THEREFORE AWARE OF THE CONTEMPTUOUS AND BRUTAL REPLIES WE HAD RECEIVED, BORN OF THE CRIMINAL NOTION OF RACIAL SUPERIORITY AMONG OUR WHITE COMPATRIOTS, ACCORDING TO WHICH THOSE WHO STOOD FOR JUSTICE, REASON AND DIALOGUE, WERE CONDEMNED TO DEATH, TO LONG TERMS OF IMPRISONMENT, TO MANY YEARS IN EXILE AND UNRELENTING PERSECUTION.

IT WAS PRECISELY BECAUSE OF THIS ACTUAL EXPERIENCE THAT THEY ALSO UNDERSTOOD THE MAGNITUDE OF THE VICTORY THAT THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES HAD WON WHEN, AS WE HAVE SAID, THE PRETORIA GOVERNMENT GAVE IN TO THE DEMAND OF THE MAJORITY AND CONCEDED THAT THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY MUST, AS A MATTER OF RIGHT, BE DECIDED BY ALL ITS CITIZENS.

THE PRINCIPAL QUESTION THAT FACES US NOW, THAT CONFRONTS ALL THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY, IS - WHAT DO WE DO WITH THIS VICTORY! DESPITE OUR OWN MOVEMENT'S CONTRIBUTION TO THIS OUTCOME, WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS A VICTORY THAT MUST BENEFIT ALL THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY.

WE APPROACH THE FUTURE WITH ONLY TWO AIMS IN MIND. THESE ARE THE TOTAL ABOLITION OF THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID, AND NOT ITS REFORM OR AMENDMENT, AND ITS REPLACEMENT BY A GENUINE NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY WHICH WILL ENSURE THE NATIONAL AND SOCIAL EMANCIPATION OF ALL OUR PEOPLE AND THEIR UPLIFTMENT BOTH MATERIALLY AND SPIRITUALLY.

POWER MUST BE TRANSFERRED INTO THE HANDS OF ALL THE PEOPLE SO THAT THEY, THE PEOPLE, GOVERN.

THESE ARE THE ONLY VICTORIES WE SEEK. WHEN THEY ARE ACHIEVED, AS

THEY SURELY WILL, THEY WILL BE VICTORIES OF THE PEOPLE OVER A SYSTEM THAT WAS AND IS AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE. WE BELIEVE THEY ARE VICTORIES WHICH SHOULD BE STRIVEN FOR BY EVERY SOUTH AFRICAN WHO DARES CALL HIMSELF OR HERSELF A PATRIOT, WITHOUT ANYONE SEEKING TO PLAY WITH THE LIVES AND HOPES OF THE PEOPLE TO GAIN WHAT CAN ONLY BE TEMPORARY SECTARIAN POLITICAL ADVANTAGE FOR THEMSELVES.

WHAT THEREFORE IS OUR VISION FOR THE YEAR AHEAD OF US? WHAT IS IT THAT THE ANC MUST AND WILL DO TO BUILD ON THE COMMON VICTORY, SO THAT OUR COUNTRY ADVANCES RAPIDLY TOWARDS ITS LONG OVERDUE LIBERATION?

THIS YEAR WE MUST FOCUS OUR ATTENTION ON THE CENTRAL QUESTION CONFRONTING OUR COUNTRY - THE QUESTION OF THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE PEOPLE. THIS REQUIRES THAT A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION SHOULD BE ADOPTED, BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF ONE PERSON ONE VOTE IN A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA. IN OTHER WORDS, THIS YEAR, 1991, MUST SEE US REALISE THE GOAL OF THE POLITICAL EMANCIPATION OF THE MAJORITY BY THE INTRODUCTION OF A POLITICAL ORDER WHICH WILL GUARANTEE THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF ALL SOUTH AFRICANS

THE INCONTESTABLE REALITY WE ARE FACED WITH IS THAT, ALMOST TWELVE MONTHS AFTER F.W. DE KLERK PROCLAIMED TO THE ENTIRE NATION AND THE REST OF THE WORLD THAT THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT HE LEADS HAD ACCEPTED THAT A NEW ORDER MUST COME INTO BEING, OUR COUNTRY CONTINUES TO BE RULED BY AN APARTHEID WHITE MINORITY REGIME, WHICH FUNCTIONS ON THE BASIS OF AN APARTHEID CONSTITUTION AND A LITANY OF APARTHEID LAWS.

THIS IS A REALITY WHICH NO AMOUNT OF SWEET WORDS AND DECLARATIONS ABOUT COMMITMENT TO A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE CAN CHANGE. IT IS PRECISELY THIS APARTHEID STATUS QUO WHICH THOUSANDS HAVE SACRIFICED THEIR LIVES TO DESTROY AND REPLACE WITH A NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY. ITS CONTINUED EXISTENCE REPRESENTS A PERPETUATION OF A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY WHICH SHOULD NOT BE TOLERATED FOR ONE DAY LONGER.

WHAT IS THEREFORE REQUIRED AND REQUIRED URGENTLY IS THAT WE MOVE FORWARD TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE AND SOVEREIGN BODY WHICH MUST, WITHIN A DETERMINED PERIOD, DRAW UP THE NEW DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION. AS IS WELL-KNOWN, WE HAVE ADVANCED THE DEMAND THAT THIS BODY SHOULD BE AN ELECTED CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

DURING THIS PAST YEAR, AS REFLECTED IN THE GROOTE SCHUR AND PRETORIA MINUTES, WE ENTERED INTO A NUMBER OF AGREEMENTS WITH THE GOVERNMENT, AGREEMENTS THAT ARE OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO THE PEACE PROCESS. AGREEMENT WAS REACHED THAT THERE WERE VARIOUS IDENTIFIED OBSTACLES TO THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING A NEW CONSTITUTION WHICH HAD TO BE REMOVED PRIOR TO SUCH NEGOTIATIONS. SPECIFIC STEPS AND A TIMETABLE WERE ALSO AGREED CONCERNING THE REMOVAL OF THESE OBSTACLES.

AS YOU KNOW, THESE AGREEMENTS INCLUDED THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DETAINEES, THE TERMINATION OF POLITICAL TRIALS, THE RETURN OF THE EXILES, ENDING THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AND REVIEWING SECURITY LEGISLATION AND ITS APPLICATION IN ORDER TO ENSURE FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITY. WHAT STILL REMAINS IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD FULLY IMPLEMENT THESE AGREEMENTS, IN KEEPING WITH

TH THE

AGREED TIME SCALES.

FAILURE TO DO THIS WILL PUT IN VERY SERIOUS DOUBT THE ANNOUNCED COMMITMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT TO GENUINE NEGOTIATIONS AND FURTHER SHARPEN QUESTIONS THAT ARE ALREADY BEING RAISED ABOUT ITS READINESS TO KEEP TO AGREEMENTS IT HAS ENTERED INTO. AS AN ORGANISATION, WE ARE COMMITTED TO A REVIEW OF THE SITUATION IF OUTSTANDING AGREEMENTS ARE NOT IMPLEMENTED BY APRIL 30TH.

THE GOVERNMENT WILL THEREFORE HAVE TO TAKE FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY DELAY TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL NEGOTIATIONS CAUSED BY ITS FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENTS ENTERED INTO AT GROOTE SCHUUR AND PRETORIA. WE WILL CONTINUE TO USE ALL MEANS AT OUR DISPOSAL TO ENSURE THAT THESE AGREEMENTS ARE ADHERED TO, BOTH BECAUSE OF THEIR INTRINSIC IMPORTANCE AND BECAUSE OF THEIR RELEVANCE TO THE PROCESS OF AN EARLY START TO THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING A NEW CONSTITUTION.

WE HAVE STATED IT MANY TIMES THAT THE ANC IS FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THE VIEW THAT ALL POLITICAL FORCES IN OUR COUNTRY SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN THE PROCESSES BOTH OF DETERMINING HOW THE CONSTITUTION-MAKING BODY SHOULD BE COMPOSED AS WELL AS DRAWING UP THE CONSTITUTION ITSELF. WHAT MUST BE UNDERSTOOD IS THAT THESE ARE TWO DIFFERENT THOUGH RELATED ELEMENTS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS.

WITH REGARD TO THE SECOND ELEMENT OF THE BODY THAT WILL DRAFT THE NEW CONSTITUTION, WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS ONLY RIGHT THAT THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES SHOULD DECIDE THE COMPOSITION OF WHAT WILL

OBVIOUSLY BE A CRITICALLY IMPORTANT ORGAN IN THE PROCESS LEADING TO THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATION OF OUR COUNTRY. IT IS FOR THIS REASON, AND NO OTHER, THAT WE ADVOCATE THE ELECTION OF A SOVEREIGN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, VESTED WITH FULL POWERS TO NEGOTIATE AND ADOPT A CONSTITUTION THAT WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE MILLIONS OF OUR PEOPLE WHO WOULD HAVE ELECTED THE MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

IT SEEMS TO US OBVIOUS THAT FOR US TO ARRIVE AT A STABLE SETTLEMENT, THE LEGITIMACY OF THE INSTITUTION CHARGED WITH THE TASK OF DRAWING UP THE CONSTITUTION AND, CONSEQUENTLY, THE PRODUCT THAT WILL ISSUE FROM THIS INSTITUTION, MUST DERIVE FROM THE FACT THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN MANDATED BY THE PEOPLE AS A WHOLE.

IN ADDITION TO ALL THIS, IT SEEMS TO US TO BE A MATTER OF MERE COMMON SENSE THAT THE RELATIVE STRENGTH OF EACH POLITICAL TENDENCY THAT WOULD BE REPRESENTED AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE SHOULD BE DECIDED ON THE BASIS OF POPULAR SUPPORT, DEMONSTRATED IN THE OPEN ELECTION OF ALL PERSONS THAT WOULD SIT AT THIS NEGOTIATING TABLE.

NONE WHO GENUINELY BELIEVE THAT THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE SHOULD REIGN SUPREME SHOULD HAVE ANY PROBLEM IN AGREEING THAT EACH PARTY AT THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD, AS IN NAMIBIA, HAVE A SAY PROPORTIONAL TO THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE IT ACTUALLY REPRESENTS AMONG THE POPULATION OF OUR COUNTRY, AS DETERMINED IN FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS TO A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

BUT, AS VISUALISED IN BOTH THE HARARE AND UNITED NATIONS DECLARATIONS DEALING WITH THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION, IT IS NECESSARY AND INDISPENSABLE THAT AN ALL-PARTY CONGRESS BE SUMMONED, AMONG OTHER THINGS TO CONSIDER THIS VERY QUESTION OF HOW THE CONSTITUTION-MAKING BODY SHOULD BE COMPOSED. IT IS THIS CONGRESS THAT WOULD TAKE THE DECISION CONCERNING THE ELECTION OF A SOVEREIGN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

THE SUMMONING OF SUCH A CONGRESS WOULD THEREFORE CONSTITUTE THE FIRST STEP IN THE PROCESS LEADING TO THE ADOPTION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION. UNLESS IT WERE MANDATED BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES, THIS CONGRESS WILL NOT ITSELF HAVE THE POWER TO DRAW UP A CONSTITUTION.

THE ALL-PARTY CONGRESS WOULD HAVE TO CARRY OUT THREE TASKS. THESE ARE:

- * TO SET OUT THE BROAD PRINCIPLES WITHIN WHICH THE DETAILED CONSTITUTIONAL WORK WOULD BE CARRIED OUT;
- * TO DETERMINE THE MAKE-UP OF THE BODY, SUCH AS AN ELECTED CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, THAT WOULD DRAW UP THE CONSTITUTION;
- * TO ESTABLISH AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT TO OVERSEE THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION UNTIL A NEW PARLIAMENT WAS ELECTED, AND A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT FORMED, ON THE BASIS OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

HAVING DECIDED THESE THREE ISSUES, AND COMPLETING ITS WORK WITHIN A DEFINED PERIOD OF TIME, THE ALL-PARTY CONGRESS WOULD THEN DISSOLVE, UNLESS, AS WE HAVE SAID, IT OBTAINED A SPECIFIC POPULAR

MANDATE TO CONTINUE AS A CONSTITUTION-MAKING BODY, AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT OR BOTH.

THE EARLY INSTALLATION OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS CRITICAL TO THE PROCESS OF THE TRANSITION TO THE NEW ORDER. IT IS THEREFORE ONE OVER WHICH THERE SHOULD BE NO DRAGGING OF FEET OR

PREVARICATION. QUITE CLEARLY THIS PROCESS OF TRANSITION AWAY FROM APARTHEID CANNOT BE SUPERVISED BY AN APARTHEID INSTITUTION, WHICH IS PRECISELY WHAT THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IS.

ALREADY DURING THIS PAST YEAR, WE HAVE EXPERIENCED THE PROBLEMS WHICH ARISE FROM THE FACT THAT THE RULING NATIONAL PARTY IS BOTH A PLAYER AND A REFEREE. FURTHERMORE NOBODY SHOULD RUN AWAY FROM THE FACT THAT A GREAT DEAL OF MISTRUST STILL PERSISTS ABOUT THE INTENTIONS AND THE GOOD FAITH OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT.

WE ARE ENTERING A VERY DELICATE PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY, DURING WHICH A NEW CONSTITUTION WILL BE NEGOTIATED AND THE TRANSITION MADE TO A DEMOCRATIC ORDER. NO SERIOUS PERSON CAN SUGGEST THAT DURING THIS PERIOD OUR COUNTRY SHOULD BE GOVERNED BY A RULING AUTHORITY WHICH DOES NOT ENJOY THE CONFIDENCE AND TRUST OF THE PEOPLE AS A WHOLE. IF, IN ANY CASE, THE NATIONAL PARTY IS GENUINE IN ITS STATEMENTS THAT IT AGREES THAT THE APARTHEID SYSTEM IS UNACCEPTABLE, THEN SURELY IT SHOULD NOT BE SATISFIED MERELY TO REPEAL APARTHEID LEGISLATION SUCH AS THE SEPARATE AMENITIES AND OTHER ACTS.

IT SHOULD ALSO UNDERSTAND AND ACCEPT THAT ITS GOVERNMENT, BEING AN APARTHEID INSTITUTION AS WELL, SHOULD ITSELF BE ABOLISHED AND,

IN THE INTERIM, BE REPLACED BY AN AUTHORITY WHICH WOULD INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATIONAL PARTY AS WELL AS THOSE OF OTHER POLITICAL FORMATIONS THAT WOULD BE PARTICIPATING IN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS.

THE ANC IS COMMITTED TO THE VIEW THAT THE TRANSITION TO A NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY SHOULD BE AS SHORT AS POSSIBLE. THE OPPRESSED DEMAND FREEDOM NOW AND NOT TOMORROW. FURTHERMORE, PROLONGED UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE FUTURE WILL ITSELF RESULT IN FURTHER CONFLICT AND DESTABILISATION OF THE SITUATION, MAKE THE TRANSITION THAT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT AND THUS COMPLICATE THE FUTURE PROCESS OF RECONSTRUCTION AND THE FULL REINTEGRATION OF THE COUNTRY AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD. OUR LIBERTY WHICH HAS BEEN DENIED FOR SO LONG SHOULD NO LONGER BE DELAYED.

DURING THIS PAST YEAR, THE GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATED SOME DISMAL FAILURES IN TERMS OF THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE IN THE COUNTRY. IT ALONE CONTROLS THE INSTITUTIONS WHICH HAVE THE DUTY AND THE CAPACITY TO ENSURE THAT ALL OUR PEOPLE ARE PROTECTED FROM THE THREAT OF VIOLENCE. BUT THROUGH ITS ACTIONS, OVER MANY MONTHS, IT ALLOWED THE SITUATION IN WHICH HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND THOUSANDS DISPLACED FROM THEIR HOMES, IN SOME INSTANCES AS A RESULT OF ACTIONS CARRIED OUT BY ELEMENTS WITHIN ITS OWN SECURITY SERVICES.

THIS SITUATION SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO RECUR. IN ADDITION TO THE ABSOLUTE NEED TO PROTECT HUMAN LIVES, THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT NO NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE CAN TAKE PLACE WHILE

HUNDREDS ARE BEING SLAUGHTERED BY FORCES THAT ARE OPPOSED TO CHANGE.

IN THIS CONTEXT AND IN THE LIGHT OF WHAT HAPPENED LAST YEAR, WE WOULD LIKE, ONCE MORE, TO REAFFIRM THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO SELF-DEFENCE. BY DECISION OF OUR CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE, OUR MOVEMENT IS COMMITTED TO ASSIST THE PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY TO SET UP THE NECESSARY MECHANISMS FOR THE DEFENCE OF EACH COMMUNITY, WHICH MECHANISMS MUST ENJOY THE SUPPORT AND CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE AS A WHOLE.

IN ADDITION TO THIS, THE ANC WILL ALSO FURTHER PURSUE ITS PROGRAMME OF LIAISING WITH ALL RELEVANT POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS TO ENSURE THAT WE ACT TOGETHER TO STOP AND PRECLUDE ALL VIOLENT CONFRONTATION AND CONFLICT THAT EMANATES FROM THE FACT THAT PEOPLE HOLD VARYING POLITICAL VIEWS. WE TRUST THAT ALL THESE ORGANISATIONS, INCLUDING THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY, WILL COOPERATE WITH US IN GENUINE GOOD FAITH TO SAVE THE LIVES AND THE PROPERTY OF THE PEOPLE.

IN ADDITION TO CARRYING OUT ITS TASKS OF ORGANISING INSIDE THE HOMELANDS AND DISCHARGING ITS RESPONSIBILITIES TO OUR PEOPLE IN THESE AREAS, THE ANC HAS ALSO SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH THE AUTHORITIES ADMINISTERING THE VARIOUS HOMELANDS. WE APPEAL TO ALL OF THESE TO DESIST FROM ALL HOSTILE ACTIONS DIRECTED AGAINST THE ANC AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURES AS WELL AS THE PEOPLE WITHIN THE HOMELANDS.

RATHER THEY SHOULD THEMSELVES NORMALISE THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE

PEOPLE WITHIN THEIR AREAS AND HELP CREATE THE SITUATION WHERE THERE IS FREE AND PEACEFUL EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL VIEWS. NONE OF THESE HOMELANDS, AND SPECIFICALLY THOSE DESCRIBED AS INDEPENDENT, SHOULD BE HOLDING POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DETAINEES, BANNING MEETINGS AND GOVERNING BY IMPOSING STATES OF EMERGENCY AND IN THE CONTEXT OF ANTI-DEMOCRATIC SECURITY LEGISLATION.

WE MAKE THESE CALLS BOTH TO NORMALISE THE SITUATIONS WITHIN THE BANTUSTANS AND TO AVOID THE INEVITABLE CONFLICT THAT WILL RESULT IF, AS IS THE CASE, SOME OF THEM CONTINUE TO SUBJECT THE PEOPLE AND THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT TO REPRESSION AND DICTATORIAL RULE.

WE MAKE THEM TO CREATE THE SITUATION WHERE WE CAN ALL COOPERATE IN THE- STRUGGLE TO CREATE A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA WHICH WILL BELONG TO ALL THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN IT.

WE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO REAFFIRM OUR UNWAVERING OPPOSITION TO ANY OF OUR MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS USING FORCE TO SETTLE POLITICAL DIFFERENCES OR TO PROMOTE ANY CAMPAIGNS THAT THE MOVEMENT MIGHT DECIDE UPON. THE MOVEMENT WILL TAKE ALL NECESSARY DISCIPLINARY MEASURES AGAINST ANYBODY FROM OUR RANKS WHO RESORTS TO THESE UNACCEPTABLE METHODS.

OVER THE YEARS, WE HAVE WAGED, AND CONTINUE TO CONDUCT AN UNRELENTING STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID LOCAL GOVERNMENT, ESPECIALLY IN THE BLACK URBAN AREAS. IN THE COURSE OF THAT STRUGGLE WE HAVE ADVANCED THE PERSPECTIVE OF A GENUINELY NON-RACIAL SYSTEM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD SERVE THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLE IN EACH LOCALITY.

LAST YEAR, THIS STRUGGLE SCORED A MAJOR VICTORY WHEN GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THAT IT HAD CONCEDED TO OUR DEMAND FOR A DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SYSTEM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND ACCEPTED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO MOVE FORWARD TO ESTABLISH INTERIM STRUCTURES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT ON THE BASIS OF THESE PRINCIPLES.

IT IS OUR TASK TO MOVE ON THIS FRONT BY TAKING ALL THE NECESSARY STEPS TO ENSURE THAT THESE INTERIM STRUCTURES ARE ESTABLISHED AND THE OLD APARTHEID INSTITUTIONS, SUCH AS THE COMMUNITY COUNCILS, ARE FINALLY ABOLISHED. AN IMPORTANT LEAD CONCERNING WHAT IS TO BE DONE HAS ALREADY BEEN GIVEN BY THE AGREEMENT NEGOTIATED BY THE SOWETO PEOPLE'S DELEGATION WITH THE TRANSVAAL PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION, WHICH, AMONG OTHER THINGS, VISUALISES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL CENTRAL WITWATERSRAND METROPOLITAN CHAMBER.

IT IS NECESSARY THAT WE MOVE WITH SPEED ON THIS MATTER SO THAT WE ESTABLISH AN INTERIM SYSTEM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL BE RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE ON THE DELIVERY OF SUCH SERVICES AS HOUSING, EDUCATION, HEALTH, ELECTRICITY, WATER AND CRIME-PREVENTION. WE MUST BUILD ON THE VICTORY WE HAVE SCORED IN THE STRUGGLE FOR A DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SYSTEM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF PUTTING-POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE.

THE DISASTROUS MATRIC RESULTS AMONG AFRICAN STUDENTS ONCE MORE BRING INTO SHARP FOCUS THE URGENT NEED TO END THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID EDUCATION. THIS IS AN ISSUE WHICH CANNOT AWAIT THE INTRODUCTION OF A NEW CONSTITUTION, BUT MUST BE ACTED UPON NOW.

IT IS TO HIDE ONE'S HEAD IN THE SAND TO CLAIM THAT THESE RESULTS ARE A CONSEQUENCE OF SCHOOL BOYCOTTS WITHOUT ADDRESSING THE QUESTION WHY THE SCHOOL BOYCOTTS OCCURRED IN THE FIRST INSTANCE. NOBODY SHOULD THEREFORE RUN AWAY FROM THE REALITY THAT THE PROBLEM LIES WITH THE PERPETUATION OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM OF BANTU EDUCATION.

NEVERTHELESS, ONCE MORE WE REITERATE OUR CALL TO THE STUDENTS TO GO BACK TO SCHOOL. WE WILL CONTRIBUTE EVERYTHING WE CAN TO ENSURE A RETURN TO NORMAL LEARNING AND TEACHING. BUT THIS CAN NOT BE THE END TO THE MATTER. URGENT MEASURES ARE REQUIRED TO ENSURE THAT ALL OUR PEOPLE ARE SUBJECT TO THE SAME SYSTEM OF EDUCATION AND THAT ALL SCHOOLS ARE OPEN TO ALL, WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION ON GROUNDS OF RACE OR COLOUR.

ACCORDINGLY, WE MUST MAKE THE POINT HERE THAT THE MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO OPEN THE WHITE SCHOOLS NEED TO BE CHANGED RADICALLY. IT IS QUITE CLEAR THAT THESE MEASURES ARE DESIGNED TO SLOW DOWN OR OTHERWISE MAKE VERY DIFFICULT THE PROCESS OF DESEGREGATING THESE SCHOOLS. SUCH ACTIONS DO NOT SERVE TO INSPIRE CONFIDENCE IN THE COMMITMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT TO GENUINE CHANGE.

WE FOUGHT AGAINST BANTU EDUCATION FOR MANY DECADES PRECISELY BECAUSE WE UNDERSTOOD THE VALUE OF PROPER EDUCATION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND FULFILLMENT BOTH OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY AS A WHOLE. PROCEEDING FROM THE SAME UNDERSTANDING AND COMMITMENT TO THE PERSPECTIVE THAT THE DOORS OF CULTURE AND LEARNING SHOULD BE

OPEN TO ALL, WE DEMAND THAT THESE DOORS SHOULD BE OPENED NOW SO THAT THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE BEGINS SERIOUSLY TO TACKLE THE URGENT QUESTION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR HUMAN RESOURCES FOR THE BUILDING OF A FREE, PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS SOCIETY.

AS WE GO THROUGH THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION TO A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IT IS ABSOLUTELY VITAL THAT EVERYTHING BE DONE TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE POOR SECTIONS OF OUR POPULATION. THE PROCESS OF CHANGE WILL INSPIRE VERY LITTLE CONFIDENCE AND OCCUR IN A SITUATION OF INCREASING INSTABILITY,

IF, IN THE PRACTICE, THE IMPOVERISHED MASSES OF THE PEOPLE CONTINUE TO EXPERIENCE A FURTHER LOWERING OF THEIR STANDARDS OF LIVING.

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR, THE GOVERNMENT PROCLAIMED ITS READINESS AND COMMITMENT TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE PEOPLE. THE REAL SITUATION IS THAT VERY LITTLE HAS HAPPENED. THE FORTHCOMING BUDGET, AND PUBLIC EXPENDITURES IN GENERAL, MUST REFLECT GENUINE MOVEMENT FORWARD WITH REGARD TO THIS MATTER.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE WILL ALSO HAVE TO WAGE STRUGGLE TO ENSURE THAT THE PRIVATE SECTOR DOES NOT ITSELF CARRY OUT AN ATTACK ON THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE PEOPLE. THE CALL FOR A LIVING WAGE REMAINS AMONG OUR PRINCIPAL DEMANDS AND MUST BE PURSUED. WE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO WELCOME THE AGREEMENTS REACHED BETWEEN SOME UNIONS AND EMPLOYERS TO HELP PROVIDE ALTERNATIVE EMPLOYMENT FOR THOSE WORKERS WHO ARE UNAVOIDABLY RETRENCHED. WE URGE OTHER COMPANIES TO FOLLOW THESE EXAMPLES.

IN ADDITION TO THIS, THERE IS A CONTINUING NEED FOR THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO SHOW GREATER SENSITIVITY TO THE BROADER OBJECTIVE OF CARRYING OUT A DETERMINED OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE ABJECT POVERTY WHICH AFFLICTS SO MANY OF OUR PEOPLE. THE NECESSARY FINANCIAL RESOURCES AND BUSINESS SKILLS HAVE TO BE RELEASED TO TACKLE SUCH URGENT QUESTIONS AS THE SOLUTION OF THE HOUSING AND EDUCATION QUESTIONS. THE ANC WILL CONTINUE TO ENGAGE THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO ADDRESS THESE AND OTHER MATTERS.

IN THE MEANTIME ALL OF US MUST NOW CARRY OUT THE PREPARATIONS AIMED AT BUILDING AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM THAT WILL CREATE JOBS,

ENSURE A FAIR AND JUST DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH, ENABLE BLACK ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT, ATTEND TO THE MATTER OF THE REDISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND, LEAD TO THE ELIMINATION OF POVERTY AND FOCUS ON THE OBJECTIVE OF ENSURING A RISING STANDARD OF LIVING FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY.

SERIOUS THINKING HAS TO BE DEVOTED TO THE OBJECTIVE OF EXECUTING BOTH IMMEDIATE PROGRAMMES TO ADDRESS THESE ISSUES AND LONGER TERM PLANS AIMED AT SUSTAINED GROWTH AND ALL-ROUND ENRICHMENT OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY, IN THE CONTEXT OF A GROWING ECONOMY.

AS SOUTH AFRICANS WE KNOW THIS VERY WELL THAT LIBERTY AND POVERTY ARE UNCOMFORTABLE BED-FELLOWS. THEREFORE ALL OF US HAVE TO ENGAGE IN A VERY SERIOUS STRUGGLE TO ENSURE THAT LIBERTY AND PROSPERITY RELATE TO EACH OTHER LIKE TWINS. THOUGH THIS MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO REALISE, AS IT UNDOUBTEDLY IS, YET WE, AS A PEOPLE, HAVE WITHIN OURSELVES SUFFICIENT OF A VISION TO ENABLE OURSELVES TO

BEND EVERY EFFORT TO STRIVE TO ACHIEVE THE IMPOSSIBLE. TH
IS IS

ONE OF THE MAJOR CHALLENGES THAT FACES ALL OF US DURING THIS HISTORIC YEAR.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY DIRECTLY TO ADDRESS THE MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE ANC. WE FACE AN URGENT CHALLENGE TO REESTABLISH AND EXPAND THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES OF OUR MOVEMENT AMONG ALL THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY AND IN ALL AREAS, BOTH RURAL AND URBAN. AFTER THIRTY YEARS OF ILLEGALITY, IT IS NOT EASY TO REALISE THIS OBJECTIVE.

OUR SITUATION IS MADE MORE DIFFICULT BY THE FACT THAT OUR COUNTRY IS STILL RULED BY AN APARTHEID REGIME MANY OF WHOSE MEMBERS CONTINUE TO SEE US AS PART OF A "TOTAL ONSLAUGHT" WHICH MUST BE REBUFFED THROUGH A "TOTAL STRATEGY"

WE MUST THEREFORE EXPECT THAT, AT EVERY STAGE, THERE WILL BE FORCES WITHIN THE PRESENT STATE SYSTEM, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT AT LARGE, WHICH WILL BE VERY ACTIVE OR LYING IN WAIT TO DESTABILISE AND DISCREDIT OUR MOVEMENT. THESE WILL CONTINUE TO DO EVERYTHING IN THEIR POWER TO DESTROY OUR CAPACITY TO PLAY OUR ROLE IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF OUR COUNTRY INTO A NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY.

DESPITE ALL THIS, WE MUST WORK VERY HARD TO BUILD THE ORGANISED STRUCTURES OF THE ANC. APART FROM ANY IMMEDIATE ORGANISATIONAL INTERESTS, THE REALITY IN OUR COUNTRY IS THAT NO PERMANENT SOLUTION CAN BE ACHIEVED WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION AND INVOLVEMENT OF OUR MOVEMENT.

RECOGNISING THIS, WE MUST THEREFORE BE READY TO PLAY OUR ROLE IN

THE MOBILISATION OF THE COUNTRY FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE, NOT MERELY IN OUR INTEREST AS A ORGANISATION, BUT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE AS A WHOLE. TO ACHIEVE ALL THIS, WE MUST ENSURE THAT WE ARE ORGANISATIONALLY STRONG, BASED AMONG THE PEOPLE AS A NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT AND CAPABLE OF REACHING ALL OUR PEOPLE WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION. IN THIS REGARD, WE MUST NOT ONLY BUILD AND STRENGTHEN THE MOTHER BODY, BUT ALSO THE YOUTH AND WOMEN'S LEAGUES AS WELL.

WE CAN ONLY ACCOMPLISH THE AIMS DETAILED IN THIS STATEMENT IF WE ARE ORGANISED TO ACT FOR THEIR REALISATION. EVERYTHING WILL REMAIN A DREAM UNLESS WE ARE STRONG ENOUGH TO MOVE THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE TO UNDERSTAND, ACCEPT AND SUPPORT THE PERSPECTIVE WE PUT FORWARD. THE POINT IN ALL OF THIS IS THAT WE MUST BE ORGANISED, UNITING WITHIN OUR MOVEMENT AND AMONG OUR SUPPORTERS, PEOPLE WHO ARE CLEAR ABOUT AND ARE READY TO HELP IMPLEMENT THE POLICIES, STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF OUR MOVEMENT.

BEYOND THIS WE HAVE TO REACH OUT TO OTHER ORGANISATIONS THAT

PURSUE GOALS THAT ARE SIMILAR TO OURS TO FORM A PATRIOT FRONT FOR

A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA. THE UNITY OF ALL THESE FORCES IS CENTRAL TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR STRUGGLE FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICA INTO A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC, NON-RACIAL AND NON-SEXIST COUNTRY.

BOTH INDIVIDUALLY AND TOGETHER WITH THESE SISTER ORGANISATIONS IN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, WE HAVE TO MOVE AND ENGAGE THE MILLIONS OF OUR PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE ALL THE OBJECTIVES WE HAVE

SPOKEN ABOUT IN THIS STATEMENT. IT IS THE MASS ACTIVITY OF
THE

PEOPLE, COMBINED WITH STRONG ORGANISATION AND A CLEAR PROGRAMME OF ACTION THAT WILL ASSURE US OF OUR VICTORY OVER THE CRIMINAL SYSTEM OF APARTHEID WHICH CONTINUES TO BLIGHT THE LIVES OF OUR PEOPLE. IN THIS WAY SHALL WE TURN OUR PROCLAMATION OF 1991 AS THE "YEAR OF MASS ACTION FOR THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE PEOPLE".

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!