

, DOCUMENT ON SANCTIONS

Cognisant of the necessity to counteract the growing perception that De Klerk and his government should be rewarded for recent reforms,
aware that the basic institutions of apartheid are still firmly in place,
that the South African government continues to use violence and police repression to suppress legitimate political and civic actions,
alarmed over the orchestrated violence against defenceless citizens, especially in African residential areas, in which elements of the SA security establishment are deeply implicated, noting that many of the obstacles to genuine negotiations such as the Internal Security Act and others, remain in the statute books and are still vigorously enforced.

We resolve that the existing sanctions package be maintained.
As such the ANC appeals to the EC, US Congress, EFTA and all other international bodies to postpone any consideration of the issue of sanctions against apartheid SA until the ANC and all other democratic formations inside our country including Trade Unions and Religious bodies initiate discussion with them on the issues.

15/12/90.

1200 hrs.

Resolution on International Isolation: Commission 0

We resolve that:

1. The existing sanctions campaign should be maintained.
2. That the academic and cultural boycott should be reviewed with the aim of ensuring that it becomes inclusive of the many more institutions that genuinely promote principles of non-racialism, democracy and unity.
3. In the sporting arena, all efforts be made to promote the positions of the democratic sports organisations in regard to the moratorium on international competition; and on sports development programmes.
4. The socio-economic problems facing black people in housing, education and health be urgently addressed by the government. The provision of these services is the responsibility of the government.
5. The ANC's political task is to mobilise the public in mass campaigns to pressure the authorities to fulfill their tasks.
6. A viable non-governmental organisation should be created to generate necessary economic resources inside the country, including those from the public sector to create projects in housing, education and health.
7. With regard to investment, we should direct potential investors to such efforts as the "Viva Project" which have the specific objectives of "black empowerment" and redistribution of wealth. e a
8. We should oppose the lifting of financial sanctions, especially by the IMF, on the grounds that the country is still governed by a white minority regime.
9. We should offer to discuss the issue of trade sanctions with all affected interest groups in the country, including the trade unions, business organisations and the government with a view to addressing apartheid practices within the export sector and tying the easing of trade sanctions to specific commitments to abandon such practices.
10. For the obvious reason that the country is still ruled by a white minority regime, the arms embargo should remain.
11. Equally, the oil embargo should remain. We could relate this to another matter which has now been raised publicly, namely the sale of existing oil reserves, and the use of the money generated to address the socio-economic needs of the majority, under the direction of a properly representative interim government structure. This structure would then have the possibility to negotiate an agreement with foreign suppliers for the replenishment of the stock in a post-apartheid South Africa.

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Urgent consultations be held with MDM organisations on the question of sanctions.

The ANC urgently organise and call an international summit as a follow-up to the Arusha Sanctions Conference to devise and consult on new strategies on sanctions.

The Commission considers the formulation of a contingency position on sanctions as tantamount to anticipating defeat on the issue.

A campaign against recruitment of imported labour from Eastern European countries and Asia be immediately undertaken and be included in talks with the South African government.

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RESOLUTION ON VIOLENCE

Noting that:

1. The current violence sweeping our country is aimed at
 - a. Undermining and destabilizing the growth and consolidation of the ANC and all other democratic forces
 - b. Ensuring that the government dictates the pace of transition in terms of its own agenda
 - c. Creating a state of confusion and demoralisation in our own ranks and among our people in an attempt to alienate them from our movement
2. The violence is multifaceted and orchestrated through various agencies of the government viz. security forces, councillors, warlords, vigilantes, death squads, askaris and certain bantustan and white right wing elements
3. This violence is part of a counter-revolutionary strategy to maintain white rule in new forms

And believing that:

1. The ending of the violence should be at the top of the agenda of the ANC and the entire democratic movement
2. There is no contradiction between the Pretoria Minute and our right to self-defence

This Conference therefore resolves that:

1. Mass campaigns be embarked upon to pressurise the apartheid regime to bring an end to this carnage
2. Such mass action be waged within the context of our demands for
 - a. the removal of all obstacles to negotiations as embodied in the Harare declaration
 - b. the dismantling of the bantustans and all other apartheid structures
 - c. an interim government and a constituent assembly
3. The NEC, Regional Executive Committees, and branches to initiate, as a matter of urgency, the building of tight and disciplined defence committees and to ensure that the necessary resources are made available to these structures
4. The MK must play a facilitative role in the defence of our people

5. Whilst in principle there is no opposition to talks with Inkatha and other surrogates of the regime, such talks must only take place after full consultations with all the regions of the ANC, particularly those immediately affected by the violence
6. A consultative workshop be convened with our allies, the SACP and COSATU, together with other democratic formations, as soon as possible to set up a joint programme of action.

Pmm. DQA/F'T Hiln'iclo

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RESOLUTION ON THE UNDERGROUND AND UMKHONTO WE ISIZWE

We remain. committed. to the strengthening and. growth. of our people's army MK and the underground.

We therefore stand to resolved:

a) to continue with the process of recruitment and training our forces for the purpose of defending our people against enemy orchestrated.violence and to prepare ourselves for a central role in a new army whose tasks will be to defend and uphold democratic 0 ensure that the welfare and future

b) that the NEC is directed t
d fully discussed and catered for.
of MK cadres is carefully an

c) to build the underground to guarantee that our movement does not suffer any serious setbacks.
for our nmvement to maintain and

d) that it is a necessity
t appropriate underground work.
develop a network to carry on

e) that the NEC must demand that the police must explain the disappearances and deaths of a number of our cadres throughout the country in particular the recent disappearances of Comrade Charles Ndaba and Comrade Mvuso Tshabalala and th
murder of Comrade Welile Saalman and Comrade Vukile Gondiwe.

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DRAFT RESOLUTION

Conference extends profound thanks to Comrade President Bav% d(luwe& t
Kaunda, the Government and people of Zambia for the selfless
solidarity and friendship they have extended over the years to
Comrade President Oliver Tambo. We thank them especially for
all the assistance they extended to us to ensure the safe
return of our President, after absence of more than 30 years
and his participation in our historic Consultative Conference.
On behalf of the majority of the people of our country, we
extend warm greetings to President Kaunda, the Government and
the sister people of Zambia and wish them success in all their
endeavours. :

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PROGRAMME OF ACTION

Consultative Conference 1990

We, the African National Congress dedicate ourselves to making the year 1991 a year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people through following programme of action.

We propose:

1. The launching of a campaign to culminate on Solomon Mahlangu Day (6 April) for the release of our prisoners, (including those on death row) the return of our exiles, the cessation of political trials and the detention of our people.
 2. The launching of mass action around the opening of parliament to highlight our demands for an interim government and constituent assembly and to demand the abolition of the tricameral and bantustan systems. This to be followed by a mass door-to-door signature campaign to popularise and mobilise our people around the objectives of an interim government and constituent assembly.
 3.
 - 3.1 The convening of workshops with our allies to develop a joint programme of action against violence in our country.
 - 3.2 The NEC set up a National Defence Committee to take charge of the speedy implementation of self-defence units in our structures.
 - 3.3 That our structures be encouraged to actively participate in the campaigns of our allies in our communities and in our factories. To this effect, we propose the setting up of local alliance structures.
 4. The convening of a patriotic conference on Sharpville Day, 21 March, to mobilise all anti-apartheid forces against this regime.
 5. That we consolidate our organisation by synchronising our mass recruitment campaigns with our campaigns of mass action, by improving the communication efficiency and effectivity of our structures, by deepening democratic practices and by correcting rural-urban imbalances.
 6. That conference reaffirms its policy on affirmative action for women and directs all structures of the ANC to implement it, and calls on the Women's League to spearhead this process.
 7. That the Land Commission of the ANC be given a specific mandate to consult widely on drawing up a programme of action to rally and mobilise our people for the return of the land to its rightful owners.
 8. Conference resolves to embark on a campaign for the reorientation of the community and students towards a culture of learning, and therefore undertakes to campaign for mass education, a common education system for all, and a demand that the regime provides adequate resources for education.
- All ANC branches and regions in liason with other education structures establish task forces for the implementation of campaigns.