

Firstly, the constitution accorded the democratic forces the framework within which to start implementing programmes of transformation. And by assuming the leading position in government, the democratic movement took formal control of the state machinery, with the possibility of starting, in earnest, to transform it to serve the new order.

Secondly, as a national political organisation with a programme for the attainment of peace, democracy, human rights, socio-economic development and lasting security for all South Africans, the ANC enjoyed legitimacy far much wider than its mass base.

Thirdly, the mass of the people who fought against apartheid valued this achievement, a victory that was not easy and too soon to attain. They were prepared to reconcile with their erstwhile oppressors, but also to defend this victory with all the means at their disposal. At the same time, there is a sense in which this change was, to the white minority, the lifting of a heavy burden that they had carried for decades.

Lastly, the international community hailed the change<sup>24</sup>over, both in terms of its relatively peaceful nature as well as its significance for race relations across the globe.

But the victory was itself constrained by the same considerations that coloured the initial settlement, some of them codified in the constitution. What were these constraints?

In the first instance, the fact that the liberation movement had not achieved an outright victory on the battlefield meant that it had to accept compromises in negotiations which would allow the ruling clique to ease itself out of power without undue resistance. The perspective of the Government of National Unity, and the entrenchment of some of the rights of the existing public service, including the security forces, the judiciary and parastatals, were major elements of this approach.

Secondly, what this also meant is that the democratic movement took over an apartheid state machinery that was intact, orderly within its own rules, and with the majority resolved to continue in their positions. While the constitutional framework allowed the new government to transform this service, this was to be a long drawn-out process which would also meet resistance from within.

Thirdly, the majority of public servants, especially at senior level, the captains of industry, and editorial rooms in most of the media shared the perspectives of the former government or its white opposition - all of them strategically placed to influence the agenda of transformation in favour of the privileged classes.

Lastly, the networks used by the regime, especially in its <sup>23</sup>dirty war<sup>25</sup> both within and outside South Africa remained intact, either burrowed within the state machinery, or concealed in front companies and other private enterprises.

In brief, the democratic movement had achieved only elements of power. This gave it immense possibilities to use the new situation as a beach-head to fundamentally transform society. The initial settlement, codified in the constitution adopted in 1996,

choice, freedom of expression, freedom from discrimination, and other rights entrenched in the constitution. They should have a government not only formally based on their will; but one that is open and transparent, and one that consults and continually involves the people in policy formulation and implementation.

Consistent with these principles is the task of ensuring equality among the racial, ethnic, language, cultural and religious communities: to build a united nation of free individuals with the right to associate with whomever they wish on the basis of equality.

Critical to nation-building is the de-racialisation of South African society. It means creating a society in which the station that individuals occupy in political, social and other areas of endeavour is not defined on the basis of race, ethnicity, language, religious, cultural or other such considerations. It means integrating communities in

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in residential areas, at the work-place and within the trade union movement, in sports

and other areas. It also means a consistent programme of affirmative action to eradicate the disparities created by apartheid.

The ANC recognises that individuals within such a nation will have multiple identities, on the basis of their physiological make-up, cultural life and social upbringing. Such distinctive features will not disappear in the melting-pot of broad South Africanism. Neither does their association on the basis of one social attribute or the other constitute a denial of their other identities. But it is critical that the over-

arching identity of being South African is promoted among all those who are indeed South African, as part of the process of building an African nation on the southern tip of the continent. The affirmation of our Africanness as a nation has nothing to do with the domination of one culture or language by another - it is in reality a recognition of a geographic reality and the awakening of a consciousness which colonialism suppressed.

Apartheid colonialism also meant the systematic suppression of the talents, creativity and capacity of women to play their role in the ordering of the nation's affairs.

Much

more than any other sector, colonial oppression and a universal patriarchal culture conspired to degrade them and treat them as sub-human. It is a critical part of the NDR to address this problem, both to affirm the principle of gender equality and ensure that in practice, it finds conscious expression in the programmes the nation embarks on. In the same vein, the youth, the disabled and others have borne the brunt of apartheid's hierarchy of denial. Addressing these matters is not merely a concern

for this or the other sector of society; it is in actual fact a matter of principle, an expression of our humane values, without which liberation would neither be genuine nor legitimate.

Democracy and development are intertwined, and one cannot be separated from the other. In particular, the notion that economic progress can be attained through some kind of benevolent dictatorship does not hold any water. It is in fact dangerous; for it assumes that some self-declared elite can deliver social liberation from on high to a meek and grateful mass that does not participate in its own advancement. This goes against the grain of the history of struggle, in which the masses were in reality their own liberators. On the other hand, mass participation does not imply paralysis or

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humane, just and equitable world order. In building party-to-party relations, we are guided by these principles, particularly to forge strong co-operation with parties and movements that share our views in the region, on the continent, in countries of the South and further afield.

In these efforts, we should not overestimate ourselves as a small middle-income country. Neither should we underestimate the relative influence we enjoy deriving from our democratic project, the strategic location of our region and the resources and potential it commands.

Through these efforts, we aim to contribute to the restructuring of international relations in the interest of the poor. We are moved in this regard by the conviction that, as long as injustice, poverty and conflict exist anywhere on the globe, so long will humanity find within itself the individuals, movements and governments to co-operate in their eradication. The ANC is a proud part of these international forces.

What then is the broad programme of the ANC for social transformation?

#### X. PROGRAMME OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC

##### TRANSFORMATION IN THE CURRENT PHASE:

It is one of the most central tasks of the ANC, at each stage of transformation, to elaborate a programme of transformation in line with the strategic perspective of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. For the current phase, the framework of this is to be found in the Reconstruction and Development Programme adopted by the ANC, the Tri-partite Alliance and the broad mass democratic movement in the run-up to the first democratic elections.

The ANC will continue to work for national consensus on the basic principles and the practical policies underpinning this Programme: for South Africans to join hands in the task of improving our quality of life.

In essence, the current phase is characterised by transition from apartheid government to democratic governance. We are in a phase in which we have started to change society at the same time as we transform the instruments required to effect that change. These twin objectives have to be pursued simultaneously. Social change cannot await the transformation of the state machinery and other instruments of power. But, as experience has taught us, we cannot expect to proceed with the desired pace without changing these instruments.

Pivotal to our programme in the current phase are a number of basic principles:

##### Democratisation And Governance:

The ANC commits itself to the fundamental provisions of the basic law of the land, which accords with its own vision of a democratic and just society. We have set out to implement both the letter and the spirit of the constitution, including such principles as multi-party democracy; the doctrine and practice of separation of powers in a

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economic growth that is based on meeting the basic needs of the people; in widening and deepening the scope of economic, political and social integration on the continent; and in joint efforts to prevent and resolve conflicts within and among African nations.

Africaâ\200\231s rebirth requires that leaders and governments recognise, and indeed act to bring to the fore, the centrality of individual citizens and communities - workers, peasants, professionals, the entrepreneurial class and others - in shaping the future of the continent. Their creativity and enterprise must be promoted; and their intellectual and scientific capacity must be given free reign. Their ability to understand the wrongs of the colonial past; but indeed, to also acknowledge and correct weaknesses in the present and in themselves, should be nurtured.

Africaâ\200\231s renaissance should consolidate her collective sovereignty, both in the internal and external spheres; to change the current maldistribution of international resources and power, and in the efforts of Africans themselves to improve the continentâ\200\231s standing in world affairs. Critical in the campaign to realise this renaissance is the Organisation of African Unity and other continental and regional associations, which must be continually strengthened to meet the challenges of the new age.

Our efforts on the continent form part of the drive of countries of the South to improve relations among themselves in the process of shaping a new world order. Bilateral relations, co-operation among the various regional blocs, and the emergence of new ones across oceans is a prerequisite to a just and equitable system of international relations. Among these countries are the least developed which require special assistance from across the globe. But among them too, are countries which have a vast pool of investment resources, advanced financial systems and a wealth of experience in tackling the tasks of economic growth and development.

Indeed, if pursued with the seriousness and urgency it deserves, co-operation among countries of the South will ensure that the new world order is based not merely on the existing economic and political power of the current advanced industrial countries. This needs to be complemented by creative bilateral and multilateral engagement with the developed countries to help ensure that their approach to world affairs benefits humanity as a whole.

The same applies to the challenge of restructuring multilateral institutions, primary among which is the United Nations Organisation and its agencies, both to redirect the intention to create a new system of international relations and to regulate the process towards such a system. This is not merely a matter of formality; but it issues from the understanding that these bodies are being called upon to play a greater role in regulating the process of globalisation, and the emergence of a new world order. The leadership role of these organisations must be strengthened, in a process that should see to the pooling of sovereignty among all nations, rather than domination by those who possess international political, military and economic power.

The ANCâ\200\231s approach to international relations in the current phase is guided by these objectives. We promote them proceeding from the premise that developing countries, the working people across the globe, and those who command the resources required for development, all need to be mobilised to achieve an international consensus on a

and government as a whole which are central in defining our organisational character, irrespective of the formal label attached to it.

Transformation will only have real meaning if it addresses the plight of triple oppression suffered by women. The ANC Women's League (ANCWL) represents a section of our society which over the decades, has been oppressed and exploited as a nation, as a class and as women. It should continue to broaden its base and improve its organisational strength. It should place itself at the centre of the struggle for gender emancipation.

The ANC Youth League (ANCYL) is a critical tool of South Africa's youth in pursuit of a better life for all. It should continue to function as an organisational and political preparatory school of young activists of our movement. The organisational autonomy of the ANCYL always provides organisational vibrancy and the youthful political debate imperative to a revolutionary organisation. It should continually broaden its base and deepen its political and organisational strength. It must strive to galvanise, and place itself at the centre of, the broadest spectrum of youth organisations for reconstruction and development.

The ANC has the responsibility to link up with various political, community, sectoral and other formations that share its strategic objective, and contribute to their orientation with regard to the major national questions of the day.

Among these forces are the organisations of the working class - the South African Communist Party and the progressive trade union movement, represented by COSATU, in particular. These organisations are committed to a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa; a system which pays particular attention to the improvement of the conditions of especially the poor. They themselves took part in defining this strategic objective; and, to the extent that the struggle to reach this goal remains in place, they will always have a close partnership with the ANC.

This Tri-partite Alliance is therefore not a matter of sentiment, but an organisational expression of the common purpose and unity in action that these forces share, and continue jointly to define and redefine in the course of undertaking the tasks of the NDR.

While maintaining their independence, each component of the Alliance has a responsibility to organise and mobilise its social base and any other forces allied to it, for the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the defence of the NDR and the constructive engagement of the people as a whole in the process of fundamental change.

Sectoral formations among the motive forces of transformation pursue the same goals as the ANC, in the measure that they strive for the true interests of these sectors. Among them are to be found student and professional organisations, structures of the youth, the women, traditional leaders, business associations, structures in rural areas, civic associations and others. These formations are as important to transformation as they were to the heroic struggle against apartheid. It

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Indeed, it is critical for the ANC and the government to help guide these and other owners of capital to promote social transformation mindful of the fact that such transformation will serve at least their long-term interests and those of society as a whole. This applies as much to local i-\201nancial, manufacturing, mining, agricultural and other entrepreneurs as it does to foreign direct investors.

The occupation of positions of power by individuals i-\201om the black majority, and the material possibilities this offers, does create some â\200\234social distanceâ\200\235 between these individuals and constituencies they represent. It should not be ruled out that this could render elements in the revolutionary movement progressively lethargic to the conditions of the poor. This is not a distant and theoretical possibility; but a danger always lurking as we pursue fundamental change from the vantage point of political offi-\201ce. Preventing it is not a small appendage to the tasks of the NDR. It is central to the all-round vigilance that we should continue to exercise. .

Examples abound in many former colonies of massive disparities in the distribution of wealth and income between the new elite and the mass of the pe0ple. In South Africa, this potential danger is made the more acute by the fact that, at the end of the day, thi s class permutation will in substance rei-\202ect previous racial disparities, with a coter ie of blacks co-opted into the white courtyard of privilege. This will then be a continuing potential source of instability and insecurity for all of society, deriving from the same social grievances that underpinned the anti-apartheid struggle.

While the maj ority within the white community harboured misconceptions about democratic majority rule, experience since April 1994 is showing that, loss of ill-gotten privilege aside, the new system affords them the kind of freedom and security which is legitimate, long-term and therefore more meaningi-\201il. This is a far cry from the fear and psychological coercion that the autocratic and securocratic system of apartheid engendered. Even the white owners of large corporations enj oy opportunities both within and outside South Africa that apartheid could not afford them.

Indeed, many of these and other sectors of society who benei-\201ted from apartheid harbour a positive ambivalence or even critical support towards the process of change. These sectors, and indeed the white community as such, are therefore not an exclusive terrain of parties opposed to change. It is the task of the democratic movement to try and liberate them and, where possible, their political representatives, from the prison of fear, hatred and antipathy towards the process of transformation. The benei-\201ts the y enj oy deriving from the new order, and the new sense of proud belonging they nurture, are among the elements that should be harnessed.

#### VIII. CHARACTER OF THE ANC:

The ANC is a product of a given historical period, formed to unite the African people in the struggle for equality. Over the years, it developed to embrace non-racialisrn both as a principle and as a guide to its composition and day-to-day practice. Driving its approach to struggle was the fundamental national contradiction represented by the oppression of black people. Combined with the evolution of South African capitalism,

representatives and other avenues, society should ensure that those who are indigent are accorded a humane and respectable quality of life.

In this sense, such a society is neither a clone of an idealistic capitalist order which is hostage to rampant so-called market forces (particularly in an economy dominated by a few conglomerates), nor an egalitarian utopia of mechanical social parity. Indeed, within the context of a mixed economy, in which market forces have an important role to play, the state has the critical task of ensuring economic growth and development, of meeting people's social needs and of providing the requisite environment for political stability and the safety and security of citizens.

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In carrying out these tasks, the emergent democratic state relies on the formal instruments available to it; but above all on the active involvement of members of society in changing their lives for the better. Both as individuals, and organised in political formations and various structures of civil society, the citizens are the bedrock of fundamental change.

We are confident that consistent implementation of these principles will go a long way in resolving many of the basic contradictions of South African society. However, we cannot claim that this is a panacea. Nor can we predict all the new challenges that the process of transformation will bring forth. For instance, the creation of a new society will not eliminate the basic antagonism between capital and labour. Neither will it eradicate the disparate and sometimes contradictory interests that some of the motive forces of the National Democratic Revolution pursue. These secondary contradictions among the motive forces are inherent to the NDR, and properly managed, they can serve as a source of its advancement.

Our task as the ANC, the task of the National Democratic Revolution, is to eliminate the basic causes of the national grievance wherever and in whatever form they manifest themselves, and to manage the multitude of contradictions within society in the interest of this objective. Indeed, as we succeed in doing so, new social dynamics will play themselves out, redefining the challenges of the given moment as well as the political permutations that are consonant with these new challenges.

#### VI. CHALLENGE TO TRANSFORMATION:

The smooth change-over of government in 1994 was one of the most outstanding achievements of liberation struggles this century. The understandable euphoria that this development occasioned reflected the sense of achievement of a people who had endured centuries of bondage, as well as appreciation by both black and white South Africans that they share a common destiny, and that none would benefit from mutually debilitating conflict. This was reinforced by the deliberate policy of reconciliation adopted by the liberation movement, helping to narrow the space for those forces which might have had plans to subvert this process by violent and other means.

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However, the notion that South Africans embraced and made up, and thus erased the root causes of previous conflict, is thoroughly misleading. April 1994 was neither the

contains the framework for democratic majority rule and the platform to build a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. However, the constraints outlined above have got a direct bearing on the pace of transformation; on the route towards the strategic objective; as well as on the extent of the danger of this process being derailed.

A proper understanding of a given balance of forces is critical in defining the tactics that the liberation movement should adopt at each stage of transformation. To ignore this would be to fall victim to voluntarism and a revolutionary militancy that has nothing to do with revolution. Such "populism" can in fact lead to the defeat of the revolution itself. Historic moments are few and far between, where revolutionaries are called upon to throw caution to the wind.

On the other hand, a fixation with balance of forces as an immutable phenomenon results in a malaise of stasis, and it can in fact become the swan-song for indecision, and even reaction, to preach caution where bold action is required. Objective circumstances are not carved in stone. Any balance of forces is dynamic, influenced by changing endogenous and exogenous factors.

#### V. CHARACTER OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION:

The strategic objective of the National Democratic Revolution is the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. This in essence means the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general from political and economic bondage. It means uplifting the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor.

April 1994 constitutes a platform from which to launch this programme of social transformation. What this revolution still has to accomplish, is to overcome the legacy of a social system that was based on the oppression of the black majority. Political freedom constitutes an important part of this mandate. However, without social justice, such freedom will remain hollow, the pastime of those who can make ends meet.

The symbiotic link between capitalism and national oppression in our country, and the stupendous concentration of wealth in the hands of a few monopolies therefore render trite the vainglorious declaration that national oppression and its social consequences can be resolved by formal democracy underpinned by market forces to which all should kneel in the prayer: "everyone for himself and the Devil takes the hindmost!"

While formal democracy may present opportunities for some blacks to advance, without a systematic national effort, led by the democratic government, to unravel the skewed distribution of wealth and income, the social reality of apartheid will remain.

How then should the strategic objective of the National Democratic Revolution find expression, in broad terms?

A fundamental condition for liberation is democracy and an abiding culture of human rights. All citizens should be guaranteed the right to elect a government of their



support of virtually the entire world. And it had the capacity to intensify all forms of struggle.

On the other hand, the apartheid regime commanded huge resources - military, economic and otherwise - to delay its demise at huge cost to the country. While its mass base was somewhat divided, many of its supporters and particularly the direct beneficiaries of apartheid still had the capacity to support resistance to change. Internationally, there were powerful elements who were prepared, at least secretly, to assist the regime in preventing an insurrectionary take-over.

Negotiations were therefore as much a platform to find a resolution to the conflict, as

a terrain of struggle to shift the balance of forces. The liberation movement continued to mobilise the people and the international community to this end. On the other hand, the regime used its state power to frustrate the negotiations process, seek to prolong it as much as possible, and, in the meanwhile, regain lost ground through security force violence, propaganda and other means.

As a result of the work of the liberation movement, and at the same time as the regime made tactical blunders, the resolve of the mass of the people and the ground-swell of local and international public opinion shifted decisively in favour of a speedy resolution of the conflict. In the end, the regime conceded the basic outlines of a democratic settlement that accorded with universal principles of democracy.

The adoption of the interim constitution, the first democratic elections in April 1994,

and the establishment of a new government led by the ANC were major landmarks in this process. And so was the work of the elected Constitutional Assembly which adopted the new constitution based on the principles of democratic majority rule.

#### IV. VICTORY OVER APARTHEID:

April 1994 was therefore a historic breakthrough in the struggle for democracy. A consequence of active support to the course of democracy by the mass of the people, and a cumulative result of decades of struggle, this victory signified a decisive departure from a colonial system spanning over three centuries. The accession of the ANC to government was therefore not merely a change of parties in political office. The interim constitution and the formation of a government based on the will of the people was a revolutionary break with the past. A qualitative element of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) had been accomplished.

We use the words 'element of the NDR' guardedly, precisely because the balance of forces that we referred to earlier dictated that the path to full transfer of power, let alone the strategic objective of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society, would be protracted and tortuous.

When the new government was formed, the extra-parliamentary power of the

democratic movement was strategically complemented by the attainment of elements

of state power. In this sense, this was a strategic defeat for the forces of white minority rule.

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wilful inaction in the name of endless consultation. Decisive, bold and speedy action should always be pursued, without derogating from the need for the people themselves to facilitate such promptness in meeting their needs.

The new democratic government derives its character from these challenges. These tasks are made the more urgent and the difficulty of implementing them further compounded by the massive social disparities that we have inherited. The apartheid state was set up, and it operated precisely in a manner, to entrench racial disparities. Its bloated, repressive and corrupt bureaucracy was tasked to serve the interests of a minority. Its fiscal expenditure and the Operations of its parastatals were structured along apartheid lines, including its war effort against anti-apartheid forces within South Africa and abroad. It incurred huge debt in pursuit of these objectives, together with attempts at creating a buffer, from among the ranks of the oppressed, between the white minority and the revolutionary masses.

Because it was illegal and illegitimate, the apartheid state's practices eroded the moral fibre of South African society. The state relied more and more on criminal actions to shore up its fortunes; and in the process, it pulled the rest of society into a maelstrom of corruption and crime. As such, apartheid political and economic relations were not only a break on the development of the economy. They were also an albatross on the moral sensibilities of society.

The new democratic government is faced with the challenge of changing all this, as part of its strategic task of creating a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. In the first instance, this government derives its legitimacy and legality from the democratic processes which saw to its birth. However, the state machinery we inherited contains many features of the past. Formally, it is a state based on a democratic constitution, a state which is obliged to serve the aspirations of the majority. However, the emergence of a truly democratic state depends on the transformation of the old machinery, a critical part of the National Democratic Revolution. Such transformation should see to the location of the motive forces of the revolution at the helm of the state, as the classes and strata which wield real power.

The challenges that face these forces in this phase is to ensure that the elements of power they have captured are utilised rapidly to transform the state, while at the same time placing it at the centre of the transformation of South Africa's political, economic and societal relations.

The new South African state is one in which formal expressions of democracy and human rights should be backed up by mass involvement in policy formulation and implementation. It is a state which should mobilise the nation's resources to expand the wealth base in the form of a growing economy. It is a state which should continually strive to improve people's quality of life. Such a state should ensure that all citizens are accorded equal opportunities within the context of correcting the historical injustice.

We seek to create a social order in which the many positive elements of the market dovetail with the obligations of citizens one to the other. Through its elected

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and the ANC's interaction with liberation and other progressive movements over the world, all these factors helped shape the character of the ANC as a truly progressive national liberation movement.

The primary mission of the ANC was, and remains, to mobilise all the classes and strata that objectively stand to gain from the success of the cause of social change. Indeed, the fact that a particular group or class or stratum stands to benefit from such transformation does not necessarily mean that it will automatically be aware of it. Thus, the task of education, organisation and mobilisation is critical at all stages. This is as important in this period as it was in the past; for, in as much as the people were their own liberators, success today is contingent upon transformation being people-centred and people-driven.

The ANC is also called upon to win over to its side those who previously benefited from the system of apartheid: to persuade them to appreciate that their long-term security and comfort are closely tied up with the security and comfort of society as a whole. In this sense therefore, the ANC is not a leader of itself, nor just of its supporters. History has bequeathed on it the mission to lead South African society as a whole in the quest for a truly non-racial, non-sexist and democratic nation.

Given the common interests that various classes and strata have in the success of the NDR, it is the task of the ANC to channel the energies of these forces towards that goal. It should be able to identify those common interests and unite the motive forces and others in joint action.

Yet among these forces, each sector promotes its own narrow interests. Even within the African majority, the object of vicious racist policies, their stratification then, and even more so now, dictates that they will hold differing views on critical matters of transformation. On the factory-floor, a black employer and a worker will not be immune to the class contradictions that the capitalist system of social organisation engenders.

The nature of democracy that the ANC pursues leans towards the poor. This arises from its experience in struggle, from its humane and progressive outlook, and from the on-going contribution of the various class forces to change. The ANC recognises the central and leading role of the working class in the project of social transformation.

The ANC is therefore a broad multi-class, mass organisation, uniting the motive forces on the basis of a programme for transformation. It must strive to remain a broad democratic movement by accepting into its ranks all those who accept and abide by its policies and objectives. This character of the ANC derives from its strategic tasks in the current phase.

While at this stage we define ourselves as a liberation movement, it is trite to counterpose this to being a party in the broad sense or as understood by adherents of formal bourgeois democracy. It is our strategic objectives, the motive forces of the revolution and the character of the terrain in which we operate such as mass work, parliament

behoves the ANC to work among them and join with them both in sectoral and inter-sectoral campaigns to realise the aims of the NDR.

To the extent that other broader forces share some short- or even long-term goals with the ANC, we should find ways of pooling efforts to achieve those goals. In this period of complex transformation, maximum skill and tact are required to bring the message of the ANC to these forces; not so much to convert them to its world view, but to ensure that the overwhelming majority of South Africans pay allegiance to the constitution and share in the national consensus and programme to build a new society.

The ANC is the vanguard of all these motive forces of the NDR, the leader of the broad movement for transformation. Its leadership has not been decreed; but earned in the crucible of struggle and the battles for social transformation. It should continually strengthen itself as a national political organisation; and ensure that it is in touch with the people in their day-to-day life.

The ANC is acutely aware that the overwhelming majority of South Africans, and indeed its own members, adhere to religious beliefs or are people of faith who do not practice any religion. From this point of view, and indeed within the context of the profound moral ethic, empathy towards those in need and human fellowship that most religions preach, the ANC recognises the critical role the religious community can play as a partner in reconstruction and development, nation-building and reconciliation. We shall continue to promote joint efforts with, and sectoral contribution by, the religious community in pursuit of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.

The current phase of the NDR contains many new and complex dynamics; and the ANC should itself continue to be a vibrant organisation within whose ranks there is constant exchange of ideas, however different such ideas may be. Its cadre policy should encourage creativity in thought and in practice, and eschew rigid dogma. However, it should exercise maximum discipline among its members, and ensure that, after ideas have been exchanged and decisions taken, all its structures and members pursue the same goal. In the composition of its membership and leadership, the class and national content of the NDR should find broad expression.

The character and strength of the ANC must continue to reside in its mass base. And, as the leading force in government, the ANC should continuously improve its capacity and skill to wield and transform the instruments of power. This includes a systematic approach to parliament as the forum to lay the detailed legal framework for transformation; creative employment of public representatives in organisational work; a cadre policy ensuring that the ANC plays a leading role in all centres of power; and a proper balance in its day-to-day activities between narrow governmental work and organisational tasks.

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In all centres of power, particularly in parliament and the executive, ANC representatives must fulfil the mandate of the organisation. They should account to the ANC and seek its broad guidance. As a matter of political principle, and in our

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Government by the people for the people, an achievement of human civilisation over the centuries, is finding new meaning in the growth of social movements on such issues as gender rights, the environment and opportunities for youth, in addition to organisations for workers's rights, for peace, and in mutual international solidarity.

These structures of civil society wield enormous and growing influence. At the same time, common global threats such as the AIDS pandemic and global warming dictate that humanity acts together to find common solutions.

The new technological revolution provides immense opportunities for developing countries to creatively handle matters of development. In the same vein, the emergent international trade regime and the flows of productive capital do contain opportunities

for these countries to improve their competitiveness and exploit their comparative advantage. These possibilities are enhanced by the consolidation of regional blocs among these countries allowing them to pool their resources, their markets and broadly, their economic power.

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The ANC seeks to expand and deepen these opportunities within the context of promoting political, economic, social and environmental human rights; in the fight for democracy and peace; and in ensuring that international relations are guided by justice and international law.

Our foreign relations, including trade, investment and other relations, mirror our deep commitment to the consolidation of democracy in our country. But this can only be achieved in joint efforts in the Southern African region and on the continent as a whole.

Our starting point therefore is the obvious: that South Africa is an African country.

The integration of the Southern African region is therefore critical, so as to bring our joint strengths to bear in the wider world, and ensure that the region becomes one of the nodal growth points of the world. This applies to such issues as the utilisation of our vast resources, the building of a common market, and the promotion of the region as an important investment destination within the context both of its political stability and its economic policies. Critical to this is the deepening of democracy and human rights and the consolidation of peace in the region.

This approach is underpinned by our commitment to, and active promotion of, the African renaissance: the rebirth of a continent that has for far too long been the object

of exploitation and plunder. It recognises in the first instance the difficulties wrought

on the continent by years of colonialism and unjust international relations, including the debt crisis, underdevelopment, social dislocation, and in some instances untenable political relations underpinned by forms of government that imperialism encouraged for its own selfish interests. However, the essence of our approach is not to mourn this

treacherous past; but to find solutions to a complex reality. Therefore, for us, this African renaissance is both a strategic objective and a call to action.

It must be underpinned by the mobilisation of the people of Africa to take their destiny into their own hands: in the definition and consolidation of democratic systems of government in which the people play an active role; in attaining rapid

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constitutional state; fundamental human rights to all citizens; respect for the rights of linguistic, religious and cultural communities; and social equity within the context of correcting the historical injustices of apartheid.

In order to ensure that government truly serves the interests of the people, the ANC will strengthen co-operative governance among all spheres of government - national, provincial and local - for each level to play its requisite role in serving the people. The

allocation of powers and functions, in essence the division of common labour among these tiers, should be driven by this objective.

Our commitment to open and transparent government, and to ensuring an informed and active citizenry, are more than just high-sounding phrases. They are the life-blood of democratic governance, the core values of people-centred and people-driven transformation. We shall therefore continue to strengthen relations between V government and civil society, including nonâ\200\224governmental and community-based organisations; and promote their role in the process of transformation.

Transformation Of The State Machinery:

It is a dictum of all revolutions that, having laid its hands on the apartheid state machinery - at local, provincial and national levels - the democratic movement cannot wish this machinery to serve the purpose of social transformation.

The civil service, the judiciary, the army, the police, the intelligence structures were all moulded to attain the opposite of what we intend to achieve. Thus it is a critical part of the ANCâ\200\231s programme to change the doctrines, the composition and the management style of all these structures to reï-\202ect and serve South African society as a

whole. The principles to guide this are contained in the constitution and relevant new statutes.

Our programme includes changing the management and other echelons of this machinery to ensure that they are efiï-\201cient, effective and productive in carrying out their functions. It entails introducing a new orientation in the provision of service to society; rooting out corruption and introducing a new organisational culture and motivational values.

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Success in transformation will depend critically on the role of the state. For this reason, we reject insinuations that our country needs â\200\234less governmentâ\200\235, which is in

essence, a ploy aimed at weakening the democratic state. Yet efiï-\201ciency and effectiveness require that the size of the public service is in accordance With the needs and resources of the country. It also requires that, where appropriate, the public sector should form partnerships with private companies to bring about efiï-\201cient, affordable and people-ï-\201ndly service.

Economic Transformation:

The centreâ\200\224piece of the ANCâ\200\231s programme for the economy is the pursuit of growth

and development. We need to increase the wealth base of the country by producing more goods and services in the same measure as we improve the quality of life of

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These then are the challenges we face in changing the balance of forces in the interest of fundamental transformation. In the i-\20lnal analysis, the best antidote to counter-revolution is confi-\20ldence in the mass of the people, mobilised always to be in politic al motion. They are the sure guarantee to the advancement and defence of the cause of national liberation.

Who are these masses and what is the character of the organisations required to lead their efforts?

#### VII. THE MOTIVE FORCES OF TRANSFORMATION:

In South Africa, where political oppression was so closely linked to economic exploitation, where the social position that individuals occupied in life was dei-\20lned by writ in racial terms, it is critical to examine these motive forces of change from both these angles.

The system of national oppression meant that the African majority and blacks in general became, from their own experiences and actions, the main motive forces of the struggle. At the same time, within the white community, individuals of rare foresight and integrity did realise that all the people of our country shared a common future, and therefore made common cause with the national liberation movement. This is the array of national forces on whom the ANC relies for the continuing struggle to rid South Africa of the legacy of apartheid.

They are made up of the African maj ority who were the main victims of the apartheid system and who bore the brunt of the heroic struggle against it; the Coloured and Indian communities, who, though accorded bigger crumbs from the mastersâ\200\231 table, were essentially excluded from the court of the privileged, and themselves played a critical role in the struggle; and white democrats. This hierarchy of oppression was devised as a tool of divide-and-rule, as an expression of the warped minds of the white racist ruling clique and as a tactic to buttress the forces which would have a stake in the system of apartheid to defend.

The African people were themselves nudged and coerced to develop an ethnic consciousness that the system of colonial capitalism had undermined. Among them, some were rewarded with bogus positions of status in apartheid institutions.

The combination of all these factors does emphasise the critical importance of building national consciousness as part of the process of social transformation.

In class terms, apartheid ensured that blacks occupy the lowest rungs of the ladder of colonial capitalism: as the unemployed and landless rural masses; as unskilled and semi-skilled workers; as professionals squashed between the rock of poverty and the glass ceiling of job reservation; and as petty business Operators confi-\20lned to spaza retail trade and a disorganised mini-bus sector. . .but never at the heart of the country â\200\231s industry. Ranged against them, and yet feeding on their condition wasthe collection of white classes and strata: workers, the middle strata, small business and, particularly, the monopoly capitalists.



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black poverty and white opulence - however modifi\201ed - that were engendered by the system of apartheid. To achieve this, they seek to imprison the erstwhile benefici\201ciaries of apartheid in that time warp when white and might were right. They strive to maintain cohesion within a former ruling group now facing disintegration. In this sense, these forces are, broadlyâ\200\224speaking, counter-revolutionary.

Further, the overwhelming moral and political. legitimacy of the new order, and of the ANC in particular, does draw some of these parties and other elements - who have no hope in the near future of assuming political offi\201ce - towards i\201nding clandestine and sometimes innocuous ways of subverting transformation.

In the narrow sense, counter-revolution can be defi\201ned as a combination of aims and forms of action that are mainly unconstitutional and illegal, to subvert transformation. These include setting up intelligence and armed networks parallel to and within the state to sabotage change through direct political activity or aggravation of such social problems as crime. They also entail underground efforts to undermine the countryâ\200\231s economy, including investor confi\201dence and the currency; deliberate acts of corruption driven not merely by greed; sabotage of the programme for delivery; wrecking the governmentâ\200\231s information systems; illegal and malicious acts of capital i\202ight and so on.

Such efforts can be supplemented by open forms of mobilisation, not least through legislatures and networks in the judiciary, the economy, the media and other centres of power.

Uppermost in the immediate objectives of these counter-revolutionary forces is to disorganise, weaken and destroy the ANC, the vanguard of the NDR, both from within and from outside its ranks. It is in the interest of these elements that the masses of the people should be left leaderless and rudderless, and thus open to manipulation against their own interests.

In this sense therefore, the democratic movement will be committing a monumental blunder - a historical error of great proportions - to lull itself into a false sense of security. Maximum vigilance is required. But even more critical, the revolutionary movement needs to act with resolution in transforming the state machinery. It needs to use those centres of power in which it has a foothold to widen and deepen popular power. The nature of our transition also means that, rather than rely mainly on revolutionary force (in a situation in which the instruments of force themselves require fundamental transformation), the democratic movement should creatively employ the weapons of transparency and openness to expose the machinations of counter-revolution and root out their networks. It should ensure that the agenda in the battle of ideas is not set by counter-revolution.

In addressing these challenges, the ANC will do well to remember the adage of its own campaigns: â\200\234attack the enemy on all frontsâ\200\235. Counter-revolutionary mobilisation can only take root if there are real grievances to exploit, whether these grievances are deliberately engineered or not. The democratic movement itself needs at all times to be vigilant that its own actions and omissions do not assist such mobilisation

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includes the implementation of measures in the educational system, in the work-place, and in sport and leisure which will improve the health, the skills and the cultural development of citizens.

At this stage, the phasing in of compulsory education, the redistribution of educational resources, the consolidation of the culture of teaching and learning, the introduction of a new curriculum in tune with the countryâ\200\231s needs and the development of teachers are among the most critical tasks. This will be implemented along with the democratisation of schools governance, transformation of higher education and national adult education and skills development projects.

Built into all these projects is the appreciation of the need to utilise the world technological revolution to our advantage, and as such to place added emphasis on science and technology in research, in education and in their application to the economy and other areas of life.

#### Safety and Security:

A rising quality of life also means safety and security for all citizens.

But our starting point, without which we can descend into the mire of authoritarianism, is premised on two considerations. Firstly, that the battle against crime cannot be separated from the war on want. Secondly, that the deviant activities of few rotten apples in our midst should not be allowed to tempt us to subtract from the human rights of society, the majority of whom are responsible, law-abiding citizens.

Yet we should not underestimate the rot that set in within all sections of society under apartheid. In its treatment of citizens and in its relations with the wider world, that system encouraged greed and corruption, murder, the proliferation of dangerous weapons in the hands of civilians, violation of its own criminal codes and, particularly among the oppressed, the breakdown of the family unit.

Therefore, at the same time as we pursue socio-economic change, one of the most critical tasks in this phase is to implement an integrated national crime prevention strategy.

The challenges identified above regarding the transformation of the state machinery apply even more acutely to the police, the justice system and correctional services. These include management efficiency, effective utilisation of data bases and other possibilities offered by new technology, effective employment of the stateâ\200\231s intelligence capacity, training and a re-orientation towards working with the people as partners in a common battle.

Co-operation with police services in the region and further afield will be intensified;

and border control will be continually tightened. In introducing these measures, we proceed from the premise that crime is a scourge that does not respect borders; with syndicates that have made the entire globe the theatre of their operations. This is also

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especially the poor, and effect, in a variety of ways, the redistribution of wealth and income in favour of those previously excluded from the economic mainstream.

Economic growth requires the implementation of an industrial policy which ensures more investment in such critical areas as infrastructure; manufacturing of electronic, transport, telecommunications, textile and other goods; efficient commercial agricultural production; eco-tourism; and housing construction. Through the employment of appropriate technology and skills training, such investment should improve productivity, affordability of goods and services in the domestic market, and international competitiveness. It must help transform South Africa into a vibrant manufacturing centre.

In this regard, government must continually encourage the growth and strategic commitment of investment capital, including private savings, institutional capital expenditure, investment from public corporations, and foreign direct investments. This strategic commitment of investment capital should not only help address the general industrial needs of the country, but also deliberately seek to direct resources towards the rural and depressed areas.

One of the most critical areas of economic policy, and indeed as critical a measure of income distribution, is the creation of jobs. This is a priority that should form an integral part of government and private sector operations. We will continually

intensify the implementation of a variety of measures to ensure that rapid economic growth is matched by the absorption of the unemployed and new job-seekers. And government will itself intensify programmes such as public works and broader infrastructural development with the creation of jobs as part of its central focus.

Our programme on the labour market and employment conditions is aimed at creating a democratic work-environment, guaranteeing a living wage, multi-skilling of workers, as well as civilised working hours and rights of women workers. This is a matter of humane principle as well as a critical condition for productivity and normal family life for all citizens.

The ANC's institutional policy proceeds from the premise that as much public resources as possible should be utilised to expand the country's economic base and provide affordable services to the people. In this regard, we shall continue to reform the budget to allocate an increasing share of resources to capital expenditure and social services particularly to those who were previously disadvantaged.

In this regard, monetary and exchange rate policy will be guided as much by the imperatives of the country's economic growth and development, as by the dynamics of the market.

We will introduce and encourage measures allowing as much competition within the economy as possible. In so far as the public sector is concerned, government will consolidate its ownership of, and restructure, those enterprises that provide critical services to the population, at the same time as it establishes partnerships with the private sector, where necessary, to improve services and modernise them. On a case-

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The ANC seeks to take active part in shaping this order, both in the context of its relations with other parties and movements, and as the leading organisation in government. In both these areas of operation, it will pursue the same objectives. Yet we do recognise that, in the detail, party-to-party aims will not always translate into inter-state relations. This is not to imply that inter-state relations are devoid of principle. Rather, it is to underline that, in government, the implementation of our principles will be tempered by the realities of world diplomacy and conventions governing interâ\200\224state relations.

Todayâ\200\231s world is dominated by the capitalist system. Besides, in the advanced capitalist countries, it is monopoly companies, particularly trans-national corporations which set the greater part of the agenda. As such, the real danger exists that political and economic policy of governments throughout the world can be dictated to by these corporations. Already, the content and form of globalisation of trade, investment and capital i-\202ows, and the operation of some of the critical multilateral institutions re i-\202ect in large measure the wishes of these corporations. Combined with this, is the danger that we can enter the new millennium with an approach to international relations that rei-\202ects capitalismâ\200\231s unbridled license, with particularly developing countries having surrendered their sovereignty.

But contained within this situation, which characterises the current process of globalisation, are opportunities that need to be creatively utilised. It is the task of revolutionary democrats and humanists everywhere to recognise dangers; but more critically, to identify opportunities in the search for a just, humane and equitable world order.

The capitalist system has not resolved the disparities within even the most advanced countries. Indeed, in most of them, the gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen, rei-\202ected not only in the ever-rising i-\202oor of so-called â\200\234natural unemploymentâ\200\235; but also in poverty wages. It is a reality to which politicians, if only for their own selfâ\200\224interest, cannot afford to close their eyes. Among the nations of the world, the chasm between developed and developing countries is as wide as ever. Given the communications revolution, the spate of cross-border migration and organised crime, and the implications of a default on international debt by countries that do not have the means to pay, developed countries dare not ignore this chasm.

The current system of international i-\201nance was born in a haphazard manner, releasing into international relations an unregulated and often predatory sector of i-\201nance capital with the power to beggar whole economies and dictate social and economic policy especially in the developing world. Currency speculation within and across national frontiers, involving the i-\202ows of trillions of major currency denominations, without any social purpose, is not only a threat to the developing countries; but it is a Sword of Damocles hanging over the head of advanced capitalist societies themselves. Indeed, international discourse on, and the search for rational solutions to, this and related problems should and will continue, not so much to kill â\200\234the marketâ\200\235; but at least to i-\201nd some order in the international i-\201nancial system.

These objective realities are reinforced by the awakening of a form of democracy and culture of human rights that transcends the ideological trappings of the past.

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to pursue economic growth, development and redistribution in such a way as to improve the people's quality of life; and to work with progressive forces throughout the world to promote and defend our transformation, advance Africa's renaissance and build a new world order.

The struggle and sacrifices of the people over the past centuries have presented our generation with the unique opportunity to take South Africa into the new millennium with the overwhelming majority of its people organised, mobilised and united around a programme of social transformation, premised on democratic majority rule.

A new epoch has dawned, presenting the ANC with the wherewithal to realise the ideals and aspirations of the generation which set it up when the final destination was but a phantom beyond the horizon; of the militant and brave cadres who sacrificed their lives in the face of an enemy that seemed invincible; and of the mass of the people who put their trust in the organisation in the face of brutal repression.

We call on all South Africans to join us in this march to a better future. We are keenly aware that it will take time to realise the strategic objective of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. But the foundation has been laid, and the building has begun.

The Struggle Continues.â\200\231  
All Power To The People!

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ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BUILDING ON THE FOUNDATION

FOR A BETTER LIFE

[STRATEGYAND TACTICS OF THE  
AFRICANNATIONAL CONGRESS]

NOVEMBER 1997

the mobilisation of the international community to support the struggle of the South African people and isolate the apartheid regime.

These forms of struggle developed over the years to dovetail in skilful combination. As the decade of the 1980s drew to a close, it became more and more difficult for the regime to rule, as the people acted en masse to make the system unworkable and the country ungovernable, and as the cumulative pressures of all-round struggle started to isolate the ruling clique even from elements in its own mass base. The liberation movement's strategic objective of the popular seizure of power had been placed firmly on the agenda.

### III. CHARACTER OF NEGOTIATIONS:

In this period, elements within the South African ruling class and its international allies started to weigh the implications of continuing popular revolt - and its culmination in the overthrow of the regime - on their interests within the country and the region. On the part of the liberation movement, while it had always accepted the human and material cost of protracted struggle, it had, as a matter of abiding principle, sought a more humane resolution of the conflict without compromising the basic objectives of struggle. Combined with the end of the Cold War, these factors set the stage for the beginning of negotiations.

What then was the balance of forces when the ban on political organisations was lifted in 1990? How did this balance change over the period of negotiations? These questions are critical in understanding the final outcome of the negotiations process; the opportunities and constraints that the ANC and its allies faced at the instance of victory in the democratic elections of April 1994; and the form, if not part of the content, of the transformation which we are now undertaking.

The ANC entered negotiations with the objective of attaining its strategic objective of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. These principles were elaborated in what became known as the OAU Harare Declaration, with the fundamental understanding that negotiations were not about a compromise between democracy and apartheid; but about the process towards attaining universally accepted principles of justice and human rights.

The regime sought to use negotiations to retain as much of white minority rule and privilege as possible. Under the guise of so-called minority rights, federalism and orderly transition, it pursued an outcome in which whites would have the right of veto over both the content and the process of change.

Negotiations however entailed compromises on the path to be followed to the final objective. This was influenced by the prevailing balance of forces. In the first instance, at the beginning of negotiations, neither the liberation movement nor the forces of apartheid had emerged as an outright victor.

On the one hand, the liberation movement enjoyed the support of a people in political motion, ready to sacrifice for the attainment of freedom. Its objectives enjoyed the

structures and our style of operation, we proceed always from the premise that there is one ANC, irrespective of the many and varied sectors in which cadres are deployed.

The fact of being in government has also thrown up challenges which were either not pronounced in, or foreign to, the previous epoch. For instance, the approach to deployment in the current phase cannot ignore mapping out career-paths for, and with, ANC cadres; to enable them to play the most effective role, and to advance in a systematic way, in the varied terrain of transformation. This also entails the acquisition of a multiple of political, organisational and technical skills.

Such cadre policy has nothing to do with careerism of the opportunistic variety, which a governing party should always guard against. It also has to be pursued without detracting from the mass character of the movement, with this mass membership itself continually upgraded, and at the same time serving as a pool from which cadres can be developed.

Positions in government also afford the movement and its leaders powerful possibilities for patronage. There is nothing untoward per se in advancing cadres who, by their selfless contribution to the cause, deserve such acknowledgement. Yet this can easily lend itself to corrupt practices; undermining good governance and destroying critical and independent thought and expression, and the vibrancy of a truly revolutionary movement.

In pointing out these dangers, we should not lose sight of the exciting and challenging period that the ANC has entered in its history to realise the ideals that it has cherished since its foundation.

Yet we are also conscious of the fact that a fundamental condition for our success is not merely sound domestic policies and programmes, nor our determination to pursue them. Progress in our country depends on the regional and international environment in which we operate.

How do we characterise this environment and what can the ANC do to help improve it?

#### IX. CHARACTER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION:

The liberation of South Africa was both a local expression of a changing world and part of the catalyst to renewed efforts aimed at attaining international consensus on the most urgent questions facing humanity. Our transition was an element of a dynamic political process of a world redefining itself with the end of the Cold War. To the extent that the new global situation has not resolved the contradictions within and among nations between poverty and opulence; to the extent that ethnic, religious and other tensions continue to ravage parts of the globe; to the extent that some of these contradictions find bold expression in our own society; to this extent and more, the transformation taking place in our country is closely intertwined with the search for a new world order.



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by-case basis, weighing the social and economic pros and cons, and in consultation with all main role-players, some of the public enterprises will be shed.

Government will continue to play its part in creating an environment for productive and profitable investment, for the advancement of black entrepreneurs and for the expansion and growth of small and medium businesses. It will continue to implement policies aimed at improving the income, skills and working conditions of workers. And it will continue to promote a national social agreement for the realisation of these goals.

#### Meeting Social Needs:

The central aim of transformation is to improve the conditions of the people, especially the poor.

In order to deal with the crushing poverty to which millions have been relegated, government will intensify its programme to provide food security and basic nutrition to those in dire need. This has to be based on proper tracking, improvement in efficiency and integration with community development.

Land reform programmes will be intensified both to provide affected rural communities with a decent living and to encourage agricultural production.

The programme to construct housing and infrastructure will be intensified, building on the foundation that has thus far been laid. Particular emphasis will continue to be laid on the poorest of the poor; with parallel programmes to assist others including by means of rental housing stock. Rural housing programmes will be integrated with land reform and other measures to guarantee security of tenure.

Community water supply and sanitation projects, the multi-billion infrastructure programme, road construction and electrification will continue to receive particular emphasis, especially in the rural areas, informal settlements, black townships and other areas which bore the brunt of apartheid neglect.

To continually improve the health of the nation, primary health care remains the main plank of the country's health programmes. Critical to this is the intensification of the clinic-building programme and the construction of hospitals where they are needed most. Campaigns of immunisation and against epidemics will be intensified. The ANC will continue to promote, through legislation and other measures, the programme to reduce the cost of medicines to all citizens.

The programme to restructure the system of pensions and grants will continue, to ensure that all eligible citizens are afforded equal treatment irrespective of race. Perhaps more than in most areas, restructuring of the state machinery is even more urgent in this sector, given the manifestations of fraud and corruption inherited from the past.

At the centre of all our programmes is the individual citizen. As such, the development of our human resources is both an end and a means to an end. This '

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particularly relevant to Southern Africa, given its background of apartheid destabilisation, popular resistance and ensuing social dislocation.

Critical in fighting crime is the campaign to weed out elements within the criminal justice system who are engaged in various acts of crime, including corruption. Both within and outside these institutions, the state should expose and deal with networks from the â\200\234dirty warâ\200\235 of the apartheid state which are an integral part of the criminal networks.

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In brief, our programme in this period consists in achieving better policing, a better-trained and efficient criminal justice system, involvement of the people in the fight against crime, and a campaign to refurbish the moral fibre of South African society.

These measures will be accompanied by programmes to transform the country's defence force and its intelligence services, and to provide all security agencies with the requisite resources and equipment to meet their obligations to the nation.

At the core of this, our broad programme as we enter the new millennium, is the obligation to improve the quality of life of all the citizens, for them to exercise their freedoms and use their talents to help our society flourish. In doing so, we shall give meaning to the objective of nation-building on the basis of true equality; and we shall consolidate the advances that have been made in national reconciliation. It is a programme that will see our country take giant steps towards being a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.

#### XI. CONCLUSION:

This then is the character of the country and the world in which we live. The challenges we face, as a movement and as a people, derive from this reality.

Our strategy is the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.

In pursuit of this objective, we shall, at each given moment, creatively adopt tactics that advance that objective. Our fundamental point of departure is that South Africans have it in their power, as a people and as part of progressive humankind, to continually change the environment in which we operate in the interest of a better future.

In this phase of transformation, we seek to expand and deepen the power of democratic forces in all centres critical to the NDR, at the same time as we improve the people's quality of life. Our efforts, which are people-centred and people-driven, are founded on five basic pillars:

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to build and strengthen the ANC as a movement that organises and leads the people in the task of social transformation;  
to deepen our democracy and culture of human rights and mobilise the people to take active part in changing their lives for the better;  
to strengthen the hold of the democratic movement on state power, and transform the state machinery to serve the cause of social change;

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beginning nor the end of history. The essential contradictions spawned by the system of apartheid colonialism were as much prevalent the day after the inauguration of the new government as they were the day before.

The fact that the ideas and influence of the previous ruling classes still predominated

in the civil service, in the security forces, in the economic sector and in the media - primary centres of power in any social formation - meant that the capacity of the

' democratic movement was in many respects circumscribed. This was further

aggravated by the compromises that were made to ensure a smooth transition. All this presented opportunities for those fundamentally opposed to change to mobilise against it.

Are there active counter-revolutionary forces in South Africa?

Over the past years in government, we have learnt that we should not be blinded by form: the fact that blacks are for the first time occupying the highest political offices

in the land; as distinct from content: the reality that colonial relations in some centres of power remain largely unchanged.

However, in examining the forces bent on undermining transformation, a word of caution is necessary. It is always tempting for revolutionary organisations in political office to characterise all opposition to their programmes as acts of counter-revolution.

In general terms, an opposition that pays allegiance to the constitution and the country's laws; and seeks to modify the programmes of transformation or even to express a retrogressive school of thought shared by a given constituency, is a legitimate actor in the contradictory process of change. Indeed, such forces should be treated as legitimate expressions of the country's social contradictions.

The new constitution and its various institutions provide the framework within which individuals should exercise their democratic rights. They afford parties with requisite support to attain representation in parliament and there to pursue the interests of their constituents. Our democracy would have been shallow and incomplete if, in the legislatures and even in the streets, the forces which benefited from the system of apartheid did not seek to express their disappointment or genuine apprehension with the process of change.

Both with regard to these political forces and the mass base they exploit, the overriding aim will be to derail or reverse change so as to end up with a system in which the social privileges of apartheid are retained in a somewhat modified form. As long as this is carried out within the parameters of the constitution and the law, it is a legal and robust (though, broadly-speaking, counter-revolutionary) expression of the real contradictions within society.

These political forces consist, in the main, of those elements which collectively constituted the white ruling bloc and its black appendages.

However, the fact that they represent views of a given constituency does not subtract from the counter-revolutionary content of their programmes. The defining character of the public platform of most opposition parties is to entrench the social relations of :

South African capitalism gave birth to a collective of black workers whose class position and social existence placed it at the head of the struggle for freedom. By dint of its activism and organisation, this class won the respect of all the other motive forces as the leader of the NDR. Along with the poor rural masses, the working class stands to gain most from the success of transformation. Because of its organisation and role, and objectively because of its numbers and position in the production process, the working class is critical to this process.

The formation of a democratic government has also set in motion a rapid process of breaking the glass ceiling that blocked propertied and professional sections of the black community from advancement.

Over time, the policies of government and the tactical sensibilities of some white monopolists, have precipitated a situation in which some of the black propertied classes are expanding their positions within important sectors of the economy. At the same time, the policies of government have opened up a wide array of opportunities for small and medium enterprises. Other sections of the black middle strata are also benefiting directly and indirectly from opportunities created by government. Indeed, the rapid advance of these sections constitutes one of the most immediate and most visible consequences of democracy.

Precisely because their progress is contingent upon the achievement of democracy, these forces continue to share an interest in the success of social transformation. Their interests coincide with those of the other sectors previously denied political rights. Yet this cannot be assumed.

In some instances what is hailed in the private sector as "black empowerment" is symbolic and devoid of real substance. There are possibilities that some of these forces are dictated to by foreign or local big capital on whom they rely for their advancement. There are possibilities too, that the path to riches for some can go directly via public office, sometimes through corrupt practices. Though such instances may be an exception to the norm, experience in other countries has taught us that, without vigilance, elements of these new capitalist classes can become witting or unwitting tools of these monopoly interests; or parasites who thrive on corruption in public office.

However, in the overall, the rising black bourgeoisie and middle strata are objectively important motive forces of transformation whose interests coincide with at least the immediate interests of the majority. They are, in this sense and in this phase, part of the motive forces of fundamental change.

Yet, like with all other classes, their contribution to transformation, as distinct from the gains they derive from it, is contingent upon their mobilisation to pursue the interests of reconstruction and development, on such issues as the strategic employment of investment capital, labour relations, workplace democracy, style of management and so on.

Colonial authorities also imported slaves and indentured labour from Asia. These communities became part of South African colonial society, essentially denied constitutional rights and subjected to varying degrees of oppression. Most of the white settlers resolved to make this country their home and, in their world view, an independent extension of the colonial metropolis. This found formal expression in the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, when Britain ceded political power to the white settler minority. This gave rise to a situation in which both the colonial power and the colonised shared the same territory, characterised by the liberation movement as colonialism of a special type.

As colonialism took new forms, so did new forms of resistance start to emerge. The African National Congress (ANC) was founded in 1912 with the purpose of uniting the African majority against the colonial Union in pursuit of non-racial democracy. A product of the local and international historical period, the ANC developed over the years to forge fighting alliances with organisations of the Coloured and Indian communities, as well as white democrats. Industrialisation also meant the emergence of a working class from traditional communities, as well as their proletarian organisations in the form of the Communist Party of South Africa and the trade union movement. All these organisations coalesced into a national democratic alliance against colonial domination.

From 1912 until 1961, the ANC pursued peaceful forms of struggle in the form of petitions, demonstrations, strikes and boycotts. Hand-in-hand with its allies, the movement developed to place mass involvement in struggle as a central plank of its programme. As the South African economy developed and urban life started to assert its pre-eminence, the working class became central to the mass resistance, and the liberation movement acknowledged the leading role of this class as an essential part of its approach to struggle.

After it was banned in 1960, the ANC mobilised from the underground for a popular uprising against apartheid colonialism. Apartheid repression had intensified; and by 1961, it had become manifest that peaceful mass resistance on its own would not shake the resolve of the colonial rulers to use armed force to defend apartheid. The ANC thus decided to adopt the armed struggle as part of its arsenal of resistance. This led, over time, to the adoption of a strategy which combined four basic pillars:

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the organisation and mobilisation of the mass of the people against any and all manifestations of oppression;

the establishment of underground structures of the ANC to work among these masses and create conditions for the organisation to give leadership to their struggles;

the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961, and the conduct of armed actions against the machinery of oppression; and

## I. INTRODUCTION:

South Africa enters the new millennium having achieved her formal political liberation. The struggles of the people, supported by the international community, brought to an end the abhorrent system of apartheid colonialism and ushered in a new era of democracy, peace and justice. The foundation has been laid for our society to develop into a truly united, non-racial and non-sexist nation.

These developments take place in a world in which the system of capitalism enjoys dominant sway over virtually the entire globe. But it is a world too in which the agenda of the working people and developing nations can find creative expression in pursuit of a humane, just and equitable world order. At the same time as the new technological revolution and globalisation of economic relations narrow the time and space among nations, so too do the realities of inequality, poverty and under-development become the more obvious and demanding of joint international efforts. It is an international epoch in which Africa enjoys the unique opportunity to extricate herself from the vicious cycle of these scourges, and to strike forth in a continental renaissance.

We have only started along a long road towards justice and true equity. The new constitutional order and the government based on the will of the people express both the immediate and long-term interests of the overwhelming majority of South Africans. They accord with the world trend towards democratic, open and accountable government. But the balance of forces both within South Africa and internationally is such that these interests can be subverted by capitalism's rapacious license. In this sense therefore, the basic framework of our democratic achievement in South Africa is irreversible: but it can be derailed, leaving us with a shell of political rights without real social content.

## II. RESISTANCE TO COLONIALISM:

The struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa was essentially an anti-colonial struggle. Beginning in 1652, Dutch and British colonialists waged wars of conquest against the indigenous population, to usurp their land and its riches and to establish an outpost which would act as a source of natural resources, as a terrain of expansion and settlement, and as a market for their goods. Great Britain finally established its colonial authority over the full extent of South Africa at the end of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 - 1902.

African communities from the Cape to the Limpopo waged heroic resistance to colonial occupation. Despite being outguined, they showed rare stoicism in many battles spanning over two-and-half centuries. However, their resistance was fragmented among and within various ethnic groups; and it could not stand the tide of superior armed force backed by a developed economic and political base of the imperial powers. The defeat of the Bambatha Rebellion in 1906 marked the end of the wars of resistance.

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Colonial authorities also imported slaves and indentured labour from Asia. These communities became part of South African colonial society, essentially denied constitutional rights and subjected to varying degrees of oppression. Most of the white settlers resolved to make this country their home and, in their world view, an independent extension of the colonial metropolis. This found formal expression in the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, when Britain ceded political power to the white settler minority. This gave rise to a situation in which both the colonial power and the colonised shared the same territory, characterised by the liberation movement as colonialism of a special type.

As colonialism took new forms, so did new forms of resistance start to emerge. The African National Congress (ANC) was founded in 1912 with the purpose of uniting the African majority against the colonial Union in pursuit of non-racial democracy. A product of the local and international historical period, the ANC developed over the years to forge fighting alliances with organisations of the Coloured and Indian communities, as well as white democrats. Industrialisation also meant the emergence of a working class from traditional communities, as well as their proletarian organisations in the form of the Communist Party of South Africa and the trade union movement. All these organisations coalesced into a national democratic alliance against colonial domination.

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by-case basis, weighing the social and economic pros and cons, and in consultation with all main role-players, some of the public enterprises will be shed.

Government will continue to play its part in creating an environment for productive and profitable investment, for the advancement of black entrepreneurs and for the expansion and growth of small and medium businesses. It will continue to implement policies aimed at improving the income, skills and working conditions of workers. And it will continue to promote a national social agreement for the realisation of these goals.

#### Meeting Social Needs:

The central aim of transformation is to improve the conditions of the people, especially the poor.

In order to deal with the crushing poverty to which millions have been relegated, government will intensify its programme to provide food security and basic nutrition to those in dire need. This has to be based on proper tracking, improvement in efficiency and integration with community development.

Land reform programmes will be intensified both to provide affected rural communities with a decent living and to encourage agricultural production.

The programme to construct housing and infrastructure will be intensified, building on the foundation that has thus far been laid. Particular emphasis will continue to be laid on the poorest of the poor; with parallel programmes to assist others including by means of rental housing stock. Rural housing programmes will be integrated with land reform and other measures to guarantee security of tenure.

Community water supply and sanitation projects, the multi-billion infrastructure programme, road construction and electrification will continue to receive particular emphasis, especially in the rural areas, informal settlements, black townships and other areas which bore the brunt of apartheid neglect.

To continually improve the health of the nation, primary health care remains the main plank of the country's health programmes. Critical to this is the intensification of the clinic-building programme and the construction of hospitals where they are needed most. Campaigns of immunisation and against epidemics will be intensified. The ANC will continue to promote, through legislation and other measures, the programme to reduce the cost of medicines to all citizens.

The programme to restructure the system of pensions and grants will continue, to ensure that all eligible citizens are afforded equal treatment irrespective of race. Perhaps more than in most areas, restructuring of the state machinery is even more urgent in this sector, given the manifestations of fraud and corruption inherited from the past.

At the centre of all our programmes is the individual citizen. As such, the development of our human resources is both an end and a means to an end. This '

structures and our style of operation, we proceed always from the premise that there is one ANC, irrespective of the many and varied sectors in which cadres are deployed.

The fact of being in government has also thrown up challenges which were either not pronounced in, or foreign to, the previous epoch. For instance, the approach to deployment in the current phase cannot ignore mapping out career-paths for, and with, ANC cadres; to enable them to play the most effective role, and to advance in a systematic way, in the varied terrain of transformation. This also entails the acquisition of a multiple of political, organisational and technical skills.

Such cadre policy has nothing to do with careerism of the opportunistic variety, which a governing party should always guard against. It also has to be pursued without detracting from the mass character of the movement, with this mass membership itself continually upgraded, and at the same time serving as a pool from which cadres can be developed.

Positions in government also afford the movement and its leaders powerful possibilities for patronage. There is nothing untoward per se in advancing cadres who, by their selfless contribution to the cause, deserve such acknowledgement. Yet this can easily lend itself to corrupt practices; undermining good governance and destroying critical and independent thought and expression, and the vibrancy of a truly revolutionary movement.

In pointing out these dangers, we should not lose sight of the exciting and challenging period that the ANC has entered in its history to realise the ideals that it has cherished since its foundation.

Yet we are also conscious of the fact that a fundamental condition for our success is not merely sound domestic policies and programmes, nor our determination to pursue them. Progress in our country depends on the regional and international environment in which we operate.

How do we characterise this environment and what can the ANC do to help improve it?

#### IX. CHARACTER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION:

The liberation of South Africa was both a local expression of a changing world and part of the catalyst to renewed efforts aimed at attaining international consensus on the most urgent questions facing humanity. Our transition was an element of a dynamic political process of a world redefining itself with the end of the Cold War. To the extent that the new global situation has not resolved the contradictions within and among nations between poverty and opulence; to the extent that ethnic, religious and other tensions continue to ravage parts of the globe; to the extent that some of these contradictions find bold expression in our own society; to this extent and more, the transformation taking place in our country is closely intertwined with the search for a new world order.

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particularly relevant to Southern Africa, given its background of apartheid destabilisation, popular resistance and ensuing social dislocation.

Critical in fighting crime is the campaign to weed out elements within the criminal justice system who are engaged in various acts of crime, including corruption. Both within and outside these institutions, the state should expose and deal with networks from the apartheid state which are an integral part of the criminal networks.

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In brief, our programme in this period consists in achieving better policing, a better-trained and efficient criminal justice system, involvement of the people in the fight against crime, and a campaign to refurbish the moral fibre of South African society.

These measures will be accompanied by programmes to transform the country's defence force and its intelligence services, and to provide all security agencies with the requisite resources and equipment to meet their obligations to the nation.

At the core of this, our broad programme as we enter the new millennium, is the obligation to improve the quality of life of all the citizens, for them to exercise their freedoms and use their talents to help our society flourish. In doing so, we shall give meaning to the objective of nation-building on the basis of true equality; and we shall consolidate the advances that have been made in national reconciliation. It is a programme that will see our country take giant steps towards being a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.

#### XI. CONCLUSION:

This then is the character of the country and the world in which we live. The challenges we face, as a movement and as a people, derive from this reality.

Our strategy is the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.

In pursuit of this objective, we shall, at each given moment, creatively adopt tactics that advance that objective. Our fundamental point of departure is that South Africans have it in their power, as a people and as part of progressive humankind, to continually change the environment in which we operate in the interest of a better future.

In this phase of transformation, we seek to expand and deepen the power of democratic forces in all centres critical to the NDR, at the same time as we improve the people's quality of life. Our efforts, which are people-centred and people-driven, are founded on five basic pillars:

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to build and strengthen the ANC as a movement that organises and leads the people in the task of social transformation;  
to deepen our democracy and culture of human rights and mobilise the people to take active part in changing their lives for the better;  
to strengthen the hold of the democratic movement on state power, and transform the state machinery to serve the cause of social change;

South African capitalism gave birth to a collective of black workers whose class position and social existence placed it at the head of the struggle for freedom. By dint of its activism and organisation, this class won the respect of all the other motive forces as the leader of the NDR. Along with the poor rural masses, the working class stands to gain most from the success of transformation. Because of its organisation and role, and objectively because of its numbers and position in the production process, the working class is critical to this process.

The formation of a democratic government has also set in motion a rapid process of breaking the glass ceiling that blocked propertied and professional sections of the black community from advancement.

Over time, the policies of government and the tactical sensibilities of some white monopolists, have precipitated a situation in which some of the black propertied classes are expanding their positions within important sectors of the economy. At the same time, the policies of government have opened up a wide array of opportunities for small and medium enterprises. Other sections of the black middle strata are also benefiting directly and indirectly from opportunities created by government. Indeed, the rapid advance of these sections constitutes one of the most immediate and most visible consequences of democracy.

Precisely because their progress is contingent upon the achievement of democracy, these forces continue to share an interest in the success of social transformation. Their interests coincide with those of the other sectors previously denied political rights. Yet this cannot be assumed.

In some instances what is hailed in the private sector as 'black empowerment' is symbolic and devoid of real substance. There are possibilities that some of these forces are dictated to by foreign or local big capital on whom they rely for their advancement. There are possibilities too, that the path to riches for some can go directly via public office, sometimes through corrupt practices. Though such instances may be an exception to the norm, experience in other countries has taught us that, without vigilance, elements of these new capitalist classes can become witting or unwitting tools of these monopoly interests; or parasites who thrive on corruption in public office.

However, in the overall, the rising black bourgeoisie and middle strata are objectively important motive forces of transformation whose interests coincide with at least the immediate interests of the majority. They are, in this sense and in this phase, part of the motive forces of fundamental change.

Yet, like with all other classes, their contribution to transformation, as distinct from the gains they derive from it, is contingent upon their mobilisation to pursue the interests of reconstruction and development, on such issues as the strategic employment of investment capital, labour relations, workplace democracy, style of management and so on.

beginning nor the end of history. The essential contradictions spawned by the system of apartheid colonialism were as much prevalent the day after the inauguration of the new government as they were the day before.

The fact that the ideas and influence of the previous ruling classes still predominated in the civil service, in the security forces, in the economic sector and in the media - primary centres of power in any social formation - meant that the capacity of the

' democratic movement was in many respects circumscribed. This was further

aggravated by the compromises that were made to ensure a smooth transition. All this presented opportunities for those fundamentally opposed to change to mobilise against it.

Are there active counter-revolutionary forces in South Africa?

Over the past years in government, we have learnt that we should not be blinded by form: the fact that blacks are for the first time occupying the highest political offices in the land; as distinct from content: the reality that colonial relations in some centres of power remain largely unchanged.

However, in examining the forces bent on undermining transformation, a word of caution is necessary. It is always tempting for revolutionary organisations in political office to characterise all opposition to their programmes as acts of counter-revolution.

In general terms, an opposition that pays allegiance to the constitution and the country's laws; and seeks to modify the programmes of transformation or even to express a retrogressive school of thought shared by a given constituency, is a legitimate actor in the contradictory process of change. Indeed, such forces should be treated as legitimate expressions of the country's social contradictions.

The new constitution and its various institutions provide the framework within which individuals should exercise their democratic rights. They afford parties with requisite support to attain representation in parliament and there to pursue the interests of their constituents. Our democracy would have been shallow and incomplete if, in the legislatures and even in the streets, the forces which benefited from the system of apartheid did not seek to express their disappointment or genuine apprehension with the process of change.

Both with regard to these political forces and the mass base they exploit, the overriding aim will be to derail or reverse change so as to end up with a system in which the social privileges of apartheid are retained in a somewhat modified form. As long as this is carried out within the parameters of the constitution and the law, it is a legal and robust (though, broadly-speaking, counter-revolutionary) expression of the real contradictions within society.

These political forces consist, in the main, of those elements which collectively constituted the white ruling bloc and its black appendages.

However, the fact that they represent views of a given constituency does not subtract from the counter-revolutionary content of their programmes. The defining character of the public platform of most opposition parties is to entrench the social relations of :

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to pursue economic growth, development and redistribution in such a way as to improve the people's quality of life; and to work with progressive forces throughout the world to promote and defend our transformation, advance Africa's renaissance and build a new world order.

The struggle and sacrifices of the people over the past centuries have presented our generation with the unique opportunity to take South Africa into the new millennium with the overwhelming majority of its people organised, mobilised and united around a programme of social transformation, premised on democratic majority rule.

A new epoch has dawned, presenting the ANC with the wherewithal to realise the ideals and aspirations of the generation which set it up when the final destination was as

but a phantom beyond the horizon; of the militant and brave cadres who sacrificed their lives in the face of an enemy that seemed invincible; and of the mass of the people who put their trust in the organisation in the face of brutal repression.

We call on all South Africans to join us in this march to a better future. We are keenly aware that it will take time to realise the strategic objective of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. But the foundation has been laid, and the building has begun.

The Struggle Continues.â\200\231  
All Power To The People!

the mobilisation of the international community to support the struggle of the South African people and isolate the apartheid regime.

These forms of struggle developed over the years to dovetail in skilful combination. As the decade of the 1980s drew to a close, it became more and more difficult for the regime to rule, as the people acted en masse to make the system unworkable and the country ungovernable, and as the cumulative pressures of all-round struggle started to isolate the ruling clique even from elements in its own mass base. The liberation movement's strategic objective of the popular seizure of power had been placed firmly on the agenda.

### III. CHARACTER OF NEGOTIATIONS:

In this period, elements within the South African ruling class and its international allies started to weigh the implications of continuing popular revolt - and its culmination in the overthrow of the regime - on their interests within the country and the region. On the part of the liberation movement, while it had always accepted the human and material cost of protracted struggle, it had, as a matter of abiding principle, sought a more humane resolution of the conflict without compromising the basic objectives of struggle. Combined with the end of the Cold War, these factors set the stage for the beginning of negotiations.

What then was the balance of forces when the ban on political organisations was lifted in 1990? How did this balance change over the period of negotiations? These questions are critical in understanding the final outcome of the negotiations process; the opportunities and constraints that the ANC and its allies faced at the instance of victory in the democratic elections of April 1994; and the form, if not part of the content, of the transformation which we are now undertaking.

The ANC entered negotiations with the objective of attaining its strategic objective of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. These principles were elaborated in what became known as the OAU Harare Declaration, with the fundamental understanding that negotiations were not about a compromise between democracy and apartheid; but about the process towards attaining universally accepted principles of justice and human rights.

The regime sought to use negotiations to retain as much of white minority rule and privilege as possible. Under the guise of so-called minority rights, federalism and orderly transition, it pursued an outcome in which whites would have the right of veto over both the content and the process of change.

Negotiations however entailed compromises on the path to be followed to the final objective. This was influenced by the prevailing balance of forces. In the first instance, at the beginning of negotiations, neither the liberation movement nor the forces of apartheid had emerged as an outright victor.

On the one hand, the liberation movement enjoyed the support of a people in political motion, ready to sacrifice for the attainment of freedom. Its objectives enjoyed the

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black poverty and white opulence - however modified - that were engendered by the system of apartheid. To achieve this, they seek to imprison the erstwhile beneficiaries of apartheid in that time warp when white and might were right. They strive to maintain cohesion within a former ruling group now facing disintegration. In this sense, these forces are, broadly speaking, counter-revolutionary.

Further, the overwhelming moral and political legitimacy of the new order, and of the ANC in particular, does draw some of these parties and other elements - who have no hope in the near future of assuming political office - towards finding clandestine and sometimes innocuous ways of subverting transformation.

In the narrow sense, counter-revolution can be defined as a combination of aims and forms of action that are mainly unconstitutional and illegal, to subvert transformation. These include setting up intelligence and armed networks parallel to and within the state to sabotage change through direct political activity or aggravation of such social problems as crime. They also entail underground efforts to undermine the country's economy, including investor confidence and the currency; deliberate acts of corruption driven not merely by greed; sabotage of the programme for delivery; wrecking the government's information systems; illegal and malicious acts of capital flight and so on.

Such efforts can be supplemented by open forms of mobilisation, not least through legislatures and networks in the judiciary, the economy, the media and other centres of power.

Uppermost in the immediate objectives of these counter-revolutionary forces is to disorganise, weaken and destroy the ANC, the vanguard of the NDR, both from within and from outside its ranks. It is in the interest of these elements that the masses of the people should be left leaderless and rudderless, and thus open to manipulation against their own interests.

In this sense therefore, the democratic movement will be committing a monumental blunder - a historical error of great proportions - to lull itself into a false sense of security. Maximum vigilance is required. But even more critical, the revolutionary movement needs to act with resolution in transforming the state machinery. It needs to use those centres of power in which it has a foothold to widen and deepen popular power. The nature of our transition also means that, rather than rely mainly on revolutionary force (in a situation in which the instruments of force themselves require fundamental transformation), the democratic movement should creatively employ the weapons of transparency and openness to expose the machinations of counter-revolution and root out their networks. It should ensure that the agenda in the battle of ideas is not set by counter-revolution.

In addressing these challenges, the ANC will do well to remember the adage of its own campaigns: 'attack the enemy on all fronts'. Counter-revolutionary mobilisation can only take root if there are real grievances to exploit, whether these grievances are deliberately engineered or not. The democratic movement itself needs at all times to be vigilant that its own actions and omissions do not assist such mobilisation.

These then are the challenges we face in changing the balance of forces in the interest of fundamental transformation. In the final analysis, the best antidote to counter-revolution is confidence in the mass of the people, mobilised always to be in political motion. They are the sure guarantee to the advancement and defence of the cause of national liberation.

Who are these masses and what is the character of the organisations required to lead their efforts?

#### VII. THE MOTIVE FORCES OF TRANSFORMATION:

In South Africa, where political oppression was so closely linked to economic exploitation, where the social position that individuals occupied in life was defined by writ in racial terms, it is critical to examine these motive forces of change from both these angles.

The system of national oppression meant that the African majority and blacks in general became, from their own experiences and actions, the main motive forces of the struggle. At the same time, within the white community, individuals of rare foresight and integrity did realise that all the people of our country shared a common future, and therefore made common cause with the national liberation movement. This is the array of national forces on whom the ANC relies for the continuing struggle to rid South Africa of the legacy of apartheid.

They are made up of the African majority who were the main victims of the apartheid system and who bore the brunt of the heroic struggle against it; the Coloured and Indian communities, who, though accorded bigger crumbs from the masters' table, were essentially excluded from the court of the privileged, and themselves played a critical role in the struggle; and white democrats. This hierarchy of oppression was devised as a tool of divide-and-rule, as an expression of the warped minds of the white racist ruling clique and as a tactic to buttress the forces which would have a stake in the system of apartheid to defend.

The African people were themselves nudged and coerced to develop an ethnic consciousness that the system of colonial capitalism had undermined. Among them, some were rewarded with bogus positions of status in apartheid institutions.

The combination of all these factors does emphasise the critical importance of building national consciousness as part of the process of social transformation.

In class terms, apartheid ensured that blacks occupy the lowest rungs of the ladder of colonial capitalism: as the unemployed and landless rural masses; as unskilled and semi-skilled workers; as professionals squashed between the rock of poverty and the glass ceiling of job reservation; and as petty business operators confined to spaza retail trade and a disorganised mini-bus sector. . .but never at the heart of the country's industry. Ranged against them, and yet feeding on their condition was the collection of white classes and strata: workers, the middle strata, small business and, particularly, the monopoly capitalists.

includes the implementation of measures in the educational system, in the work-place, and in sport and leisure which will improve the health, the skills and the cultural development of citizens.

At this stage, the phasing in of compulsory education, the redistribution of educational resources, the consolidation of the culture of teaching and learning, the introduction of a new curriculum in tune with the country's needs and the development of teachers are among the most critical tasks. This will be implemented along with the democratisation of schools governance, transformation of higher education and national adult education and skills development projects.

Built into all these projects is the appreciation of the need to utilise the world technological revolution to our advantage, and as such to place added emphasis on science and technology in research, in education and in their application to the economy and other areas of life.

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#### Safety and Security:

A rising quality of life also means safety and security for all citizens.

But our starting point, without which we can descend into the mire of authoritarianism, is premised on two considerations. Firstly, that the battle against crime cannot be separated from the war on want. Secondly, that the deviant activities of few rotten apples in our midst should not be allowed to tempt us to subtract from the human rights of society, the majority of whom are responsible, law-abiding citizens.

Yet we should not underestimate the rot that set in within all sections of society under apartheid. In its treatment of citizens and in its relations with the wider world, that system encouraged greed and corruption, murder, the proliferation of dangerous weapons in the hands of civilians, violation of its own criminal codes and, particularly among the oppressed, the breakdown of the family unit.

Therefore, at the same time as we pursue socio-economic change, one of the most critical tasks in this phase is to implement an integrated national crime prevention strategy.

The challenges identified above regarding the transformation of the state machinery apply even more acutely to the police, the justice system and correctional services. These include management efficiency, effective utilisation of data bases and other possibilities offered by new technology, effective employment of the state's intelligence capacity, training and a re-orientation towards working with the people as partners in a common battle.

Co-operation with police services in the region and further afield will be intensified; and border control will be continually tightened. In introducing these measures, we proceed from the premise that crime is a scourge that does not respect borders; with syndicates that have made the entire globe the theatre of their operations. This is also

The ANC seeks to take active part in shaping this order, both in the context of its relations with other parties and movements, and as the leading organisation in government. In both these areas of operation, it will pursue the same objectives. Yet we do recognise that, in the detail, party-to-party aims will not always translate into inter-state relations. This is not to imply that inter-state relations are devoid of principle. Rather, it is to underline that, in government, the implementation of our principles will be tempered by the realities of world diplomacy and conventions governing inter-state relations.

Today's world is dominated by the capitalist system. Besides, in the advanced capitalist countries, it is monopoly companies, particularly trans-national corporations which set the greater part of the agenda. As such, the real danger exists that political and economic policy of governments throughout the world can be dictated to by these corporations. Already, the content and form of globalisation of trade, investment and capital flows, and the operation of some of the critical multilateral institutions reflect in large measure the wishes of these corporations. Combined with this, is the danger that we can enter the new millennium with an approach to international relations that reflects capitalism's unbridled license, with particularly developing countries having surrendered their sovereignty.

But contained within this situation, which characterises the current process of globalisation, are opportunities that need to be creatively utilised. It is the task of revolutionary democrats and humanists everywhere to recognise dangers; but more critically, to identify opportunities in the search for a just, humane and equitable world order.

The capitalist system has not resolved the disparities within even the most advanced countries. Indeed, in most of them, the gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen, reflected not only in the ever-rising poor of so-called "natural unemployment"; but also in poverty wages. It is a reality to which politicians, if only for their own self-interest, cannot afford to close their eyes. Among the nations of the world, the chasm between developed and developing countries is as wide as ever. Given the communications revolution, the spate of cross-border migration and organised crime, and the implications of a default on international debt by countries that do not have the means to pay, developed countries dare not ignore this chasm.

The current system of international finance was born in a haphazard manner, releasing into international relations an unregulated and often predatory sector of international finance capital with the power to beggar whole economies and dictate social and economic policy especially in the developing world. Currency speculation within and across national frontiers, involving the flows of trillions of major currency denominations, without any social purpose, is not only a threat to the developing countries; but it is a Sword of Damocles hanging over the head of advanced capitalist societies themselves. Indeed, international discourse on, and the search for rational solutions to, this and related problems should and will continue, not so much to kill the market; but at least to find some order in the international financial system.

These objective realities are reinforced by the awakening of a form of democracy and culture of human rights that transcends the ideological trappings of the past.

especially the poor, and effect, in a variety of ways, the redistribution of wealth and income in favour of those previously excluded from the economic mainstream.

Economic growth requires the implementation of an industrial policy which ensures more investment in such critical areas as infrastructure; manufacturing of electronic, transport, telecommunications, textile and other goods; efficient commercial agricultural production; eco-tourism; and housing construction. Through the employment of appropriate technology and skills training, such investment should improve productivity, affordability of goods and services in the domestic market, and international competitiveness. It must help transform South Africa into a vibrant manufacturing centre.

In this regard, government must continually encourage the growth and strategic commitment of investment capital, including private savings, fiscal capital expenditure, investment from public corporations, and foreign direct investments. This strategic commitment of investment capital should not only help address the general industrial needs of the country, but also deliberately seek to direct resources towards the rural and depressed areas.

One of the most critical areas of economic policy, and indeed as critical a measure of income distribution, is the creation of jobs. This is a priority that should form an integral part of government and private sector operations. We will continually intensify the implementation of a variety of measures to ensure that rapid economic growth is matched by the absorption of the unemployed and new job-seekers. And government will itself intensify programmes such as public works and broader infrastructural development with the creation of jobs as part of its central focus.

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Our programme on the labour market and employment conditions is aimed at creating a democratic work-environment, guaranteeing a living wage, multi-skilling of workers, as well as civilised working hours and rights of women workers. This is a matter of humane principle as well as a critical condition for productivity and normal family life for all citizens.

The ANC's fiscal policy proceeds from the premise that as much public resources as possible should be utilised to expand the country's economic base and provide affordable services to the people. In this regard, we shall continue to reform the budget to allocate an increasing share of resources to capital expenditure and social services particularly to those who were previously disadvantaged.

In this regard, monetary and exchange rate policy will be guided as much by the imperatives of the country's economic growth and development, as by the dynamics of the market.

We will introduce and encourage measures allowing as much competition within the economy as possible. In so far as the public sector is concerned, government will consolidate its ownership of, and restructure, those enterprises that provide critical services to the population, at the same time as it establishes partnerships with the private sector, where necessary, to improve services and modernise them. On a case-

and the ANC's interaction with liberation and other progressive movements over the world, all these factors helped shape the character of the ANC as a truly progressive national liberation movement.

The primary mission of the ANC was, and remains, to mobilise all the classes and strata that objectively stand to gain from the success of the cause of social change. Indeed, the fact that a particular group or class or stratum stands to benefit from such transformation does not necessarily mean that it will automatically be aware of it. Thus, the task of education, organisation and mobilisation is critical at all stages. This is as important in this period as it was in the past; for, in as much as the people were their own liberators, success today is contingent upon transformation being people-centred and people-driven.

The ANC is also called upon to win over to its side those who previously benefited from the system of apartheid: to persuade them to appreciate that their long-term security and comfort are closely tied up with the security and comfort of society as a whole. In this sense therefore, the ANC is not a leader of itself, nor just of its supporters. History has bequeathed on it the mission to lead South African society as a whole in the quest for a truly non-racial, non-sexist and democratic nation.

Given the common interests that various classes and strata have in the success of the NDR, it is the task of the ANC to channel the energies of these forces towards that goal. It should be able to identify those common interests and unite the motive forces and others in joint action.

Yet among these forces, each sector promotes its own narrow interests. Even within the African majority, the object of vicious racist policies, their stratification then, and even more so now, dictates that they will hold differing views on critical matters of transformation. On the factory-floor, a black employer and a worker will not be immune to the class contradictions that the capitalist system of social organisation engenders.

The nature of democracy that the ANC pursues leans towards the poor. This arises from its experience in struggle, from its humane and progressive outlook, and from the on-going contribution of the various class forces to change. The ANC recognises the central and leading role of the working class in the project of social transformation.

The ANC is therefore a broad multi-class, mass organisation, uniting the motive forces on the basis of a programme for transformation. It must strive to remain a broad democratic movement by accepting into its ranks all those who accept and abide by its policies and objectives. This character of the ANC derives from its strategic tasks in the current phase.

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While at this stage we define ourselves as a liberation movement, it is trite to counterpose this to being a party in the broad sense or as understood by adherents of formal bourgeois democracy. It is our strategic objectives, the motive forces of the revolution and the character of the terrain in which we operate such as mass work, parliament

wilful inaction in the name of endless consultation. Decisive, bold and speedy action should always be pursued, without derogating from the need for the people themselves to facilitate such promptness in meeting their needs.

The new democratic government derives its character from these challenges. These tasks are made the more urgent and the difficulty of implementing them further compounded by the massive social disparities that we have inherited. The apartheid state was set up, and it operated precisely in a manner, to entrench racial disparities. Its bloated, repressive and corrupt bureaucracy was tasked to serve the interests of a minority. Its fiscal expenditure and the Operations of its parastatals were structured along apartheid lines, including its war effort against anti-apartheid forces within South Africa and abroad. It incurred huge debt in pursuit of these objectives, together with attempts at creating a buffer, from among the ranks of the oppressed, between the white minority and the revolutionary masses.

Because it was illegal and illegitimate, the apartheid state's practices eroded the moral fibre of South African society. The state relied more and more on criminal actions to shore up its fortunes; and in the process, it pulled the rest of society into a maelstrom of corruption and crime. As such, apartheid political and economic relations were not only a break on the development of the economy. They were also an albatross on the moral sensibilities of society.

The new democratic government is faced with the challenge of changing all this, as part of its strategic task of creating a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. In the first instance, this government derives its legitimacy and legality from the democratic processes which saw to its birth. However, the state machinery we inherited contains many features of the past. Formally, it is a state based on a democratic constitution, a state which is obliged to serve the aspirations of the majority. However, the emergence of a truly democratic state depends on the transformation of the old machinery, a critical part of the National Democratic Revolution. Such transformation should see to the location of the motive forces of the revolution at the helm of the state, as the classes and strata which wield real power.

The challenges that face these forces in this phase is to ensure that the elements of power they have captured are utilised rapidly to transform the state, while at the same time placing it at the centre of the transformation of South Africa's political, economic and societal relations.

The new South African state is one in which formal expressions of democracy and human rights should be backed up by mass involvement in policy formulation and implementation. It is a state which should mobilise the nation's resources to expand the wealth base in the form of a growing economy. It is a state which should continually strive to improve people's quality of life. Such a state should ensure that all citizens are accorded equal Opportunities within the context of correcting the historical injustice.

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We seek to create a social order in which the many positive elements of the market dovetail with the obligations of citizens one to the other. Through its elected

behoves the ANC to work among them and join with them both in sectoral and inter-sectoral campaigns to realise the aims of the NDR.

To the extent that other broader forces share some short- or even long-term goals with the ANC, we should find ways of pooling efforts to achieve those goals. In this period of complex transformation, maximum skill and tact are required to bring the message of the ANC to these forces; not so much to convert them to its world view, but to ensure that the overwhelming majority of South Africans pay allegiance to the constitution and share in the national consensus and programme to build a new society.

The ANC is the vanguard of all these motive forces of the NDR, the leader of the broad movement for transformation. Its leadership has not been decreed; but earned in the crucible of struggle and the battles for social transformation. It should continually strengthen itself as a national political organisation; and ensure that it is in touch with the people in their day-to-day life.

The ANC is acutely aware that the overwhelming majority of South Africans, and indeed its own members, adhere to religious beliefs or are people of faith who do not practice any religion. From this point of view, and indeed within the context of the profound moral ethic, empathy towards those in need and human fellowship that most religions preach, the ANC recognises the critical role the religious community can play as a partner in reconstruction and development, nation-building and reconciliation. We shall continue to promote joint efforts with, and sectoral contribution by, the religious community in pursuit of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.

The current phase of the NDR contains many new and complex dynamics; and the ANC should itself continue to be a vibrant organisation within whose ranks there is constant exchange of ideas, however different such ideas may be. Its cadre policy should encourage creativity in thought and in practice, and eschew rigid dogma. However, it should exercise maximum discipline among its members, and ensure that, after ideas have been exchanged and decisions taken, all its structures and members pursue the same goal. In the composition of its membership and leadership, the class and national content of the NDR should find broad expression.

The character and strength of the ANC must continue to reside in its mass base. And, as the leading force in government, the ANC should continuously improve its capacity and skill to wield and transform the instruments of power. This includes a systematic approach to parliament as the forum to lay the detailed legal framework for transformation; creative employment of public representatives in organisational work; a cadre policy ensuring that the ANC plays a leading role in all centres of power; and a proper balance in its day-to-day activities between narrow governmental work and organisational tasks.

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In all centres of power, particularly in parliament and the executive, ANC representatives must fulfil the mandate of the organisation. They should account to the ANC and seek its broad guidance. As a matter of political principle, and in our



constitutional state; fundamental human rights to all citizens; respect for the rights of linguistic, religious and cultural communities; and social equity within the context of correcting the historical injustices of apartheid.

In order to ensure that government truly serves the interests of the people, the ANC will strengthen co-operative governance among all spheres of government - national, provincial and local - for each level to play its requisite role in serving the people. The allocation of powers and functions, in essence the division of common labour among these tiers, should be driven by this objective.

Our commitment to open and transparent government, and to ensuring an informed and active citizenry, are more than just high-sounding phrases. They are the life-blood of democratic governance, the core values of people-centred and people-driven transformation. We shall therefore continue to strengthen relations between government and civil society, including non-governmental and community-based organisations; and promote their role in the process of transformation.

#### Transformation Of The State Machinery:

It is a dictum of all revolutions that, having laid its hands on the apartheid state machinery - at local, provincial and national levels - the democratic movement cannot wish this machinery to serve the purpose of social transformation.

The civil service, the judiciary, the army, the police, the intelligence structures were all moulded to attain the opposite of what we intend to achieve. Thus it is a critical part of the ANC's programme to change the doctrines, the composition and the management style of all these structures to reflect and serve South African society as a whole. The principles to guide this are contained in the constitution and relevant new statutes.

Our programme includes changing the management and other echelons of this machinery to ensure that they are efficient, effective and productive in carrying out their functions. It entails introducing a new orientation in the provision of service to society; rooting out corruption and introducing a new organisational culture and motivational values.

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Success in transformation will depend critically on the role of the state. For this reason, we reject insinuations that our country needs 'less government', which is in essence, a ploy aimed at weakening the democratic state. Yet efficiency and effectiveness require that the size of the public service is in accordance with the needs and resources of the country. It also requires that, where appropriate, the public sector should form partnerships with private companies to bring about efficient, affordable and people-friendly service.

#### Economic Transformation:

The centre-piece of the ANC's programme for the economy is the pursuit of growth and development. We need to increase the wealth base of the country by producing more goods and services in the same measure as we improve the quality of life of

Government by the people for the people, an achievement of human civilisation over the centuries, is finding new meaning in the growth of social movements on such issues as gender rights, the environment and opportunities for youth, in addition to organisations for workers' rights, for peace, and in mutual international solidarity.

These structures of civil society wield enormous and growing influence. At the same time, common global threats such as the AIDS pandemic and global warming dictate that humanity acts together to find common solutions.

The new technological revolution provides immense opportunities for developing countries to creatively handle matters of development. In the same vein, the emergent international trade regime and the flows of productive capital do contain opportunities

for these countries to improve their competitiveness and exploit their comparative advantage. These possibilities are enhanced by the consolidation of regional blocs among these countries allowing them to pool their resources, their markets and broadly, their economic power.

The ANC seeks to expand and deepen these opportunities within the context of promoting political, economic, social and environmental human rights; in the fight for democracy and peace; and in ensuring that international relations are guided by justice and international law.

Our foreign relations, including trade, investment and other relations, mirror our deep commitment to the consolidation of democracy in our country. But this can only be achieved in joint efforts in the Southern African region and on the continent as a whole.

Our starting point therefore is the obvious: that South Africa is an African country.

The integration of the Southern African region is therefore critical, so as to bring our joint strengths to bear in the wider world, and ensure that the region becomes one of the nodal growth points of the world. This applies to such issues as the utilisation of our vast resources, the building of a common market, and the promotion of the region as an important investment destination within the context both of its political stability and its economic policies. Critical to this is the deepening of democracy and human rights and the consolidation of peace in the region.

This approach is underpinned by our commitment to, and active promotion of, the African renaissance: the rebirth of a continent that has for far too long been the object of exploitation and plunder. It recognises in the first instance the difficulties wrought

on the continent by years of colonialism and unjust international relations, including the debt crisis, underdevelopment, social dislocation, and in some instances untenable political relations underpinned by forms of government that imperialism encouraged for its own selfish interests. However, the essence of our approach is not to mourn this treacherous past; but to find solutions to a complex reality. Therefore, for us, this African renaissance is both a strategic objective and a call to action.

It must be underpinned by the mobilisation of the people of Africa to take their destiny into their own hands: in the definition and consolidation of democratic systems of government in which the people play an active role; in attaining rapid

contains the framework for democratic majority rule and the platform to build a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. However, the constraints outlined above have got a direct bearing on the pace of transformation; on the route towards the strategic objective; as well as on the extent of the danger of this process being derailed.

A proper understanding of a given balance of forces is critical in defining the tactics that the liberation movement should adopt at each stage of transformation. To ignore this would be to fall victim to voluntarism and a revolutionary militancy that has nothing to do with revolution. Such 'populism' can in fact lead to the defeat of the revolution itself. Historic moments are few and far between, where revolutionaries are called upon to throw caution to the wind.

On the other hand, a fixation with balance of forces as an immutable phenomenon results in a malaise of stasis, and it can in fact become the swan-song for indecision, and even reaction, to preach caution where bold action is required. Objective circumstances are not carved in stone. Any balance of forces is dynamic, influenced by changing endogenous and exogenous factors.

#### V. CHARACTER OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION:

The strategic objective of the National Democratic Revolution is the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. This in essence means the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general from political and economic bondage. It means uplifting the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor.

April 1994 constitutes a platform from which to launch this programme of social transformation. What this revolution still has to accomplish, is to overcome the legacy of a social system that was based on the oppression of the black majority. Political freedom constitutes an important part of this mandate. However, without social justice, such freedom will remain hollow, the pastime of those who can make ends meet.

The symbiotic link between capitalism and national oppression in our country, and the stupendous concentration of wealth in the hands of a few monopolies therefore render trite the vainglorious declaration that national oppression and its social consequences can be resolved by formal democracy underpinned by market forces to which all should kneel in the prayer: 'everyone for himself and the Devil takes the hindmost!'

While formal democracy may present opportunities for some blacks to advance, without a systematic national effort, led by the democratic government, to unravel the skewed distribution of wealth and income, the social reality of apartheid will remain.

How then should the strategic objective of the National Democratic Revolution find expression, in broad terms?

A fundamental condition for liberation is democracy and an abiding culture of human rights. All citizens should be guaranteed the right to elect a government of their

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support of virtually the entire world. And it had the capacity to intensify all forms of struggle.

On the other hand, the apartheid regime commanded huge resources - military, economic and otherwise - to delay its demise at huge cost to the country. While its mass base was somewhat divided, many of its supporters and particularly the direct beneficiaries of apartheid still had the capacity to support resistance to change. Internationally, there were powerful elements who were prepared, at least secretly, to assist the regime in preventing an insurrectionary take-over.

Negotiations were therefore as much a platform to find a resolution to the conflict, as a terrain of struggle to shift the balance of forces. The liberation movement continued to mobilise the people and the international community to this end. On the other hand, the regime used its state power to frustrate the negotiations process, seek to prolong it as much as possible, and, in the meanwhile, regain lost ground through security force violence, propaganda and other means.

As a result of the work of the liberation movement, and at the same time as the regime made tactical blunders, the resolve of the mass of the people and the ground-swell of local and international public opinion shifted decisively in favour of a speedy resolution of the conflict. In the end, the regime conceded the basic outlines of a democratic settlement that accorded with universal principles of democracy.

The adoption of the interim constitution, the first democratic elections in April 1994, and the establishment of a new government led by the ANC were major landmarks in this process. And so was the work of the elected Constitutional Assembly which adopted the new constitution based on the principles of democratic majority rule.

#### IV. VICTORY OVER APARTHEID:

April 1994 was therefore a historic breakthrough in the struggle for democracy. A consequence of active support to the course of democracy by the mass of the people, and a cumulative result of decades of struggle, this victory signified a decisive departure from a colonial system spanning over three centuries. The accession of the ANC to government was therefore not merely a change of parties in political office. The interim constitution and the formation of a government based on the will of the people was a revolutionary break with the past. A qualitative element of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) had been accomplished.

We use the words 'element of the NDR' guardedly, precisely because the balance of forces that we referred to earlier dictated that the path to full transfer of power, let alone the strategic objective of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society, would be protracted and tortuous.

When the new government was formed, the extra-parliamentary power of the

democratic movement was strategically complemented by the attainment of elements

of state power. In this sense, this was a strategic defeat for the forces of white minority rule.

economic growth that is based on meeting the basic needs of the people; in widening and deepening the scope of economic, political and social integration on the continent; and in joint efforts to prevent and resolve conflicts within and among African nations.

Africa's rebirth requires that leaders and governments recognise, and indeed act to bring to the fore, the centrality of individual citizens and communities - workers, peasants, professionals, the entrepreneurial class and others - in shaping the future of the continent. Their creativity and enterprise must be promoted; and their intellectual and scientific capacity must be given free reign. Their ability to understand the wrongs of the colonial past; but indeed, to also acknowledge and correct weaknesses in the present and in themselves, should be nurtured.

Africa's renaissance should consolidate her collective sovereignty, both in the internal and external spheres. It should change the current maldistribution of international resources and power, and in the efforts of Africans themselves to improve the continent's standing in world affairs. Critical in the campaign to realise this renaissance is the Organisation of African Unity and other continental and regional associations, which must be continually strengthened to meet the challenges of the new age.

Our efforts on the continent form part of the drive of countries of the South to improve relations among themselves in the process of shaping a new world order. Bilateral relations, co-operation among the various regional blocs, and the emergence of new ones across oceans is a prerequisite to a just and equitable system of international relations. Among these countries are the least developed which require special assistance from across the globe. But among them too, are countries which have a vast pool of investment resources, advanced financial systems and a wealth of experience in tackling the tasks of economic growth and development.

Indeed, if pursued with the seriousness and urgency it deserves, co-operation among countries of the South will ensure that the new world order is based not merely on the existing economic and political power of the current advanced industrial countries. This needs to be complemented by creative bilateral and multilateral engagement with the developed countries to help ensure that their approach to world affairs benefits humanity as a whole.

The same applies to the challenge of restructuring multilateral institutions, primary among which is the United Nations Organisation and its agencies, both to reflect the intention to create a new system of international relations and to regulate the process towards such a system. This is not merely a matter of formality; but it issues from the understanding that these bodies are being called upon to play a greater role in regulating the process of globalisation, and the emergence of a new world order. The leadership role of these organisations must be strengthened, in a process that should see to the pooling of sovereignty among all nations, rather than domination by those who possess international political, military and economic power.

The ANC's approach to international relations in the current phase is guided by these objectives. We promote them proceeding from the premise that developing countries, the working people across the globe, and those who command the resources required for development, all need to be mobilised to achieve an international consensus on a

humane, just and equitable world order. In building party-to-party relations, we are guided by these principles, particularly to forge strong co-operation with parties and movements that share our views in the region, on the continent, in countries of the South and elsewhere.

In these efforts, we should not overestimate ourselves as a small middle-income country. Neither should we underestimate the influence we enjoy deriving from our democratic project, the strategic location of our region and the resources and potential it commands.

Through these efforts, we aim to contribute to the restructuring of international relations in the interest of the poor. We are moved in this regard by the conviction that, as long as injustice, poverty and conflict exist anywhere on the globe, so long will humanity find within itself the individuals, movements and governments to co-operate in their eradication. The ANC is a proud part of these international forces.

What then is the broad programme of the ANC for social transformation?

## X. PROGRAMME OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC

### TRANSFORMATION IN THE CURRENT PHASE:

It is one of the most central tasks of the ANC, at each stage of transformation, to elaborate a programme of transformation in line with the strategic perspective of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. For the current phase, the framework of this is to be found in the Reconstruction and Development Programme adopted by the ANC, the Tri-partite Alliance and the broad mass democratic movement in the run-up to the first democratic elections.

The ANC will continue to work for national consensus on the basic principles and the practical policies underpinning this Programme: for South Africans to join hands in the task of improving our quality of life.

In essence, the current phase is characterised by transition from apartheid government to democratic governance. We are in a phase in which we have started to change society at the same time as we transform the instruments required to effect that change. These twin objectives have to be pursued simultaneously. Social change cannot await the transformation of the state machinery and other instruments of power. But, as experience has taught us, we cannot expect to proceed with the desired pace without changing these instruments.

Pivotal to our programme in the current phase are a number of basic principles:

### Democratisation And Governance:

The ANC commits itself to the fundamental provisions of the basic law of the land, which accords with its own vision of a democratic and just society. We have set out to implement both the letter and the spirit of the constitution, including such principles as multi-party democracy; the doctrine and practice of separation of powers in a

and government as a whole which are central in defining our organisational character, irrespective of the formal label attached to it.

Transformation will only have real meaning if it addresses the plight of triple oppression suffered by women. The ANC Women's League (ANCWL) represents a section of our society which over the decades, has been oppressed and exploited as a nation, as a class and as women. It should continue to broaden its base and improve its organisational strength. It should place itself at the centre of the struggle for gender emancipation.

The ANC Youth League (ANCYL) is a critical tool of South Africa's youth in pursuit of a better life for all. It should continue to function as an organisational and political preparatory school of young activists of our movement. The organisational autonomy of the ANCYL always provides organisational vibrancy and the youthful political debate imperative to a revolutionary organisation. It should continually broaden its base and deepen its political and organisational strength. It must strive to galvanise, and place itself at the centre of, the broadest spectrum of youth organisations for reconstruction and development.

The ANC has the responsibility to link up with various political, community, sectoral and other formations that share its strategic objective, and contribute to their orientation with regard to the major national questions of the day.

Among these forces are the organisations of the working class - the South African Communist Party and the progressive trade union movement, represented by COSATU, in particular. These organisations are committed to a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa; a system which pays particular attention to the improvement of the conditions of especially the poor. They themselves took part in defining this strategic objective; and, to the extent that the struggle to reach this goal remains in place, they will always have a close partnership with the ANC.

This Tri-partite Alliance is therefore not a matter of sentiment, but an organisational expression of the common purpose and unity in action that these forces share, and continue jointly to define and redefine in the course of undertaking the tasks of the NDR.

While maintaining their independence, each component of the Alliance has a responsibility to organise and mobilise its social base and any other forces allied to it, for the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the defence of the NDR and the constructive engagement of the people as a whole in the process of fundamental change.

Sectoral formations among the motive forces of transformation pursue the same goals as the ANC, in the measure that they strive for the true interests of these sectors.

Among them are to be found student and professional organisations, structures of the youth, the women, traditional leaders, business associations, structures in rural areas, civic associations and others. These formations are as important to transformation as they were to the heroic struggle against apartheid. It



representatives and other avenues, society should ensure that those who are indigent are accorded a humane and respectable quality of life.

In this sense, such a society is neither a clone of an idealistic capitalist order which is hostage to rampant so-called market forces (particularly in an economy dominated by a few conglomerates), nor an egalitarian utopia of mechanical social parity. Indeed, within the context of a mixed economy, in which market forces have an important role to play, the state has the critical task of ensuring economic growth and development, of meeting people's social needs and of providing the requisite environment for political stability and the safety and security of citizens.

In carrying out these tasks, the emergent democratic state relies on the formal instruments available to it; but above all on the active involvement of members of society in changing their lives for the better. Both as individuals, and organised in political formations and various structures of civil society, the citizens are the bedrock of fundamental change.

We are confident that consistent implementation of these principles will go a long way in resolving many of the basic contradictions of South African society. However, we cannot claim that this is a panacea. Nor can we predict all the new challenges that the process of transformation will bring forth. For instance, the creation of a new society will not eliminate the basic antagonism between capital and labour. Neither will it eradicate the disparate and sometimes contradictory interests that some of the motive forces of the National Democratic Revolution pursue. These secondary contradictions among the motive forces are inherent to the NDR, and properly managed, they can serve as a source of its advancement.

Our task as the ANC, the task of the National Democratic Revolution, is to eliminate the basic causes of the national grievance wherever and in whatever form they manifest themselves, and to manage the multitude of contradictions within society in the interest of this objective. Indeed, as we succeed in doing so, new social dynamics will play themselves out, redefining the challenges of the given moment as well as the political permutations that are consonant with these new challenges.

#### VI. CHALLENGE TO TRANSFORMATION:

The smooth change-over of government in 1994 was one of the most outstanding achievements of liberation struggles this century. The understandable euphoria that this development occasioned reflected the sense of achievement of a people who had endured centuries of bondage, as well as appreciation by both black and white South Africans that they share a common destiny, and that none would benefit from mutually debilitating conflict. This was reinforced by the deliberate policy of reconciliation adopted by the liberation movement, helping to narrow the space for those forces which might have had plans to subvert this process by violent and other means.

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However, the notion that South Africans embraced and made up, and thus erased the root causes of previous conflict, is thoroughly misleading. April 1994 was neither the

Indeed, it is critical for the ANC and the government to help guide these and other owners of capital to promote social transformation mindful of the fact that such transformation will serve at least their long-term interests and those of society as a whole. This applies as much to local financial, manufacturing, mining, agricultural and other entrepreneurs as it does to foreign direct investors.

The occupation of positions of power by individuals from the black majority, and the material possibilities this offers, does create some social distance between these individuals and constituencies they represent. It should not be ruled out that this could render elements in the revolutionary movement progressively lethargic to the conditions of the poor. This is not a distant and theoretical possibility; but a danger always lurking as we pursue fundamental change from the vantage point of political office. Preventing it is not a small appendage to the tasks of the NDR. It is central to the all-round vigilance that we should continue to exercise. .

Examples abound in many former colonies of massive disparities in the distribution of wealth and income between the new elite and the mass of the people. In South Africa, this potential danger is made the more acute by the fact that, at the end of the day, this class permutation will in substance reflect previous racial disparities, with a category of blacks co-opted into the white courtyard of privilege. This will then be a continuing potential source of instability and insecurity for all of society, deriving from the same social grievances that underpinned the anti-apartheid struggle.

While the majority within the white community harboured misconceptions about democratic majority rule, experience since April 1994 is showing that, loss of ill-gotten privilege aside, the new system affords them the kind of freedom and security which is legitimate, long-term and therefore more meaningful. This is a far cry from the fear and psychological coercion that the autocratic and securocratic system of apartheid engendered. Even the white owners of large corporations enjoy opportunities both within and outside South Africa that apartheid could not afford them.

Indeed, many of these and other sectors of society who benefited from apartheid harbour a positive ambivalence or even critical support towards the process of change. These sectors, and indeed the white community as such, are therefore not an exclusive terrain of parties opposed to change. It is the task of the democratic movement to try and liberate them and, where possible, their political representatives, from the prison of fear, hatred and antipathy towards the process of transformation. The benefits they enjoy deriving from the new order, and the new sense of proud belonging they nurture, are among the elements that should be harnessed.

#### VIII. CHARACTER OF THE ANC:

The ANC is a product of a given historical period, formed to unite the African people in the struggle for equality. Over the years, it developed to embrace non-racialism both as a principle and as a guide to its composition and day-to-day practice. Driving its approach to struggle was the fundamental national contradiction represented by the oppression of black people. Combined with the evolution of South African capitalism,

Firstly, the constitution accorded the democratic forces the framework within which to start implementing programmes of transformation. And by assuming the leading position in government, the democratic movement took formal control of the state machinery, with the possibility of starting, in earnest, to transform it to serve the new order.

Secondly, as a national political organisation with a programme for the attainment of peace, democracy, human rights, socio-economic development and lasting security for all South Africans, the ANC enjoyed legitimacy far much wider than its mass base.

Thirdly, the mass of the people who fought against apartheid valued this achievement, a victory that was not easy and too soon to attain. They were prepared to reconcile with their erstwhile oppressors, but also to defend this victory with all the means at their disposal. At the same time, there is a sense in which this change was, to the white minority, the lifting of a heavy burden that they had carried for decades.

Lastly, the international community hailed the change-over, both in terms of its relatively peaceful nature as well as its significance for race relations across the globe.

But the victory was itself constrained by the same considerations that coloured the final settlement, some of them codified in the constitution. What were these constraints?

In the first instance, the fact that the liberation movement had not achieved an outright victory on the battlefield meant that it had to accept compromises in negotiations which would allow the ruling clique to ease itself out of power without undue resistance. The perspective of the Government of National Unity, and the entrenchment of some of the rights of the existing public service, including the security forces, the judiciary and parastatals, were major elements of this approach.

Secondly, what this also meant is that the democratic movement took over an apartheid state machinery that was intact, orderly within its own rules, and with the majority resolved to continue in their positions. While the constitutional framework allowed the new government to transform this service, this was to be a long drawn-out process which would also meet resistance from within.

Thirdly, the majority of public servants, especially at senior level, the captains of industry, and editorial rooms in most of the media shared the perspectives of the former government or its white opposition - all of them strategically placed to influence the agenda of transformation in favour of the privileged classes.

Lastly, the networks used by the regime, especially in its â€˜dirty warâ€™ both within and outside South Africa remained intact, either burrowed within the state machinery, or concealed in front companies and other private enterprises.

In brief, the democratic movement had achieved only elements of power. This gave it immense possibilities to use the new situation as a beach-head to fundamentally transform society. The final settlement, codified in the constitution adopted in 1996,

choice, freedom of expression, freedom from discrimination, and other rights entrenched in the constitution. They should have a government not only formally based on their will; but one that is open and transparent, and one that consults and continually involves the people in policy formulation and implementation.

Consistent with these principles is the task of ensuring equality among the racial, ethnic, language, cultural and religious communities: to build a united nation of free individuals with the right to associate with whomever they wish on the basis of equality.

Critical to nation-building is the de-racialisation of South African society. It means creating a society in which the station that individuals occupy in political, social and other areas of endeavour is not defined on the basis of race, ethnicity, language, religious, cultural or other such considerations. It means integrating communities in

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in residential areas, at the work-place and within the trade union movement, in sports

and other areas. It also means a consistent programme of affirmative action to eradicate the disparities created by apartheid.

The ANC recognises that individuals within such a nation will have multiple identities, on the basis of their physiological make-up, cultural life and social upbringing. Such distinctive features will not disappear in the melting-pot of broad South Africanism. Neither does their association on the basis of one social attribute or the other constitute a denial of their other identities. But it is critical that the over-

arching identity of being South African is promoted among all those who are indeed South African, as part of the process of building an African nation on the southern tip of the continent. The affirmation of our Africanness as a nation has nothing to do with the domination of one culture or language by another. It is in reality a recognition of a geographic reality and the awakening of a consciousness which colonialism suppressed.

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Apartheid colonialism also meant the systematic suppression of the talents, creativity and capacity of women to play their role in the ordering of the nation's affairs.

Much more than any other sector, colonial oppression and a universal patriarchal culture conspired to degrade them and treat them as sub-human. It is a critical part of the NDR to address this problem, both to affirm the principle of gender equality and ensure that in practice, it finds conscious expression in the programmes the nation embarks on. In the same vein, the youth, the disabled and others have borne the brunt of apartheid's hierarchy of denial. Addressing these matters is not merely a concern for this or the other sector of society; it is in actual fact a matter of principle, an expression of our humane values, without which liberation would neither be genuine nor legitimate.

Democracy and development are intertwined, and one cannot be separated from the other. In particular, the notion that economic progress can be attained through some kind of benevolent dictatorship does not hold any water. It is in fact dangerous; for it assumes that some self-declared elite can deliver social liberation from on high to a meek and grateful mass that does not participate in its own advancement. This goes against the grain of the history of struggle, in which the masses were in reality their own liberators. On the other hand, mass participation does not imply paralysis or