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ANC National Conference July 1991. Report

Let peace, freedom and justice prevail!



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Introduction

With this brochure the ANC brings you, in a single package, the main speeches and decisions of the 48th National Conference of the movement, held at the University of Durban-Westville from 2-7 July 1991.

This historic conference was unique in more ways than one. Besides being the ANC's first such event on South African soil in 30 years, it was described by friend and foe as the most democratic exercise ever seen in this country. And this is no idle talk.

The conference was a culmination of months of vigorous discussion of key policy issues by the ANC's over half-a-million members spread over more than 900 branches in 14 regions, as well as members in the external regions, in different countries.

The delegates, numbering more than 2000, sat from morning till the small hours daily, engaged in open, and sometimes heated, debate around critical issues facing the movement, and the country.

The conference readily welcomed and often encouraged this open, critical appraisal of the movement's work. All reports were subjected to close scrutiny, drawing searching questions and amendments from the floor.

ATMOSPHERE OF OPENNESS

Issues discussed in this atmosphere of openness included the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe and its role in the ongoing search for peace; negotiations as a terrain of struggle; building the organisation; and foreign relations, where delegates critically reviewed the movement's policy on economic and other sanctions against the South African regime, in the context of the rapidly changing political climate worldwide.

Affirmative action was the subject of fierce argument when delegates put the movement's policy of

non-sexism to the test. Though the Women's League withdrew the resolution calling for 30 percent representation of women in all elected ANC structures, the conference fully accepted the principle of affirmative action which must ensure the full and equal participation of women. We are confident that this will immediately begin to be tackled at branch and regional level.

Hundreds of local and international journalists were kept informed on the proceedings through periodic briefings. Chairpersons and scribes of the different commissions briefed journalists at the end of every commission sitting on the resolutions adopted.

ELECTORAL COMMISSION

The new National Executive Committee representing a cross-section of the South African people, was elected after the performance of each candidate was put under the microscope at branch and regional levels. Accountability was the key word.

An Independent Electoral Commission ensured that elections were free and fair, and properly conducted by secret ballot. South Africa has probably never experienced a more democratic election.

Such was the 48th ANC National Conference which this brochure brings right to your doorstep. The conference ended with the delegates adopting a 17-point declaration which concluded:

"Our country has entered a period of decisive movement towards her redemption from years of cruel oppression and repression. We are conscious of the heavy responsibility on the African National Congress and the people in general to ensure that this takes place with the minimum of bloodshed and destruction. We pledge to march together in ever-swelling ranks to a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

"Let peace, freedom and justice prevail!" ♦

Oliver Tambo Presidential Report I

The Chairperson
Comrade Nelson Mandela, Deputy President of the ANC
Members of the National Executive Committee
Regional Leaders
Commanders of Umkhonto we Sizwe
Esteemed representatives of governments and political parties
Excellencies, Members of the Diplomatic Corps
Distinguished Guests
Fellow Delegates
Comrades and Friends

We welcome you all with boundless joy, especially you delegates, who represent the hopes and aspirations of millions of our people across the length of our strife-torn country. We welcome you conscious of the fact that you have come here propelled by our burning desire to make this conference the last one we shall have to hold under minority rule.

We salute our allies in the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. We salute the ANC Youth League – the future of our country. We salute the ANC Women's League for steadfastly championing our cause and particularly the largely unresolved issue of women's emancipation. We salute commanders and combatants of our glorious army Umkhonto we Sizwe for the sterling contribution they have made to the struggle.

This conference is not only unique because it takes place in South Africa after a period of three decades, but also because of its representativeness. Given the cloud of uncertainty hanging over this country and the climate of confrontation fostered by enemies of peace and democracy; and given our people's and the world's impatience with oppression, decisions emanating from this Conference must infuse South Africa and our entire region with consequences of historical magnitude. For congregated within these four walls is the voice of reason, the voice of freedom, the voice of peace – in fact the voice of humanity.

Comrades and friends,

It is my task to present a report back to our Movement, our people and the country, on the mission we were assigned to do outside the country



Oliver Reginald Tambo

more than three decades ago. I present this report on behalf of my colleagues in the National Executive Committee (NEC), my peers and fellow combatants in the external mission – both the living and the departed. In this context, we pay special tribute to the heroes and heroines of our struggle. The names of Robert Resha, JB Marks, Moses Kotane, Florence Mophosho, Lilian Ngoyi, Moses Mabhida, Johnny Makhathini, Duma Nokwe, Yusuf Dadoo, Vuyisile Mini and countless others will forever remain on the roll of honour of our struggle. We shall always remember them for their outstanding contribution.

Because the history of the past thirty years is as vast as the road we have traversed, one can only but mention landmarks in this report. In 1959 the ANC took a decision that Comrade Josia Matlou and I were to leave the country. Our mission was to rally international support for the isolation of the apartheid state. We also had to create a reliable rear base for our struggle. Comrade Matlou left before me. I left the country in 1960, a week after the Sharpeville massacre and just before the ANC and the PAC were banned. Sharpeville, of course, marked a major watershed in our history and ushered in a whole new era.

Permit me to strike a personal note. I crossed the



border illegally into the then Bechuanaland with the help of Ronald Segal. I was aided too by the late Sir Seretse Khama and spent some time in protective custody because of kidnap threats by South African agents.

FIRST FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Together with Dr Yusuf Dadoo and Segal we proceeded to Tanganyika. It was there that we met Mwalimu Nyerere who was heading the struggle for his country's independence. We were amongst the first freedom fighters to be received by this great son of Africa. Those were hopeful and exciting days. They were also particularly frugal ones when we often did not know where the next meal was coming from.

From Tanganyika we went to Ghana where we met Kwame Nkrumah. It was there that the idea of a United Front was discussed between the ANC, the PAC, the SACP and an organisation which was later to be known as Swapo of Namibia. Our discussions on this issue were finalised in London and the South African United Front was formed. Thus began our international crusade to win friends and isolate the racists.

Comrades and friends,

It must be remembered that the fundamental question that we then had to resolve was how to transform our Movement to meet the new situation in South Africa. The choice confronting us by a vicious and violent regime was "to submit or fight". Rather than surrender we chose the path of armed struggle. Our role outside was to prepare conditions for the politico-military training of cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Here at home the leadership was recruiting cadres to go for training as well as building the underground.

In this regard our mission abroad worked hard to ensure that the world was mobilised in support of our struggle. We appealed for the isolation of the regime and urged the international community to support our armed struggle. From the very beginning we made steady gains in this regard. The socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union and the newly independent countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia threw their full weight behind our struggle. Most of these were willing to support the armed struggle.

In the West we succeeded in encouraging the formation of a powerful anti-apartheid movement and the formations which helped to isolate the Pretoria regime. We are honoured by the presence of the President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, none other than that great friend of the

South African people, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston. I am sure you will all agree with me that he is a most fitting representative of the international anti-apartheid forces. Welcome home Father. Welcome home Isitwalandwe Huddleston.

Comrades our position in international organisations, like the Non-Aligned Movement, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation and so forth became unassailable. By 1974 the General Assembly of the United Nations was able to refuse the credentials of the South African representative despite strong resistance from some Western countries. It is a measure of our success that by 1989, the ANC had more representatives abroad than the South African government.

Comrades and Friends

While we registered early victories on the international front, here at home we suffered a devastating setback at the hands of a regime armed with draconian laws of repression. The Rivonia arrests and the smashing of the underground structures set us back many years. Although colonialism was collapsing in Africa our sub-region was still in the grip of reaction. The imperialist powers collaborated with Pretoria, Portugal and Rhodesia against the liberation movements. The cordon sanitaire they erected made it difficult for our Umkhonto combatants to return home. Following our discussion with Zapu, we decided to send a detachment into Rhodesia, with instructions that they were to fight their way back home.

RETURNING HOME

It was in 1967 that a combined force of Umkhonto we Sizwe and Zipra crossed the Zambezi into Rhodesia. This marked the beginning of what was known as the Wankie-Sipolilo campaigns. As well as being an attempt to return home this was a practical manifestation of our solidarity with our sister people in the Frontline States. In this regard, our combatants together with their Zimbabwean comrades acquitted themselves heroically in battles against the combined Smith and Vorster forces. They carried out their mission gallantly and valiantly. We salute Basil February, Patrick Molawa, Andries Motsepe and other comrades who lie buried in the soil of liberated Zimbabwe. However, at the conclusion of the Wankie-Sipolilo campaigns, our problem of re-establishing the ANC inside remained essentially unresolved.

By 1969 it was considered necessary to hold a National Consultative Conference in Morogoro, Tanzania. Conference was to take stock of the totality of our experience and, on the basis of that, map



out the way forward. Morogoro became a landmark and a turning point in our struggle. It was that conference which produced a comprehensive document on the strategy and tactics of the ANC.

Reporting to our Second National Consultative Conference in 1985, the National Executive made the following observation about Morogoro: "Out of Morogoro came significant results, the most important being the re-orientation of our Movement towards the prosecution and intensification of our struggle inside South Africa, the restoration and reinforcement of unity within our ranks and the integration of all revolutionaries within the external mission of the ANC." The decision to open up the membership of the ANC to all South Africans, regardless of the colour of their skin, was a giant leap forward towards the true non-racialism within the ANC.

REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL

From Morogoro we created the Revolutionary Council (RC) which was charged with the responsibility of prosecuting the struggle inside the country. We later replaced the RC with the Political Military Council (PMC). The PMC was answerable to the NEC and, under its leadership, forward machineries were established. As a result, the post-1976 era witnessed a rapid re-emergence of the ANC within the country. Some of the many factors which contributed to this development were the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and the June uprisings of 1976. Following this, thousands of young people who went into exile at the time found a political home in the ANC.

On the other hand, the independence of Angola and Mozambique created new possibilities for our struggle. Angola provided us with military bases. The MPLA under the leadership of the late President Agostino Neto allowed us training facilities regardless of their own serious problems. In spite of years of destabilisation by the regime Angola stood firm and with the assistance of Cuban and Soviet internationalism turned the tide against Pretoria. It was at Cuito Cuanavale that the SADF met their match. Victory there opened the way for Namibia's independence and Pretoria's historic retreat in our region.

The cohesion and steadfastness of the Frontline states proved decisive in enhancing our striking capacity. If these countries had not acted together and created a United Front against apartheid South Africa, we would have been in serious trouble. In this regard, the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 further consolidated the strength of the anti-colonial struggles in our region. Thus, the balance of forces

irrevocably shifted in our favour.

CROSS-BORDER RAIDS

However, in an attempt to roll the wheel of history back, these states were subjected to the most brutal form of destabilisation by South Africa. Together with our hosts, members of the ANC became victims of cross-border raids. We remember our martyrs who fell in Matola, Maseru, Gaborone and other places.

The remains of Obadi Mokgabudi, Gene Gugushe, William Khanyile, Morris Seabalo and many others remain buried in the Frontline states and must be brought back home. Representatives of these states have joined us today, to once more reaffirm their unflinching support for our cause. We are grateful to them and to their people for all they have done for us. Never shall we forget the support they rendered and continue to render to us.

Whilst aiming to destabilise the Frontline states, the regime increased efforts to weaken the ANC through the infiltration of its agents. Comrades were poisoned in the camps, others kidnapped and many more killed. And in 1984 enemy agents managed to start a mutiny in our camps. We could not allow the enemy to destabilise us with impunity. We strengthened our Department of Intelligence and Security and sought to contain the dangers posed by infiltration. We have now released all agents we held but must continue to uphold our vigilance.

Comrades and friends,

One of the greatest historical failures of our times has been the inability of successive white regimes to halt our struggle. Even at the most difficult times our people never surrendered. Whether it was under the banner of black consciousness in the late 1960's and the 1970's, or with the Durban strikes of 1973, our people never ceased to struggle. As a result, despite all the schemes aimed at destroying our Movement, we grew both in stature and effectiveness. Our survival and growth as a fighting force is the major victory that our people have scored under difficult conditions of illegality.

SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE

As well as fighting the regime, we consciously prepared our people to play a meaningful role in a liberated South Africa. In this regard, we founded the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Morogoro, Tanzania in 1979. When we approached the Tanzanian government with the idea of a school, they readily gave us land on which Somafu stands



today.

The beginning of the 1990's witnessed the maturing of both the subjective and objective factors in favour of our people's victory. As we were poised for a great leap forward, we designated the 1980's the 'Decade of Freedom.' We proceeded to call upon our people to make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. To this call our people responded in their thousands. Everywhere in the country, popular organs of people's power emerged, challenging the apartheid structures.

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

Our people's confidence in their ability to defeat the regime was restored by the daring armed actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The blows which were struck at Sasol, Voortrekkerhoogte, Koeberg and other installations inspired our people and demoralised the regime. In this regard, we pay special tribute to Barney Molokwane, Clifford Brown, Ronald Malapa and other glorious martyrs who made the supreme sacrifice in the service of their people and country. In the same period we successfully re-established the underground as a vital pillar of struggle.

It was this underground which through its propaganda and leadership stimulated the formation of the mass democratic organisations. With the dynamic growth of the UDF and Cosatu, we reached the point where our four main pillars of struggle – mass struggle, armed struggle, the underground and international support – posed the most serious challenge to white minority rule ever seen in our country. As a result, the regime was forced to declare the state of emergency in 1985. As the crisis of the apartheid state deepened, so did the confidence in our victory grow.

Internationally there was an almost universal turning of the tide in favour of our struggle. Even the traditional allies of the regime found it impossible to continue supporting apartheid. It was in this context that, in 1987, an official ANC delegation was received in Washington, for the very first time. And at last, the United States administration fell in line with other governments who had long been supporting our cause. In this respect we would like to single out the powerful and consistent support provided over the years by Sweden and Norway.

Even as we made these impressive gains, it is fair to say that on some issues and in some instances we could have put up a better performance than we actually did. It was with the view of resolving some of our subjective weaknesses that we convened our second National Consultative Conference in Kabwe, Zambia, in 1985.

Conference took place against a climate of heightened confrontations between our people on one hand and the regime on the other. Like today, the regime and the South African press sought to create divisions amongst us by resorting to all sorts of schemes including attempts to draw a wedge between the youth and the older generation within the ANC.

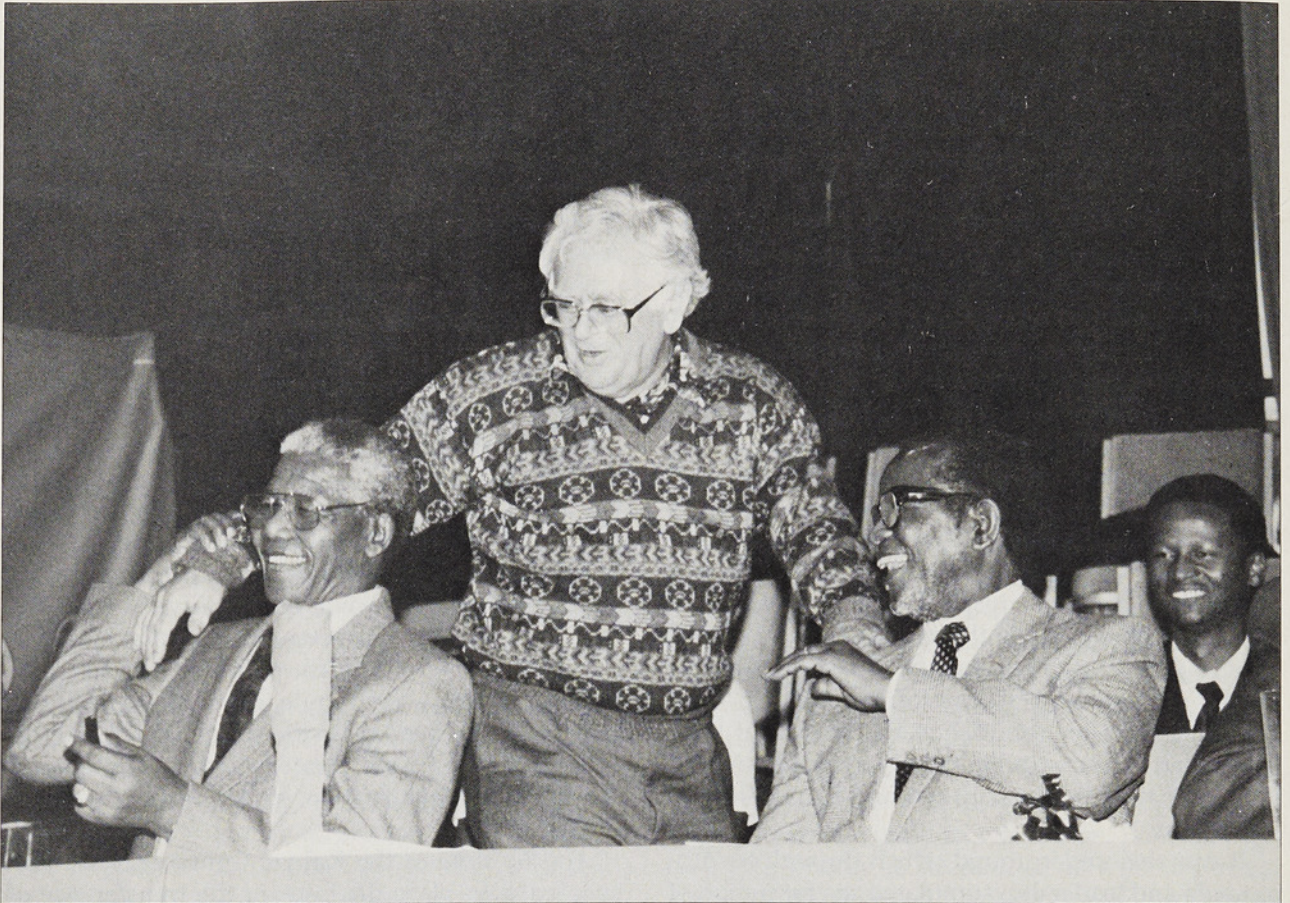
None of these schemes have succeeded. Amongst its many positive decisions, Conference resolved to open up the membership of the NEC to all South Africans. We, therefore, became second to the SACP, the first truly non-racial political movement in South Africa.

We also resolved to strengthen democratic principles within the Movement and in particular, to urgently address the gender issue. Further, we resolved to rally to the defence of our people by intensifying the struggle inside the country. Of note was the way we stressed the important balance and relationship between the main pillars of our struggle. We stressed that in struggle, even where arms are employed, the masses are the key to change. Above all we emerged from Conference as a united and strengthened organisation, much to the dismay of our adversaries.

By the time of the Kabwe Conference we had succeeded to place the issue of the transference of political power firmly on the agenda. This reality was beginning to be recognised by farsighted sections of the white community who began to seek for discussions regarding the future of our country. More importantly, contacts between democratic forces inside and outside were intensifying. In the circumstances, the need to address conditions under which we would be prepared to negotiate a democratic transfer of power was placed on the agenda. Equally, we had to elaborate principles upon which the constitution of a democratic state would be founded.

NEGOTIATIONS

In response to these, we issued an NEC statement in 1987 outlining conditions under which we would be prepared to enter into negotiations with the regime. At the same time we commissioned the ANC Constitutional Committee to begin elaborating constitutional principles on the basis of the Freedom Charter. It was our view that such principles would constitute a basis for a national debate on the new constitution. We, therefore, hoped to initiate a process whereby the new constitution would emerge from the people themselves. Through these and other initiatives, the ANC increasingly defined the terrain and tempo of our struggle. In this man-



Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo and Oliver Tambo sharing a joke at Conference

ner we provided overall leadership to the country.

PEOPLE'S PARLIAMENT

Even as we provided leadership, we were always conscious of the fact that the ANC was the people's parliament. The widespread circulation of Constitutional Guidelines was a further assertion of the sovereignty of the people. The unity in action of our people has remained the guiding beacon throughout the days of illegality. To reach our goal of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, sooner rather than later, then we must not deviate from this course.

In this context, we considered it important that decisions of the ANC were to be shaped by popular mass endorsement at all times. Even if such decisions were acceptable within the Movement, they would have come to naught unless they enjoyed popular support beyond the bounds of the ANC itself. Whilst our policies were in terms of our beliefs and convictions, they also reflected and served the people's interests. Above all, we sought to make the people part and parcel of our decisions.

Operating within the logic of a people's struggle – armed and political – and supported by the international community, we managed to push the enemy into a crisis which could not be resolved within the confines of the old order. For the first time possibilities to end apartheid and national oppression through negotiations were created. As a result of struggle the closed door that our late President, Chief AJ Luthuli, knocked on for many decades was finally opened. It is our responsibility and destiny to seize this historic opportunity.

In this regard, it was vital that we did not surrender the initiative to our adversaries. We initiated a process of wide-ranging discussions within the ANC, between the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement and between the ANC and the OAU and, in particular, the Frontline States. These consultations resulted in the adoption of the Harare Declaration by the OAU in 1989, the endorsement of this declaration by the Non-Aligned Movement and the Commonwealth and the adoption of the UN Consensus Resolution on South Africa of 1989.

Once more, the world stood united behind democratic forces in this country. The unfolding



democratisation process is, therefore, taking place on the basis of the agenda set by ourselves. Accordingly we must continue to assert the ANC's leadership of this process. This means that we have an ongoing responsibility to lead the process of negotiations. As in the past, our leadership should be exercised both here and abroad. This becomes even more important given the changing face of the international community. We must therefore refocus international attention on the need of continued support including support we shall need in order to reconstruct our country and the region in the post-apartheid era.

Comrades and Friends

I was struck down by a stroke on the eve of the adoption of the Harare Declaration. The Deputy President will continue with this report in a moment. However, I wish to pay a special tribute to all of you here, and many more around the world who wished me recovery from ill-health which at times gave cause for concern.

In particular, I thank my security aides who were the first on the scene and who to this day have continued to provide me with tremendous support and help. I must also thank His Excellency President Kenneth Kaunda who did everything

possible to save my life – including paying all expenses relating to my illness and sending his best doctor and nurse to accompany me to London. Many comrades who visited me in Sweden and London were of great help towards my recovery as were the prayers many of you offered. Finally, I want to thank my wife Adelaide and my family for giving me the love and the support I could not have survived without.

UNITY OF THE ANC

Before I sit down, I wish to make a few observations: we did not tear ourselves apart because of lack of progress at times. We were always ready to accept our mistakes and to correct them. Above all we succeeded to foster and defend the unity of the ANC and the unity of our people in general. Even in bleak moments, we were never in doubt regarding the winning of freedom. We have never been in doubt that the people's cause shall triumph.

Finally I would like to thank all who have contributed to making my Presidency a worthwhile experience for me personally.

Amandla!
Maatla!



Nelson Mandela

Presidential Report II

Comrade Chairperson,
Comrade President of our movement
Esteemed guests and observers,
Fellow delegates,

I would like to join our President, comrade OR Tambo, in welcoming you all to Conference. As he has said, this is an historic occasion not only for the ANC but also with regard to the future of our country.

It is an incontestable fact that the millions of our people and many more internationally are looking forward to the results of this conference in the expectation that at the end we will convey to them all a message of hope that the long days of apartheid tyranny are about to end.

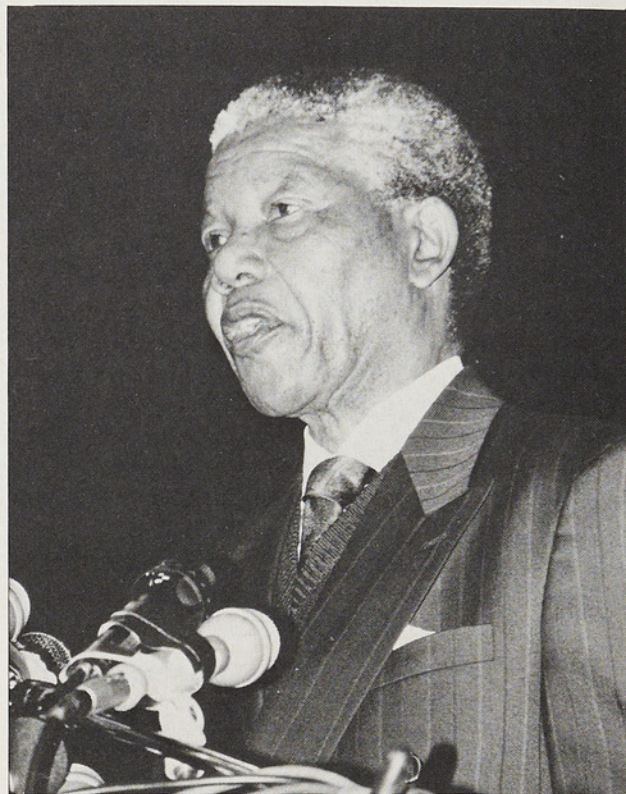
We shall not, through our own acts of omission or commission, disappoint these expectations by reducing the conference just to another event in the political calendar of our country. The week ahead of us is therefore very important.

Consequently, we are very pleased that we have present in this hall representatives of all the organised structures of the ANC, as well as observers from our allied organisations. During the few days ahead of us we will have to take very important decisions which may very well decide the fate of this country for many years to come.

It will therefore be required of each one of us that we approach all issues on our agenda with all due seriousness. We expect of all of us rational and constructive debate. Out of that debate must come equally rational, constructive and realistic decisions, aimed at taking South Africa forward as quickly as possible to its destination as a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country.

The conference here today is the culmination of a singularly democratic process. It is a little over a year since the ANC began the task of reconstituting itself as a public organisation in our country. You delegates have been chosen by close to one thousand branches to represent the views of our entire membership. Your branches have participated in rigorous discussions concerning our strategy, constitution, organisation and policy.

You have been elected by a thoroughly democratic process. The procedures that have brought you here are unique in this country. There are not



Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela

many movements or organisations which can claim to measure up to these democratic standards. Certainly, outside the ranks of the mass democratic and trade union movement, such practices are virtually unheard of. The very process that brings us together here is an outstanding example of participatory democracy which augurs well for the future.

Let us continue to demonstrate in our debates here this week that we stand by the principles of freedom of expression. All views are entitled to be aired. It is through vigorous and constructive debate that together we will chart the path ahead.

We have convened as part of our continuing effort to make further inputs into the unstoppable offensive to end the criminal system of apartheid, to transform South Africa into a non-racial democracy and to reconstruct it as a country of justice, prosperity and peace for all our people, both black and white, in keeping with the objectives contained in the Freedom Charter.



In this regard, the first point we would like to make is that it is the responsibility of our movement to be in the vanguard of the process leading to the democratic transformation of our country. We must both lead and learn from our people.

We make this point not out of any feeling of arrogance or superiority over any other political formation. We say it to make the point that the ANC is the repository of the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of our people. In terms of mass support and for reasons that are very easy to understand, we are the major political formation in this country.

Secondly, because it is the oldest formation among the forces that are fighting for the victory of the perspective of a non-racial democracy, the ANC contains within it a unique reservoir of experience of the struggle for democracy, equality and an end to racism in all its forms.

The ANC has a proud record of struggle and resistance to the efforts of successive white minority regimes to entrench this system and make it an everlasting reality defining the nature and functioning of South African society.

BALANCE OF FORCES

It is precisely that struggle which has changed the balance of forces to such an extent that the apartheid system is now in retreat. Through the struggles of our people the ANC has been unbanned and we are able to meet in our own country today. A regime whose ideology is based on a virulent anti-communism has been forced to unban our ally, the South African Communist Party, and remove provisions from the law prohibiting the propagation of communist ideas.

We have with us many of our friends from the rest of the world who, only a short while ago, would not have been able to enter this country. They have come here at the invitation of the ANC in order to demonstrate their continuing solidarity with our cause.

All of these developments represent important victories of the heroic struggle that the masses of our people have waged under the leadership of the ANC.

It is our movement that has the vision, the policies, the programmes and the mature leadership which will take our country from its apartheid past to its democratic future.

From this conference we must formulate the strategies and provide the leadership that can and will enable us to lead all the people of South Africa to the goal which the overwhelming majority seeks, that of justice, democracy, peace and prosperity.

In a period of transition, in which we will experi-

ence many things for the first time, we are bound to make mistakes and experience failures. We must make sure that we recognise these quickly, assess them, criticise ourselves where necessary, learn what has to be learnt and emerge from these stronger and better able to carry out our historic mission.

The ability to conduct struggle is gained in struggle. The ability to score victories is a function of experience that we gain in struggle. Experience also means mistakes and failures. It is by learning from these that we are able to struggle in a better way. Fear of mistakes and failures means only one thing. It means fear of engaging in struggle.

As a result of the struggle that we waged for decades, the balance of forces has changed to such an extent that the ruling National Party, which thought it could maintain the system of white minority domination for ever, has been obliged to accept the fact that it has no strength to sustain the apartheid system and that it must enter into negotiations with the genuine representatives of the people. Negotiations constitute a victory of our struggle and a defeat for the ruling group which thought it could exercise a monopoly of political power forever.

When we decided to take up arms, it was because the only other choice was to surrender and submit to slavery. This was not a decision we took lightly. We were always ready, as we are now, to seize any genuine opportunity that might arise to secure the liberation of our people by peaceful means.

We are very conscious that the process could not be smooth since we are dealing with a regime that is steeped in a culture of racism, violence and domination. We are dealing with a group of politicians who do not want to negotiate themselves out of power and representatives of the state who fear the impact of democratic change.

The point which must be clearly understood is that the struggle is not over, and negotiations themselves are a theatre of struggle, subject to advances and reverses as any other form of struggle.

NEGOTIATIONS

Despite our own heroic efforts, we have not defeated the regime. Consequently, we see negotiations as a continuation of the struggle leading to our central objective: the transfer of power to the people. There are therefore some issues that are non-negotiable: among others our demands for one person one vote, a united South Africa, the liberation of women and the protection of fundamental human rights.

As a movement we recognise the fact that apart



from ourselves there are other political formations in the country. These are as entitled to exist as we are. They have a right to formulate their own policies and to contest for support for their policies and organisations. We have agreed to enter into talks with all these, and have been talking to most of them, because we have no desire whatsoever to impose our views on everybody else.

We have never claimed that we have a monopoly of wisdom and that only our views and policies are legitimate. As a democratic movement we shall continue to defend the right of all our people to freedom of thought, association and organisation. It is precisely because of this that we have firmly committed ourselves to the perspective of a multi-party democracy.

We say all this to contribute to our preparations for the period ahead of us when we shall enter into negotiations which will determine the destiny of our country for the foreseeable future. We must participate in these processes with a clear vision of what we want to achieve, with a clear view of the procedures we must follow to ensure that our representatives are properly mandated and that they report back to us, and with a clear view of the process of negotiations.

FREEDOM NOW

Our demand is for freedom now! It can never be in our interest that we prolong the agony of the apartheid system. It does not serve the interests of the masses we represent and the country as a whole that we delay the realisation of the achievement of the objective of the transfer of power to the people.

Therefore it is necessary that we should have an idea of the time-frame we visualise for the processes which must take us to the election of a parliament representative of all the people of our country.

What, then, are the principal steps that we foresee on the road to this goal? First of all, there remains the matter of the complete removal of obstacles to negotiations as spelt out in the Harare Declaration. This must now include the question of the ending of the campaign of terror against the people, in this province, in the Transvaal and in the rest of our country.

When these issues have been attended to, we should then move to convene the All-Party Congress. Out of that congress must emerge a number of very important decisions. These will include agreed constitutional principles, the mechanism to draw up the new constitution, the establishment of an Interim Government and the role of the international community during transitional period.

We still have to grapple with the fact that the

process of the removal of obstacles to negotiations has not yet been completed. We will discuss this question, bearing in mind both the progress achieved and what still remains to be done. One of the issues we must note carefully is the way in which the government has acted to discredit the process of negotiations, by dragging its feet in terms of implementing what has been agreed.

NATIONAL PARTY

This has come as no surprise. It has never been on the agenda of the National Party to enter into negotiations with anybody other than those whom it had itself placed in supposed positions of power. It is also in this context that we should understand the use of violence to derail the peace process.

All of us present in this hall know that there are people within our country, and within state structures, who remain opposed to the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy. Not only do these forces of reaction stand against the realisation of that ultimate goal, they are also opposed to each and every step that has so far been taken to build towards the accomplishment of this objective.

They did not and do not like the fact that agreement was reached to release all political prisoners and detainees, to allow the free return of all exiles, to terminate political trials, to end the state of emergency, to review security legislation and so on.

They took fright at the prospect of these agreements being implemented because they knew that sooner or later this process would lead to the democratisation of political power in our country and, therefore, the creation of the possibility for the people themselves to dismantle the system of apartheid and create a society that would be in keeping with the genuine aspirations of all citizens of our country. That is precisely why there has been the escalation of public violence such as we have experienced during the last 12 months.

It was not because we were failing that they decided to shoot the people down. It was exactly because we are succeeding. The lesson from all this must surely be that as long as we make progress towards the achievement of our goals, so must we expect that those who fundamentally disagree with these goals will resort to violence and terror to deny us the possibility to move forward.

A heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of the presently ruling National Party to demonstrate that it is, in practical terms, as committed to change as its statements suggest. This it cannot do by engaging in manoeuvres designed to discredit the process of negotiations.

Neither can it expect that we will accept its good



'We accuse the Pretoria regime of pursuing a double agenda'

faith when it sits paralysed as the security forces it controls themselves engage in violence against the people, permit such violence to occur and remain immune from prosecution when there is clear evidence of their involvement or connivance at the murder of innocent people.

Consequently, nobody should complain when we accuse the Pretoria regime of pursuing a double agenda, one of talking peace while actually conducting war. It is for this regime to demonstrate its good faith not by what it says but by what it does.

What is of strategic importance for us is that we must defend the lives of our people at the same time as we push the process forward leading to the transfer of power into their hands. We should not allow the situation whereby those who deliberately inject violence into our communities succeed in their intention of slowing down the process leading to the democratic transformation of our country through the use of such violence.

We must defend peace at the same time as we advance towards people's power. We must engage in successful defensive battles against the counter-revolution at the same time as we conduct successful offensive battles to defeat the apartheid system. This is a struggle we must fight on all fronts simultaneously.

Conference has a responsibility to consider these

questions, which pose important strategic and tactical challenges. In this context, we will need to assess the correctness of the positions we have adopted, the effectiveness of the actions we have taken, the possibilities we face in the future and arrive at decisions that will ensure that we do not submit to an agenda that has been set by the forces of counter-revolution, but pursue our own agenda whose core must always remain the speedy transfer of power into the hands of the people.

Conference will have to consider all issues which relate to the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations and take all the necessary decisions. I have no doubt that our struggle to create such a climate will succeed as I am certain that our offensive to achieve the democratic transformation of our country will triumph.

Accordingly, in our planning we must proceed beyond the mere removal of obstacles, important as this issue might be. We must en-

gage one another in serious discussion about how we should manage the period of transition which our country has entered.

From all that has happened so far, it seems clear that this period is likely to prove one of the most difficult, complex and challenging in the entire life of our organisation. It is therefore one which we must all approach with the greatest vigilance and firmness with respect to matters of principle, clarity with regard to strategy and timeousness and flexibility with reference to tactical issues.

ALL-PARTY CONGRESS

One of the first principal policy questions we are going to face during the transitional period, and in the context of the process of negotiations, is the issue of the All-Party Congress. With regard to this matter, we must evolve a clearer idea on such questions as the composition of this congress, its agenda, the manner of its functioning and the length of time we propose that it should sit.

Conference should bear in mind the fact that we ourselves said that the All-Party Congress should convene when the obstacles to negotiations have been removed. Accordingly, we must calculate on the congress taking place sooner rather than later and therefore approach all preparations for our own



participation with some urgency.

Similarly, we must discuss the issue of constitutional principles which will be on the agenda of the All-Party Congress. Fortunately, we have a draft document on this issue, prepared some time ago by our constitutional committee and which we have been discussing in our branches and regions. I refer here to the documents dealing with constitutional principles and a Bill of Rights.

These are important documents as they spell out our views on the framework and the broad character of the new constitution. We must ensure that these do indeed advance our fundamental perspective of the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country.

We must also discuss the issue of the mechanism to draw up the new constitution. As all of us know, we are convinced that this mechanism should be an elected Constituent Assembly and have made this into one of our major campaigning slogans.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The winning of the objective of a Constituent Assembly will not be achieved solely through the negotiation process. It will require the generation of mass support for this demand. We reject the regime's contention that mass mobilisation stands in the way of the negotiating process. In the absence of voting rights, the only power we can exercise is the power and the strength of our organised people.

But we must also deal with other important matters which arise in the context of the Constituent Assembly. To have an elected Constituent Assembly means that we must have elections. For us to succeed in those elections we must prepare for them, bearing in mind the fact that throughout the period of its existence the ANC has never participated in general elections.

We must therefore take all the necessary decisions which will enable us to engage in this process successfully. Among other things, this means that we must have the necessary policies to present to the country at large and the organisational machinery to do this. It also means that we must have clear ideas about such questions as electoral systems and the demarcation of boundaries of constituencies.

As you are aware, another issue which belongs within the transitional period is the question of the Interim Government. The importance of the matter cannot be overemphasised. Among ourselves we are agreed that it would be incorrect and unacceptable that during this transitional period one of the parties to the negotiations, in this case the National Party, should continue to govern the country on its own.

An Interim Government will therefore have to be formed and constituted in such a manner that it is broadly acceptable to the various political formations in our country. To that extent, it will take on the character of a transitional government of national unity. Once this government is formed, we will have reached the situation whereby, for the first time this century, South Africa will cease to be ruled by a white minority regime.

In this regard we must provide the lead on all major questions that will affect the constitution of an Interim Government as well as its lifespan.

It would be important that we have some idea of the time-frame within which the new constitution should be drawn up and adopted. We certainly do not want a long-drawn or endless process with regard to this matter. In the end, as we have said already, the sooner power transfers into the hands of the people the better.

The international community continues to be of vital importance to the future of our country. This will remain the case even after we have won our freedom. In both the Harare and UN Declarations, it is visualised that a stage will be reached when this community will determine that we have arrived at an internationally acceptable solution to the South African question. This would then enable the rest of the world to welcome democratic South Africa as an equal partner among the community of nations.

But before we reach that stage, it would be important that we discuss the question of the possible role of the international community during the transitional period. The role it could play to expedite this process so that we move forward with minimum delay towards the accomplishment of our cherished goals. Conference will therefore have to deal with this matter as well.

Needless to say, the transitional period is not an end in itself. It constitutes the conveyor belt which should take us through to the goal of a democratic South Africa. At the end of this road and the beginning of another, is the question of the exercise of political power. I take it that we all agree that when the moment comes the ANC will present itself to the country at large for the election into the new parliament.

POLICY POSITIONS

It therefore seems obvious that we should continue the work we have been doing already of preparing our policy positions on all major questions of public life. We have already had to explain ourselves to the people as a whole, in terms of these various policy positions. The country has understood that we needed the time to work out these po-



sitions as we had to rebuild our movement after 30 years of illegality.

But obviously elaboration of policy cannot itself go on forever. We must begin to arrive at firm conclusions about what we would do with the country once we become the governing party. Conference should at least give the broad guidelines which will enable the movement as a whole to move forward and arrive at these basic policy positions as quickly as possible.

The matter should not be underestimated that all our people want to know how we would govern the country if they gave us this responsibility. They want us to speak with one consistent voice and put forward a clear vision.

It is clear from everything we have said that there are very many major tasks ahead of us. Their accomplishment will be of critical importance not only to the ANC and its allies but to the country as a whole and to the millions of people who are not necessarily members of our organisation.

We must therefore closely scrutinise the issue of our organisational capacity to carry out these tasks. If we are weak, we will not be able to realise our goals. If we work in a confused manner, we will not be able to take the country forward.

The Secretary General will be presenting the report on the organisation. Therefore I will not go into any detail with regard to the issues that confront us in this area of our work. I would, however, like to draw your attention to a few issues which I am sure Conference will have to discuss.

ORGANISATIONAL NEEDS

Organisationally, what do we need? We need a movement that is organisationally strong in terms of the membership that it attracts into its ranks. After 17 months of legality, we have recruited 700,000 members. Even though the effort has been commendable, there is no room for complacency and much more work has got to be done to draw millions of all our people into the ANC.

We must also express concern at the proportionately low number of members that is drawn from rural areas. We must also do more to attract members from the middle strata.

We can ill afford to be content with the relatively low level of success that we are making with regard to drawing whites, Coloureds and Indians into the organisation. We must ask ourselves frankly why this is so. In this context, we should not be afraid to confront the real issue that these national minorities might have fears about the future which fears we should address.

We must remain a movement representative of

all the people of South Africa – a people's movement, both in name and in reality. As we build our organisation, we must therefore constantly watch this issue to ensure that we do not just concentrate on one sector of our population.

Apart from the ANC itself, our movement has three other important component parts. These are the Youth and Women's Leagues, and the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The responsibilities that fall on the shoulders of the Leagues are very heavy indeed. It is part of our task to ensure that they are themselves strong enough to carry out these responsibilities.

They, like the ANC itself, should understand the point clearly that they are charged with the task of leading not just their own members. They must, each in its own sector, lead the millions falling within their constituencies. Thus when we talk of mass action, it must be real mass action which draws into struggle not just members but the masses of the people we represent.

At the same time, we need to pay better attention to our heroic army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, than we have done during the past year or so. MK has been at the centre of our struggle in the past and delivered the telling blows that brought us to the point where a negotiated solution became possible.

It is proper that this conference should pay homage to all the commanders and combatants of MK who laid down their lives and made other invaluable sacrifices that have brought us to where we are today. We are very glad that some of those who survived during the course of that struggle are with us today.

Some of them were serving long sentences, but we managed to get them out, even to the point where the notorious Robben Island prison has at last been closed down. Some of them are serving commanders of the people's army, but we have succeeded to get them to be present at this, their conference. Of those that were sentenced to death, we have ensured that none will hang! Soon we shall have all of them among us, to continue the struggle for the victory of the people's cause.

We have suspended armed action, but have not terminated the armed struggle. Whether it is deployed inside the country or outside, Umkhonto we Sizwe therefore has a responsibility to keep itself in a state of readiness in case the forces of counter-revolution once more block the path to a peaceful transition to a democratic society.

CHALLENGES FOR MK

New challenges will face MK in the context of the installation of the Interim Government. As we



have said, this is one of the issues we will have to discuss, an important part of which will be the issue of the control of the security forces by such a government. It is clear that MK will have to play a vital role in these processes. Where it can, it must, of course, make its expertise available to those communities that are engaged in the process of establishing their self-defence units.

At the same time, MK must prepare itself to become part of the new national defence force we shall have to build as part of the process of the reconstruction of our country. The task of training this cadre cannot await the adoption of a democratic constitution but must be carried out now to ensure that, as happened in Zimbabwe and Namibia, when the time comes to rebuild our defence forces, we are ready to participate in these processes in defence of our democratic gains.

Such are some of the major tasks that confront MK during this period. To carry them out properly requires that all the necessary logistics be made available. But it also requires that MK continues to be an army that is committed to the democratic perspective that we represent.

ANC CONSTITUTION

We will also be discussing the new constitution of the ANC. Quite clearly we must ensure that we agree on a structure which enables the membership to participate in the formulation of policy and direction of the work of the movement while the leadership we will elect recognises that it is accountable without compromising its ability to lead.

But whatever our constitution will say, it will only function properly if we all proceed from the position that we are all comrades, bound together by common goals, with all of us equally committed to make a contribution to the realisation of those common goals. Much work remains to be done among us all to raise the level of political consciousness so that every cadre, however high the position they may occupy, is schooled in the policies of our movement, its character, its strategy and tactics.

Certainly, we must also resist the efforts of some among the media to encourage factions within the movement by suggesting there are groups locked in mortal combat, there is a division between the exiles and the internal group, the ex-prisoners and somebody else, the so-called militants and moderates.

We should not tolerate the formation of factions within the movement. The best means of ensuring this is through open democratic discussion within our ranks so that no one feels excluded or denied the right to express his or her opinion.

Many people both inside and outside our coun-

try repeatedly raise the question of our relations with the Communist Party. We would therefore like to take this opportunity once more to reiterate the fact that we consider the South African Communist Party a firm and dependable ally in the common struggle to rid our country of the system of white minority rule. We will therefore rebuff all attempts to drive a wedge between our two organisations.

SACP

At the same time, the point must be born in mind that the SACP is a separate organisation which does not seek to dominate the ANC as the ANC. The ANC, for its part, does not seek to dominate the Communist Party. The policies of the ANC are not decided in the Communist Party as neither are the policies of the SACP decided in the ANC, regardless of the number of people who might be members of both organisations.

Both we and the Communist Party must be judged by the policies we espouse and the things we do to propagate and advance those views. We believe our detractors should outgrow the pathological anti-communism of the period of the cold war, stop the red-baiting and live up to the commitment they all express in favour of a multi-party democracy.

The other member of our alliance is the Congress of South African Trade Unions. We would like to reaffirm our firm determination to respect the independence of the trade union movement and to act in a manner consistent with this position, both now and in future. We are ready to act in support of positions that are put forward by this allied organisation with regard to issues such as retrenchment, a living wage and the Workers' Charter.

TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE

The incoming National Executive Committee will have to ensure that our tripartite alliance works better than it has done in the past. This will ensure that we use the collective strength represented by our respective organisations in a better way.

We have also advanced the perspective of a front of all patriotic forces. Undoubtedly a report will be presented to Conference on this matter. The unity of our people, and the organisations that represent them, has always been central to both our thinking and to our practice. Unity remains important to this day. It must remain an essential part of our activities, from the branch upwards.

Our contact with various organisations has not been as strong as it should be. This, too, will have to be corrected.



Our strength lies in the masses of the people. We must therefore continue to pay the closest attention to the issue of our work among the masses. They must see the ANC as their organisation, one that represents their aspirations and actually advances their interests.

We must ensure that these masses are in fact engaged in struggle and are drawn into the fundamental discussion which must now take place about the future of our country. To ensure that these do not remain mere slogans and pious wishes, we must pay attention to the importance of door-to-door campaigning and the value of small local meetings.

We must help entrench the culture of political tolerance amongst our people. We reiterate, it is absolutely impermissible for any one of us to use force against the people. As we continue to engage in mass struggles, we must ensure that the people join these struggles as a result of conviction and not because of intimidation.

We must stand out as an unchallenged example of a real people's movement, in touch with these masses, responsive to their needs, capable of drawing them into action in their millions and enjoying their genuine allegiance and voluntary support. Hopefully Conference will address this question as well and be unsparing in its analysis and criticism of where we might have failed to relate to the masses in the manner I have described, so that we do indeed strengthen our links with these masses.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

The continued support of the international community remains vital for the victory of our cause. We also need further to strengthen our links with the rest of the world to ensure that the international community, so well represented here today, remains engaged not only in the struggle against apartheid, but also in the struggle for the democratic transformation of our country.

From this international community we shall therefore require continuing political and material support for the present phase of our struggle. But equally we will need to prepare these friendly nations to come to our aid as we carry out the enormous tasks that will face us during the period of the reconstruction of our country, as well as define the place of a democratic South Africa within that international community. These are matters of critical importance to our people as a whole and will have to be discussed bearing in mind this reality.

Undoubtedly, we will also continue our discussions of the sanctions question which we began at our Consultative Conference last December. The challenge that faces us with regard to this question

is that we should find ways and means by which we arrest the process of the erosion of sanctions and help create the situation whereby we do not lose this weapon which we will need until a democratic constitution has been adopted.

Let me take this opportunity once more to join our President in saluting our honoured international guests who are with us today and pay tribute to them for everything they have contributed to the protracted struggle which has brought us to where we are today. We thank you most sincerely for your support and are confident that you will stay the course with us not only to end the system of apartheid but to help us rebuild this otherwise beautiful country.

While you are with us, we hope that you will see a little bit of it, talk to as many of our people as you can and gain a better understanding of the challenges that the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement face.

The masses of our people will undoubtedly feel greatly strengthened that you were able to visit them directly to express your solidarity and to strengthen the bonds of friendship which must underpin the relations that a free South Africa will have with the rest of the world.

We would also like to thank all of our other distinguished guests from within our country, including the members of the diplomatic corps, who took time off to be with us today. We deeply appreciate the interest you have shown in our conference and trust that you will accept its results as a contribution to the common concern we share of the speedy transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy.

I would like to thank all the comrades and friends who have been involved in the work of preparing this conference. They have had to attend to a lot of issues. To honour and respect their contribution to the struggle, we are called upon as delegates to go about the business of our conference with all due diligence and seriousness. I wish all of you success.

Finally, I would like to thank the Vice Chancellor of the university of Durban-Westville, Professor Reddy, and all other members of the university for making the university available for our historic conference.

We have no words to express our gratitude but trust that the results of our conference will help to reinforce the work in which you yourselves are engaged, of transforming this centre of learning and the educational system as a whole in keeping with our common aspiration to create a just society.

Thank you for your attention. ◆

Report of the Independent Electoral Commission

The elections for the position of Deputy President, Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General, Treasurer General and the National Executive Committee of the ANC were conducted by the Independent Mediation Service of South Africa (IMSSA)

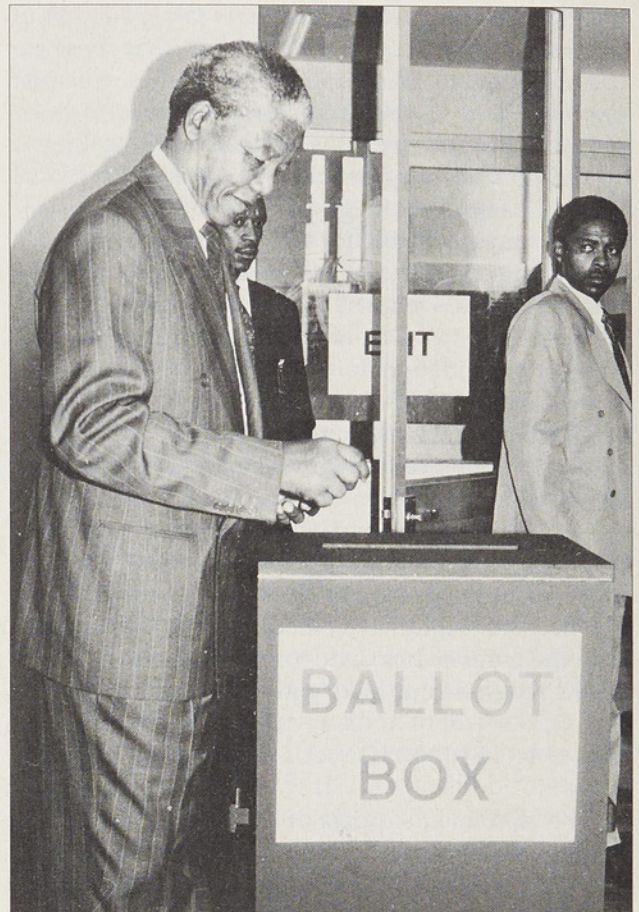
Prior to the conference, the ANC requested IMSSA to undertake this task and requested three independent persons to observe the elections, and to satisfy themselves that the procedures established by IMSSA were fair and that the elections were conducted in a fair manner. These persons were Professor J Reddy, Vice Chancellor and Rector of the University of Durban-Westville, Mr Enos Mabuza, a business consultant and former Chief Minister of KaNgwane and Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC, National Director of the Legal Resources Centre. Together with Mr Charles Nupen, Director of IMSSA, they constituted an Independent Electoral Commission.

At the commencement of its proceedings, Conference confirmed these arrangements, and gave full power to the Independent Electoral Commission to decide and make rulings on all matters connected with the elections. This was in fact done, and neither the National Executive Committee or any other structure of the ANC played any part in conducting the elections.

The right of delegates to vote was verified by a Credentials Commission on which all structures of the ANC were represented.

IMSSA prepared voters' lists in accordance with the decision taken by the Credentials Commission, provided sealed ballot boxes and voting booths, prepared the ballot papers (which were stamped by it to confirm their authenticity) and engaged independent mediators to act as marshalls during the elections, and to deal with queries raised by voters. The arrangements made were explained to the press which had access to the voting hall immediately prior to the elections and was able to observe the arrangements that had been made.

Non-voting representatives of all ANC regions constituted an ANC Electoral Commission which was consulted and kept fully informed by the Independent Electoral Commission, observed the balloting and the counting and expressed their satisfaction with the arrangements which were made



Nelson Mandela casts his vote

and the manner in which the elections were conducted.

The Independent Electoral Commission satisfied itself that :

- Voting procedures were understood by all the delegates
- The persons who voted were all duly accredited delegates
- The voting was conducted fairly
- The ballot was secret
- The counting was accurate

The Electoral Commission has reported that it is satisfied that free and fair elections were conducted for all positions and that the results which have been announced are in accordance with secret ballots that were conducted. ♦



Credentials Committee

Report on official status position of delegates to conference



Delegates voting during nominations

A. Voting Delegates

13.	Southern OFS	55 + 3 REC
14.	Northern OFS	67 + 3 REC

INTERNAL REGIONS

REGION	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1. PWV	257 + 3 REC
2. Northern Transvaal	83 + 3 REC
3. Eastern Transvaal	243 + 3 REC
4. Western Transvaal	39 + 3 REC
5. Northern Cape	41 + 3 REC
6. Western Cape	183 + 3 REC
7. Eastern Cape	194 + 3 REC
8. Border	244 + 3 REC
9. Transkei	138 + 3 REC
10. Northern Natal	35 + 3 REC
11. Southern Natal	189 + 3 REC
12. Natal Midlands	99 + 3 REC

EXTERNAL

	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1. Zambia	16
2. Tanzania	16
3. Zimbabwe	4
4. USA	2
5. United Kingdom	4
6. Sweden	1
7. Angola	2
8. Canada	1
9. Australia	1
10. Lesotho	1
11. MK external (Uganda, Angola, Tanzania)	35



OTHER	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1. MK (Internal)	45
2. NEC and Internal Leadership Core	40
3. ANC Women's League	42
4. ANC Youth League	48

CHIEF REPRESENTATIVES

COUNTRY	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1. USA	1
2. UN	1
3. Kenya	1
4. Mozambique	1
5. Italy	1
6. India	1
7. Egypt	1
8. Angola	1
9. Sweden	1
10. Canada	1
11. Tanzania	1
12. Belgium	1
13. Botswana	1
14. USSR	1
15. UK and Ireland	1
16. Uganda	1
17. Nigeria	1
18. W Germany	1
19. Ethiopia	1
20. Netherlands	1
21. Denmark	1
22. Namibia	1
23. Spain	1
24. Japan	1
25. Algeria	1
26. France	1
27. Australia	1
28. Finland	1
29. Norway	1
30. Senegal	1
31. Zaire	1
32. Ghana	1
33. Malaysia	1
34. Zimbabwe	1
35. Zambia	1

ANC NATIONAL DEPARTMENTS

DEPARTMENT	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1. Office of the President	1
2. Office of the Deputy President	1
3. Legal Department	1
4. Department of Economic Policy	1
5. Office of the Land Commission	1
6. Health Secretariat	1
7. Department of Finance	1
8. Projects Department	1
9. Department of Arts and Culture	1
10. Department of Social Welfare	1
11. National Organising Committee	1

12. Political Committee	1
13. Department of Manpower Development	1
14. Department of Information and Publicity	1
15. Department of Political Education	1
16. Department of Education	1
17. Department of International Affairs	1
18. Military Headquarters (and other)	18
19. PRO	1

B. Non-Voting Delegates

ANC NATIONAL DEPARTMENTS

DEPARTMENT	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1. Legal Department	9
2. Department of Economic Policy	3
3. Office of the Land Commission	3
4. Health Secretariat	3
5. Projects Department	1
6. Department of Arts and Culture	3
7. Department of Social Welfare	1
8. National Organising Committee	3
9. Department of Manpower Development	1
10. Department of Information and Publicity	3
11. Department of Political Education	1
12. Department of Education	3
13. Department of International Affairs	2
14. Office of Repatriation	1
15. PRO	3

OTHER ORGANISATIONS /CATEGORIES

ORGANISATION/ CATEGORY	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1. SA Communist Party	10
2. Congress of SA Trade Unions	10
3. United Democratic Front	2
4. Stalwarts	54

TOTALS

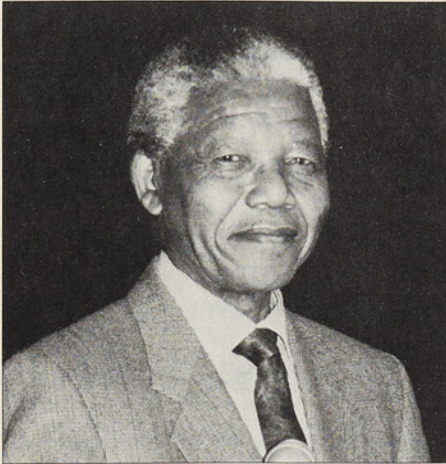
Voting delegates 2244

Non-voting delegates 117

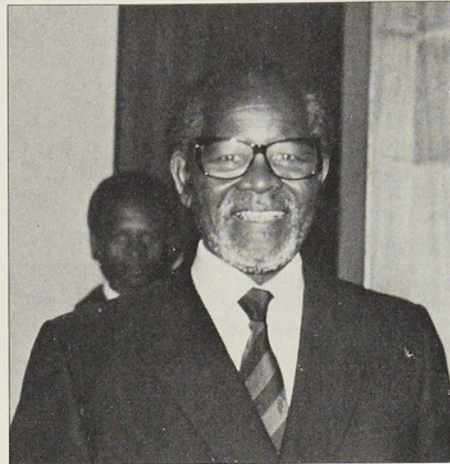
GRAND TOTAL 2361



The National Executive Committee



*President
Nelson
Mandela*



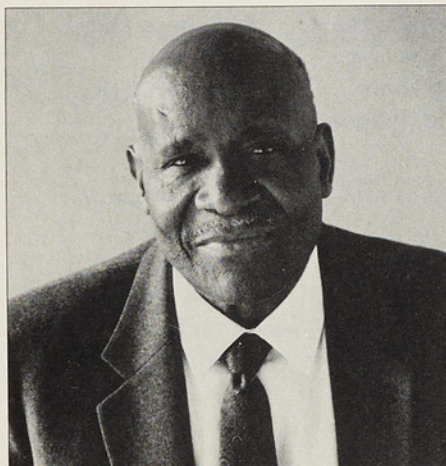
*National
Chairperson
Oliver
Tambo*



*Deputy
President
Walter
Sisulu*



*Secretaru
General
Cyril
Ramaphosa*



*Treasurer
General
Thomas
Nkobi*



*Deputy
Secretary
General
Jacob Zuma*



Elected members

1. Kader Asmal
2. Thozamile Botha
3. Cheryl Carolus
4. Jeremy Cronin
5. Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim
6. Harry Gwala
7. Chris Hani
8. Pallo Jordan
9. Ronnie Kasrils (ANC Khumalo)
10. Ahmed Kathrada
11. Patrick "Terror" Lekota
12. Saki Macozoma
13. Mac Maharaj
14. Rocky Malebane-Metsing
15. Winnie Mandela
16. Trevor Manuel
17. Gill Marcus
18. Barbara Masekela
19. Thabo Mbeki
20. Raymond Mhlaba
21. Wilton Mkwayi
22. Andrew Mlangeni
23. Joe Modise
24. Peter Mokaba
25. Popo Molefe
26. Ruth Mompoti
27. Mohamed Valli Moosa
28. Elias Motsoaledi
29. Mendi Msimang
30. Sydney Mufamadi
31. Billy Nair
32. Sister Bernard Ncube
33. Joel Netshitenzhe (Peter Mayibuye)
34. Joe Nhlanhla
35. John Nkadimeng
36. Siphwe Nyanda (Gebuza)
37. Alfred Nzo
38. Dullah Omar
39. Aziz Pahad
40. Albie Sachs
41. Reginald September
42. Gertrude Shope
43. Albertina Sisulu
44. Zola Skweyiya
45. Joe Slovo
46. Marion Sparg
47. Arnold Stofile
48. Raymond Suttner
49. Steve Tshwete
50. Mcwayizeni Zulu

Ex-officio members

All regional chairpersons and secretaries, the Youth and Women's Leagues' Presidents and Secretaries are ex-officio members.

• Denotes a person who was elected into the NEC at the July Conference as well. Regional chairs and secretaries elected into the NEC have to resign their regional posts. This means that initially the NEC will be less the number of regional officials elected until new ones in the regions are elected.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| •1. Gertrude Shope | Women's League |
| 2. Baleka Kgositsile | |
| •3. Peter Mokaba | Youth League |
| 4. Rapu Molekane | |
| 5. Kgalema Motlanthe | PWV |
| 6. Barbara Hogan | |
| 7. Mathew Phosa | Eastern Transvaal |
| 8. Joe Nkuna | |
| 9. Zacharia Molekane | Western Transvaal |
| 10. David Davids | |
| •11. Joel Netshitenzhe | Northern Tvl |
| 12. Collins Chabane | |
| •13. Ruth Mompoti | Northern Cape |
| 14. Mane Dipico | |
| 15. Christmas Tinto | Western Cape |
| 16. Amos Lengisi | |
| 17. Benson Fihla | Eastern Cape |
| 18. Gugile Nkwinti | |
| •19. Arnold Stofile | Border |
| 20. Lucille Meyer | |
| 21. Ezra Sigwela | Transkei |
| 22. Pumzile Mayapi | |
| •23. Jacob Zuma | Southern Natal |
| 24. Sibusiso Ndebele | |
| 25. Willis Mchunu | Northern Natal |
| 26. Michael Mabuyakhulu | |
| •27. Harry Gwala | Natal Midlands |
| 28. Moses Cele | |
| 29. Mxolisi Dukwana | Northern OFS |
| 30. Nakana Masoka | |
| 31. Caleb Motshabi | Southern OFS |
| 32. Thabo Mokhethoa | |



ANC Constitution

Note: We present here an overview of the most significant features of the ANC constitution as adopted. The full text of the new constitution will be published separately.

The ANC constitution adopted at the 48th National Conference defines the objective of the liberation struggle, namely the achievement of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa. Conference unequivocally declared that the ANC is a liberation movement. It cannot be otherwise until the apartheid system of national oppression is replaced by a democratic constitution.

The constitution enshrines democratic decision-making and accountability. It lays the basis for maximum membership participation in the life and activities of the ANC. At the same time and within the framework of democratic accountability, it lays the basis for effective central leadership.

An issue which generated fierce debate was the question of the representation of women on the National Executive Committee. Conference did not adopt the recommendation that at least 30 percent of the 50 elected NEC members shall be women. But the debate was educational and of a high level. Delegations from all regions committed themselves to addressing the problem of gender discrimination.

The discussion on the constitution was divided into two parts:

1. Those aspects which affected elections for the NEC
2. The rest of the constitution

Some of the key features of the adopted constitution are:

1. Composition of NEC

- a. President, Deputy President, National Chairperson, Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General and Treasurer General elected at Conference
- b. 50 persons elected at Conference
- c. Two MK representatives appointed by the NEC from Military Headquarters
- d. The National President and Secretary of the

Women's League and of the Youth League ex-officio

- e. The chairperson and secretary of each region
- f. Three persons to be co-opted by the NEC

2. National Working Committee (NWC)

This Committee of 27 persons will be chosen from the ranks of the NEC. They will be full time functionaries. The NWC must perform its duties under the direction and control of the NEC which in turn is answerable to National Conference.

3. National Conference

National Conference must be held once every three years, but can be convened at any time if the majority of regions so require. This arrangement allows for the ANC to adopt major decisions without having to wait three years.

4. Regional General Councils

A major change to provide for more effective grassroots participation was introduced by the adoption of a proposal to create a Regional General Council (RGC) in each region. The RGC is to be made up of delegates from branches in the region. The Regional Executive Committee is accountable not only to the annual Regional Conference, but also to the RGC.

5. Branches

Branches remain the basic structure of the ANC. It is in the branches that members participate directly in decision-making and activities of the ANC. Provision also now exists for the formation of zones and sub-regions to facilitate the building of unity, coordination and effective campaign work.

6. Independent Electoral Commission

The creation of an Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is an example of building into the ANC features of what we want in a new democratic South Africa. The task of the IEC is to work out election procedures and conduct elections in the ANC. The way elections were conducted was one of the outstanding features of Conference, and unique in South Africa's history. ♦



Declaration

of the 48th National Conference of the African National Congress – 6 July 1991

We, participants at this 48th National Conference of the ANC, representing a cross-section of South African society: workers, students, the rural masses, intellectuals, religious communities, business-persons – men and women, young and old, black and white – hereby adopt this declaration as our collective message to our country and to the world.

This 48th National Conference of the ANC, comes at a time when our country and its people are poised to commence the last leg of our long struggle to bring an end to minority domination and usher in an era of democracy and peace. The people's hopes for freedom, social justice, democracy and peace stand higher than at any time during this century. As a result of the struggles and sacrifices of the people, the moment for the final eradication of the hated system of white domination has dawned.

We remain convinced that the only real hope for the future of our country and its people lies in the creation of a democratic society based on humane values. These values – government of the people, by the people and for the people – have been kept alive and survived in our country thanks to the sacrifices of millions of our people against the tyranny of white domination. We salute the people of South Africa, who have over many decades waged unrelenting struggle, undaunted by repression and other adversities. We pay tribute to all the patriots who have fallen in the cause of this noble struggle.

The possibility of eradicating apartheid by peaceful means has emerged through our struggles. The overwhelming majority of South Africans are convinced that the process of peaceful transition to a democratic future must proceed with all deliberate speed.

In this regard, we reaffirm our unambiguous commitment to exploring every possible avenue to resolve by peaceful means the problems of our country. It is this commitment which persuades us that a climate of peace, free of formal or informal repression, is essential for the transition from apartheid to democracy. We reiterate our full support for the OAU Harare Declaration and the Open Letter to the regime, issued by the National Executive Committee on April 9th, and call on the government to address these issues with immediate effect.

We note with alarm the continuation of vigilante violence perpetrated by agencies of the state

against black communities. Even as conference continued with its deliberations, numerous attacks, including against families of conference delegates, took place. A climate of fear, doubt and uncertainty pervades our country. We refuse to submit to the temptations of despair induced by the enemies of democracy, justice and peace, who have over the past 18 months subjected our country, especially the Natal and PWV regions, to an unprecedented level of violence and bloodletting with a view to derailing the search for peace and postponing indefinitely the establishment of a democratic non-racial state.

We are no longer prepared to accept pious words of peace, while the government, its supporters and its surrogates pursue a policy of violence and death against the people and their democratic movement. The patience and forbearance of the people have been sorely tested and we demand that President De Klerk and his government demonstrate, in deeds, that they share our commitment to peace and reconciliation. We express our unqualified support for the initiative of religious and business leaders to facilitate the process towards the adoption and implementation of binding multilateral agreements aimed at ending the scourge of violence.

The removal of all the obstacles to free political activity will open the way for speedy movement on the crucial questions of the transition and the democratic future. We therefore welcome back to the ranks of active struggle the cadres of our movement and the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe who have recently been released. We note however that many other patriots, including those on Death Row, remain in apartheid dungeons. We demand their immediate and unconditional release and the granting of general amnesty to all exiles. The atmosphere necessary for free political activity and negotiations cannot emerge without these measures, the repeal of all repressive legislation and an end to the violence. The regime must honour the solemn undertakings it made in both the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Summits.



This will open the way to a period of transition which must be supervised by a sovereign and impartial body and during which the masses of the people will take an active part in the formulation of the basic law of the land. We remain committed to the call for an Interim Government and a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of one-person, one-vote on a non-racial voters' roll. We are committed to work out and communicate to the nation our detailed positions on all these issues as soon as possible. With the clearing of obstacles to normal political activity, we will strive to ensure the convening of the All-Party Congress without undue delays.

We, together with the majority of South Africans are committed to the advancement of the struggle within the context of the new situation. This struggle is vital because victory has not yet been won, the danger of repression continues to loom over the people and the possibility of a derailment of the negotiations process exists. Therefore, we will continue to strengthen the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, both as a force indispensable to the defence of the people and in preparation for the creation of a truly national army of a democratic South Africa; to maintain such underground formations as are necessary; to intensify mass organisation and mobilisation and to ensure the continued engagement of the international community in the common offensive against the criminal system of apartheid.

We reiterate our adherence to the principles of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa as enshrined in the Freedom Charter. These include the guarantee of the fundamental human rights of all South Africans, reinforced by an entrenched Bill of Rights, a multi-party system of government, a representative and independent judiciary and regular elections. However, these rights will be meaningless without the fundamental restructuring of the economy to serve the interests of the people and far-reaching reforms in the areas of land distribution, housing, education, health, welfare and so on.

The main goal of the struggle is the liberation of our people from the system of national oppression. The ANC remains a national liberation movement committed to the transfer of power to the people as a whole. We do not act simply in the narrow interest of the ANC as a political organisation. Our mission, hand-in-hand with other democratic forces, is to rid South Africa of the scourge of apartheid in all its manifestations.

We reaffirm our commitment to the deepening of democracy within our ranks. The preparations

for this Conference and the open and free exchange of ideas in its sessions have reinforced the unity and coherence of our movement. They have also planted the seed which will germinate in the development of a democratic political culture in our society.

We reaffirm the ANC's non-sexist policy and commit ourselves to urgently further develop mechanisms of addressing the serious challenge of women's emancipation in society at large, including our own ranks.

In order to ensure that all our people act as a united force to achieve the common goal of a democratic society, we commit ourselves to the strengthening of the tripartite alliance of the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP. We also pledge to continue our efforts to build a broad patriotic front of all forces committed to the attainment of a united, non-racial and democratic society.

We, the delegates assembled at this 48th National Conference of the ANC call upon all our people to join hands in the struggle for democracy and peace in our land. We reach out to workers, youth and students, the rural masses, traditional chiefs, artists, sports-persons, religious communities, intellectuals, business-persons and others. We call on our white compatriots to take active part in the efforts to build a just and democratic future for all our people. We reach out in particular to the security forces and call on them to support and defend the process of peaceful transition to democracy, acting in support of the aspirations of the people.

We are inspired by the presence at our conference of 450 foreign guests, drawn from 57 countries in every continent of the world. Their presence here underscores the wide-ranging international support our cause has won. We express our profound appreciation of the contribution made by these friends of our people to the anti-apartheid struggle in the past and are equally confident that this shall continue into the future. We call on the international community to maintain its isolation of apartheid South Africa and intensify its support for the forces of democracy and peace in our country.

Our country has entered a period of decisive movement towards her redemption from years of cruel oppression and repression. We are conscious of the heavy responsibility on the African National Congress and the people in general to ensure that this takes place with the minimum of bloodshed and destruction. We pledge to march together in ever-swelling ranks to a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. ♦

LET PEACE, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE PREVAIL!



Resolutions

On strategy and tactics

THIS NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE ANC

NOTING:

1. That the fundamental elements of apartheid colonialism remain in place;
2. That the repeal of some apartheid laws has left the basic political, social, gender and economic relations of oppression and exploitation intact;
3. That in many respects the conditions of the oppressed people have deteriorated, with violent attacks on our communities, lowering of living standards, increasing homelessness, unemployment, retrenchment, a deepening of the educational crisis to disastrous proportions and other social evils.

NOTING FURTHER:

1. That the struggles of the people and the support of the international community have created the possibility of a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country;
2. That the regime has been obliged to accept the fact that it does not have the strength to sustain apartheid in the old way and has therefore had to enter into talks with the ANC;
3. That despite the advances made by the liberation movement, the De Klerk regime still retains the capacity to implement counter-measures on a whole range of fronts, and that its objective is to retain the essentials of white domination under a new guise;
4. That the regime seeks to discredit and weaken the ANC and other democratic forces, claim legitimacy for itself as the main agent of change, divide the forces of liberation while broadening its own base, pacify the masses and thus become the supreme manager of the current period.

AND BELIEVING THAT:

1. The struggle for the elimination of apartheid colonialism should intensify until a democratic constitution and government are in place;
2. It is in the interest of the people of South Africa that the negotiating process should seek to

place political power in their hands in the shortest possible time;

3. The negotiating process should involve the widest spectrum of the people and their various democratic formations ensuring that they determine the final outcome through mass action;

4. Negotiations must be conducted on the basis of consultation and accountability between the leadership and ANC structures;

5. Negotiations can only succeed in the context of intensified struggle on all fronts and in combination with other forms of struggle.

REAFFIRMS:

That the ANC remains committed to the elimination of apartheid in all its manifestations and the creation of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state;

BELIEVING THAT such a transformation can only be achieved through the all round intensification of struggle against the regime;

COMMITTS itself to strengthen and direct all four pillars of our struggle, to strengthen the ANC in negotiations, while simultaneously remaining prepared for any attempts by reactionary forces to defeat the process.

WITH REGARD TO THE FOUR PILLARS, CONFERENCE BELIEVES THAT:

1.1 **Mass organisation** and mobilisation is at the centre of our struggle;

1.2 This entails ANC involvement, including actions through organs of people's power, in day-to-day activities of the people on all fronts. Such action would also entail demands related to transition, particularly for a sovereign Interim Government and sovereign Constituent Assembly, and the question of the transfer of power;

1.3 That the ANC is a national liberation movement providing leadership to its members and the oppressed and democratic forces of South Africa generally, over a wide range of issues. The ANC is not a political party. In formulating our policies for a democratic South Africa these should relate to mass struggles and provide opportunities for the masses to assert their just demands;



Eastern Transvaal delegates lead the Conference in a lively song

2. **The underground** remains essential and needs to be strengthened since the process of change is not irreversible and violent acts of counter-revolution against the forces of liberation and the oppressed people in general continue to be perpetrated;

3.1 **Armed struggle:** Armed action has been suspended, but the armed struggle remains a pillar of our struggle.

In a situation where the regime pursues or allows violence against us as part of its negotiations strategy it is essential for us to strengthen our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, contribute decisively to building the defensive capacity of communities who are victims or potential victims of the current reign of terror;

3.2 We also need to undertake various measures to prepare to build an army of a democratic South Africa;

4. **The international pillar** of our struggle has to be strengthened. Governments and international solidarity groups need to be given a clear understanding of the current situation and the perspectives of the ANC.

The international community needs to continue their work against apartheid until a new democratic constitution is in place. At the same time the ANC

needs to actively seek support of and pressure from the international community for an end to the violence against our people, the demand for a sovereign Interim Government, sovereign Constituent Assembly and a democratic constitution. In all its international work the ANC needs to ensure that it retains the initiative.

CONFERENCE FURTHER RESOLVES:

1. To continue pursuing negotiations as a means towards achieving our strategic objective of transfer of power to the people;

2. To strengthen the ANC as a mass-based, democratic organisation, rooted amongst the people, through systematic organisation and mobilisation;

3. To increase the capacity of the ANC to creatively lead the people in mass action, and for the masses to participate actively and take initiatives at various levels.

BELIEVING:

That this process can be facilitated by the strengthening of the tripartite alliance of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu, as a fighting force at national, regional and local levels;



RECOGNISING:

That the goals of the ANC can best be achieved by uniting the broadest range of people behind its democratic goals;

COMMITTS ITSELF:

1. To move speedily towards the building of a broad patriotic front to further the achievement of common democratic goals;

2. And to go beyond this and draw in as many categories of people and organisations behind the broad goals of non-racialism, non-sexism and democracy;

3. To devise and implement a programme of action aimed at keeping the initiative in the hands of the democratic forces and compelling the government to meet our just demands.

EXPRESSES ITS DETERMINATION:

1. That our strategies and tactics will be informed by the experience of all our people, including those sections of our population which are not sufficiently involved in the ANC;

2. Our strategy and tactics will also be informed by the experience of women, especially African women who are the most oppressed section of our population;

3. That the organisation will increase its emphasis on rural areas and bantustans and all other areas being given insufficient attention;

4. To marshal the necessary personnel and resources to implement an effective negotiations programme;

5. That the period ahead will be one of intensified struggle that will see decisive steps towards achievement of our basic demands leading towards the transfer of power to the people and peace under a democratic constitution.

On negotiations

1. Conference reaffirms that the possibility exists of achieving the transfer of power to the people and the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa by peaceful means.

2. This possibility has come about as a result of the heroic struggles of our people which have included mass action, armed struggle and underground work, supported by anti-apartheid actions of the international community.

3. To achieve the strategic objective of our struggle, it is vital that we continue to combine all forms

of struggle, drawing in the widest spectrum of the people.

4. Accordingly, the speedy realisation of a democratic settlement requires that negotiations which constitute an additional terrain of the struggle should be linked to a continuing mass struggle and international pressure. This is because the gains made in the mass struggle will be reflected at the negotiations table. Negotiations do not win our freedom, but represent the recognition of the victories we win on the ground.

5. Conference supports and endorses the strategy for negotiations outlined in the Harare and UN Declarations adopted in 1989. Conference instructs the NEC in consultation with other members of the tripartite alliance to elaborate a comprehensive approach to negotiations.

6. In this context, Conference notes that the Pretoria regime has not yet removed all the obstacles to negotiations identified in these Declarations and has thereby blocked progress towards the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations.

7. Furthermore, the campaign of terror carried out against the people intended to destabilise society, intimidate the people, undermine and weaken the ANC, its allies and the rest of the democratic movement is an obstacle to the objective of creating a climate conducive to negotiations and to free political activity and association.

8. Conference therefore demands that the Pretoria regime acts immediately to unblock the path leading to the creation of the necessary climate by removing the obstacles to negotiations.

9. Conference denounces and condemns the Pretoria regime which, by delaying the process of negotiation, seeks to strengthen itself, weaken the democratic movement and discredit genuine negotiations.

10. Conference directs the NEC in consultation with the RECs and our allies to ensure the implementation of a programme of action to ensure the defeat of this strategy. Such action should aim to draw in the broad democratic movement and the masses of our people and the world anti-apartheid movement.

11. In the light of the fact that for the foreseeable future there will continue to exist counter-revolutionary elements opposed to the democratic trans-



formation of South Africa, and recognising that there is a strategic relationship between the maintenance of peace and the possibility of a negotiated settlement, Conference resolves that the ANC should at all times act decisively to defend the people while it conducts an uninterrupted offensive to defeat the apartheid system.

12. Conference therefore resolves that all necessary measures be taken to mobilise the people of South Africa as a whole to engage in action in defence of peace. Conference further resolves that the ANC should assist all communities to build the capacity to defend themselves against counter-revolutionary violence.

13. MK should maintain its combat readiness and vigilance to enable it to intervene decisively should the anti-democratic forces block the path to a peaceful settlement.

14. Conference endorses and supports the initiative already taken by church and business organisations to convene a peace conference.

15. Conference further resolves that all necessary measures be taken to activate the international community to join the offensive against counter-revolutionary violence.

16. In keeping with the provisions contained in the Harare and UN Declarations, Conference reaffirms the crucial importance of the following steps, which must be taken consequent to the removal of ALL obstacles:

- a. The convening of the All-Party Congress;
- b. The installation of an Interim Government;
- c. The election of a democratic Constituent Assembly; and
- d. The adoption of a democratic constitution and the election of a parliament representative of all the people of South Africa.

17. Conference further resolves that these objectives should be achieved within a definite time frame, to ensure that the process of negotiations is not drawn out.

18. Conference reaffirms the positions of the ANC that all the people of our country should be involved in the process of negotiating their future. Accordingly, it reiterates our standpoint that negotiations shall not be secret.

19. Conference further directs the NEC to take immediate steps to ensure that a comprehensive

and representative team comprising all chief negotiators, working groups and researchers, which shall function under the supervision and direction of the NEC, is established. The NEC shall ensure that in all such organs and structures there is adequate and fair participation of women.

20. Conference directs the NEC as a matter of extreme urgency, to take steps to ensure the creation of appropriate and effective mechanisms for consultation and communication with the membership. To realise this objective the NEC shall ensure that the necessary resources are made available.

21. Furthermore, Conference directs the NEC to take immediate steps to ensure the creation of appropriate and effective mechanisms for the involvement of the allies of the ANC in the process of negotiations.

22. In the mean time, and subject to this resolution, Conference mandates the NEC to continue with the process of talks about talks and invests it with discretionary powers, within the policies of the ANC.

23. Conference resolves that everything should be done to build maximum unity among the forces committed to the perspective of a non-racial, non-sexist democracy and to ensure that such forces act in unity throughout the process of negotiations. In this regard it resolves that determined efforts are made to establish a front of patriotic forces as soon as possible. All participants in this Patriotic Front shall retain their organisational independence and sovereignty.

On violence

NOTING THAT:

1. Many thousands of our people have been attacked and killed and continue to be killed, especially in the recent period, by apartheid-sponsored violence carried out by Inkatha, askaris, bantustan death forces and others whose aim is to weaken and destroy the ANC and other democratic forces.

2. This violence is taking place in a counter-revolutionary context directed by agencies of the state, and its surrogate forces in the form of councillors, warlords, vigilantes, death squads and certain white rightwing elements.

3. The ANC, together with other democratic forces such as Cosatu, UDF and churches, has attempted to find peaceful solutions to violence by:



High spirits among delegates at the ANC conference

- a) entering into peace talks with Inkatha;
- b) making submissions, representations and demands to the South African government to end the violence.

4. Despite the past peace initiatives with Inkatha, violence still persists and despite the machinery at the disposal of the regime, it is refusing to take the necessary steps to end the violence.

5. The response of the democratic forces in dealing with this counter-revolutionary violence has not been adequate and that the December 1990 National Consultative Conference took a resolution to build defence committees and that the organisation has made insufficient progress in the setting up of defence committees.

6. The recent peace initiative by church and business leaders is aimed at involving all organisations in South Africa in strategies to end the violence.

BELIEVING:

- 1. That the violence aims to:
 - a) destabilise the ANC and other democratic forces.
 - b) ensure that the government dictates the pace

of transition in terms of its own agenda.

- c) create a state of confusion and demoralisation in our ranks and among our people in an attempt to alienate them from our movement.

2. That violence is part of a counter revolutionary strategy to maintain white domination in new forms.

3. The ending or containing of the violence should be at the top of the agenda of the ANC and the democratic movement.

4. That our right to self defence is not limited by any agreement entered into by the movement.

WE THEREFORE RESOLVE:

1. To support the current peace initiative of the church and business leaders in:

- a) developing a code of conduct for the security forces.
- b) developing a code of conduct for political organisations.
- c) developing an enforcement mechanism to monitor the codes that will involve a wide range of groupings.
- d) developing a programme of reconstruction.



2. To mandate the incoming NEC to give a deadline to the appropriate structures by which time it must have completed its task of forming self defence units in all areas, and to take definite steps to provide all possible resources and assistance required.

3. To embark on a programme of national and international mass action within the context of our demands for:

- a) the removal of all obstacles to creating a climate for negotiations.
- b) the dismantling of all apartheid structures.
- c) an interim government and a constituent assembly.

4. To embark on a publicity campaign both locally and internationally to expose the true nature of the violence.

5. To reaffirm our demands contained in the NEC letter of 5 April 1991 addressed to de Klerk.

6. To establish structures on a branch, regional and national level with our partners within the tripartite alliance and other democratic formations to coordinate our strategies in responding to the violence.

On building the ANC

Having examined in depth and critically the strengths and weaknesses of the Movement; having identified the opportunities and threats to the ANC, the Commission, therefore,

RESOLVES THAT:

1. On the Youth League membership

1.1. A special commission should be set up to investigate our inability to draw in all the Youth League membership over 18 years of age into the ANC

1.2. The ANC Department of Arts and Culture should initiate sports and cultural activities in consultation with the Youth League Department of Sports and Culture, to generate excitement that will attract the youth

1.3. Clarity must be given by this Conference on the implications and meaning of the concepts "autonomous and independence" with regard to the ANC Leagues.

2. On the Tripartite Alliance

2.1. A joint commission with the two other mem-

bers of the Tripartite Alliance should be set up to investigate the reasons for the inability of the Alliance to function effectively at the grassroots level, and make recommendations for the redressal of the situation. The investigation should include reasons for our inability to attract Cosatu membership into the ANC.

3. On the Civics and Local Government

3.1. The ANC should develop a clear policy on local government with special reference to the roles of Civics and branches in this regard, bearing in mind that the Civics have been the formations occupying this terrain of struggle

3.2. The Department of Local Government should establish clear structural and functional relations with the Civics to avoid tensions and resultant confusion

4. On strategic campaigns

4.1. The ANC should conduct door-to-door campaigns and house visits, especially in the middle classes in all communities – preferably by the highly disciplined and politically clear leadership – to explain the history and policies of the ANC

4.2. That the ANC should develop a coherent strategic programme of action with clear goals which is actively pursued despite the obstacles that may be encountered such as outbreaks of violence.

4.3. That the ANC should draw on the experience of the UDF in reaching the masses of our people

4.4. That the ANC should put over the message in accessible languages to all the oppressed and exploited masses

4.5. Noting that: there is a need to link our campaigns for an Interim Government, a Constituent Assembly and against violence to the concrete issues affecting the lives of the people; Conference resolves therefore that the incoming NEC should start a national campaign on the following three crisis areas that affect our people:

- housing
- unemployment
- education

4.6. That the ANC should, in preparation for a Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government embark on a massive Literacy Campaign, jointly with the NECC, and this should be linked to massive Intensive Learning Campaign

5. On political education

5.1. The Department of Political Education should develop a comprehensive national political education programme, with special focus on the gender question and the history and policies of the



ANC, in the languages understood and spoken by the people

5.2. Where commissars, whether from abroad or internally based, are present, they should be deployed to do political education work amongst the oppressed

5.3. An extensive political educational campaign/programme should be started to explain the need for, and the nature of a liberation front with other organisations like PAC, Azapo

5.4. The Department of Political Education should draw up a national calendar which will serve as a guide for all regions and branches on timeframes according to which issues like current state of political developments, policies of the ANC, should be discussed.

6. On the public image of the ANC

6.1. A mechanism, constitutional if needs be, should be established to ensure that inter-departmental co-ordination, particularly at national level, takes place to avoid individualism and incoherence in public pronouncements on policy matters.

6.2. A strong disciplinary code should be formulated and be strictly enforced on all members and employees of the ANC, at all levels, to avoid conduct that could tarnish the image of the ANC

6.3. The incoming NEC should order all ANC marshalls to wear a standard uniform and carry appropriately designed identity cards at all functions of the ANC

6.4. All marshalls should receive a standard training that must incorporate lessons on the expected conduct of a marshall

7. On the diverse strands within the Movement

Conference should order the incoming NEC to develop a national programme to integrate the rich, but diverse, political and cultural experiences of our membership, to overcome a "them and us" syndrome which might have adverse political consequences on the image and unity of the ANC

8. On International Contacts

8.1. The ANC should utilise its extensive international contacts to access skills and resources for educational and developmental purposes.

8.2. As interest and support for the anti-apartheid cause diminishes, due to the De Klerk regime's initiatives, the ANC has to examine ways and means of becoming self-reliant as quickly as possible

9. On Employment/Administrative practices

9.1. The incoming NEC should evolve a staff code to ensure professionalism in the regulation

and co-ordination of staff conduct in all offices of the ANC, at all levels.

9.2. The Secretary General's Office should develop a comprehensive basic administrative skills training programme to enhance the skills-quality of our office operatives

9.3. The Organising Department should establish simple procedures to deal with lost membership cards and the renewal of membership, with special reference to what the ANC's membership year is.

9.4. To tackle the gross administrative inefficiency (especially in regard to the telephone service at national and regional levels)

9.5. The NEC should work against the concentration of leadership at the Head Office, and should ensure that delegated responsibilities to the regional formations is implemented.

10. On relations with supportive professionals and businesspeople

Proper canvassing and consultations must precede mass actions, where these will affect supportive professional and businesspersons, for both logistical and political reasons provided that no relationship is built with these businesspeople at the expense of the employees and the implementation of mass actions.

11. On the rural areas

11.1. The incoming NEC should start a development programme on rural areas based on strong democratic organs of people's power and accountable leadership.

11.2. Conference recommends that henceforth, the ANC NEC make it a practice that whenever leadership meet bantustan leaders, local leadership be part of such talks/meetings/consultations

11.3. Further, that Conference instruct the incoming NEC to convene a consultative inter-regional workshop to discuss the many issues affecting mobilisation, relationship, demarcations in the rural areas.

11.4. Conference instructs the incoming ANC NEC to avail maximum resources for rural mobilisation, organisation and campaigns.

11.5. Conference empowers the incoming NEC to appoint a special commission to urgently investigate the extent and the effects of the glaring lack of resources in rural areas – report back to the NEC within three months and advise on practical and significant steps to be undertaken in order to redress the appalling situation which obviously is the major factor contributing to the weakness of the movement in such areas.

11.6. Noting that the structures of the ANC are weak in the rural areas and noting further that prac-



tical steps need to be taken to redress the situation, conference therefore recommends that the incoming NEC should set up a commission to investigate the causes of this weakness, and report back not later than three months after the commencement of the investigation.

11.7. In the light of problems in recruiting membership in the hostile bantustans, the negotiating task force should include in the process of talks-about-talks the removal of obstacles as posed by repressive bantustans as well as commitment to the dissolution of these structures.

These efforts will reassure ANC members and encourage non-members to join the organisation in these bantustans.

11.8. Noting that there are serious problems in membership recruitment in the hostile bantustans and noting further that there is a dire need to re-assure ANC members and to encourage non-members to join the movement in these bantustans Conference therefore resolves that the incoming NEC should order its negotiating task force to include the repression of ANC members in these bantustans as an obstacle to negotiations and that the incoming NEC should demand a total dissolution of these bantustans.

11.9. NEC is directed to convene a meeting of all regions to consider inter alia a strategic approach to the bantustans and political parties. Such a meeting to take place within 60 days.

11.10. There is urgent need to disseminate a questionnaire to all regions requesting information on:

- organisational difficulties and level of repression locally and regionally – what political parties have been established? what role do they play/or relationship with the ANC branches in the region
- to what extent are youth wings being established and for what purpose? (unemployed youth appear to be the target for recruitment into bantustan para-military forces)

12. On consultation and communication

12.1. Noting that at the National Consultative Conference in December it was resolved that mechanisms be established for purposes of consultation between the leadership and membership, particularly with regard to negotiations and noting further that such mechanisms have not been established conference therefore resolves that the incoming NEC should order that the Organising Committee develop such a consultation mechanism, in co-operation with regions and branches, as a matter of ur-

gency for implementation during the next three years.

That progress thereof should be evaluated on an on-going basis, and that the Secretary General should include this evaluation in his report to the next National Conference.

12.2. NEC is to improve two-way communication between Head Quarters and Regional Eexecutive Committees and Regional Eexecutive Committees and branches.

13. On organisational restructuring

13.1. Noting the changed circumstances in which the ANC operates today and having received and accepted the reports of the work of the ANC in exile and over the past 18 months within the country and recognising the necessity of ensuring a minimum of bureaucracy, clear lines of communications and accountability nationally, regionally and at branch level now therefore instructs the NEC to immediately appoint a commission to examine the organisational structure.

Further that the commission should assess and redefine the authority, responsibility and accountability of the inter-relationship between and amongst the ANC's restructured departments. This commission should be required to report not later than 30th October 1991.

14. On Women

The incoming NEC should establish a mechanism that will specifically :

- concentrate on the recruitment of all women from all sectors and levels in our society both urban and rural
- consolidate and strengthen the participation of women within the organisation
- assist to strengthen the ANC Women's League

15. On minority groups

Conference instructs the NEC to convene a National Consultative Conference of persons drawn from the different minority groups who are not ANC members to consider ways and means of drawing these communities closer to the ANC.

16. On countering state propaganda

The DPE in conjuncture with the Department of Information and Publicity should look into the viability of establishing a weekly newsletter which the ANC can use to counter the state and commercial media's propaganda aimed at undermining the ANC in the minds of the masses of our people.

**ANC President
Nelson Mandela
visiting ANC
camps soon after
his release from
prison in 1990**



On Umkhonto we Sizwe

PREAMBLE

Noting that MK has played an important role in the last 30 years in bringing about the immense political victories we have scored and the political situation to its present level;

Noting that while we have suspended armed activities we however have not abandoned armed struggle;

And further noting that the agenda of the regime is to hold on to power by among other things destabilising the NLM by engineering or conniving at violence against the people;

And further noting that the regime deliberately misinterprets the clause on related activities in a manner that attempts to render the ANC impotent and our people defenceless;

THEREFORE RESOLVES:

1. That the ANC shall maintain and develop MK until the adoption of a democratic constitution and the creation of a new defence force into which cadres of MK will be integrated. Until such a point is reached the equipment of the movement shall NOT be surrendered to the regime;

2. MK shall remain in constant combat readiness;

3. The ANC accepts full responsibility for cadres arrested and/or detained by police and security organs in the course of the execution of their duties in

defence of the people;

4. The ANC shall establish structures of MK throughout the country at all levels including the establishment of offices and the provision of resources for such activities;

5. The ANC shall be entrusted with the task to popularise the demand for a single military force that will uphold and defend the values of democracy in our country.

FURTHER RESOLVES:

that the role of MK in the present period shall be:

1. To act in defence of peace and stability to guarantee the people's political victories by imparting the necessary skills;

2. To participate in the rebuilding and organisation of the ANC;

3. To act in defence of the personnel and property of the ANC;

4. To encourage MK cadres to join and to channel their political concerns through the established branches.

FINALLY RESOLVES:

That the NEC take full responsibility for the transferring of funds to regions for the maintenance, development and general welfare of all MK cadres, both inside and outside the country and that proper and appropriate binding mechanisms be established to ensure this

and

that the NEC shall take steps to ensure the marking of the 30th anniversary of MK throughout the country.



On foreign policy

The 48th National Conference of the ANC, meeting in Durban, South Africa from 2-6 July, 1991:

Reaffirming that the Freedom Charter, the basic policy document of the ANC, constitutes the firm foundation for the conduct of the ANC's international relations;

Recalling the foreign policy guidelines elaborated at and adopted by the ANC National Consultative Conferences at Kabwe, 1985 and Johannesburg, 1990;

Further recalling the decisions of the ANC-sponsored World Conference against Apartheid, for a Democratic South Africa held in Arusha, Tanzania, in 1987;

Further reaffirming that both the Harare Declaration of the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa define the basis of an internationally acceptable solution of the South African conflict, and therefore outline the parameters within which the relations between South Africa and the rest of the world can be normalised;

Recognising that the conduct of the ANC's foreign policy must take into account the realities of contemporary international relations, characterised in part by:

a) A general universal tendency towards the establishment of political systems whose features include multi-party democracy, respect for individual human rights and movement away from centrally-planned economies;

b) a tendency towards the disappearance of the cold war and a departure from the conduct of international relations on the basis of a bi-polar world order, dominated by the conflicting interests of the super-powers and the two military blocs, Nato and the Warsaw Pact, which latter is being phased out;

Cognisant that the resolute struggles waged in South Africa by our people, under the leadership of the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement, supported by the international community, have resulted in a shift in the balance of forces inside South Africa, a circumstance which is leading to the redefinition of the relations between South Africa and the rest of the world;

Aware that our foreign policy must be informed by the understanding that South Africa has entered a critical period in the struggle to end the apartheid system and establish a non-racial and non-sexist democracy and that the white minority regime has been obliged to accept the demand for genuine ne-



International campaign for sanctions

gotiations, as outlined in the Harare and UN Declarations, which, among others, envisage the following stages:

- The removal of obstacles to negotiations;
- The acceptance of interim mechanisms to oversee the period of transition from apartheid to a new democratic order;
- The adoption of a democratic constitution, the democratic election of a representative parliament and the establishment of a new government;

Also aware that the victories scored by the democratic forces, including the fact that the regime has been obliged to repeal the so-called legislative pillars of apartheid, have given rise to a tendency among a growing number of countries towards the premature lifting of sanctions against the apartheid regime as a reward for the measures undertaken by the De Klerk regime;

Cognisant of the fact that ways and means should be found by which to arrest the process of the erosion of sanctions to ensure that the democratic movement does not lose this weapon, which will

be required until a democratic constitution has been adopted;

Reaffirming that the main thrust of our foreign policy must be the attainment of the objectives contained in the Harare and UN Declarations, namely, mobilising the world community to assist towards the speedy eradication of apartheid as well as helping to move the process of negotiations forward towards the creation of a non-racial and non-sexist democratic South Africa;

NOW RESOLVES AS FOLLOWS:

1. ON SANCTIONS

The primary objective of sanctions is to end apartheid. Since, despite the measures which the regime has been compelled to take, apartheid is still in place, the international community must continue to utilise this weapon to maintain pressure on the regime to expedite forward movement to the attainment of the objective of a non-racial democracy.

Because it is essential that the sanctions weapon is not lost, the international community should be urged to listen to the view of the democratic forces and not seek to reward the apartheid regime. Sanctions must therefore be used creatively in order to arrest the erosion that has occurred, push the peace process forward and attain the objective of a democratic South Africa as speedily as possible.

Accordingly, sanctions should continue to be used as a necessary form of pressure.

Specified groups of sanctions should be used to achieve the strategic objectives listed below, each one of which is critical to the process of transformation:

- a) The removal by the regime of obstacles to negotiations, as stipulated in the Harare and UN Declarations, as well as the implementation of effective measures by Pretoria to end violence;
- b) The installation of an Interim Government according to agreed transitional arrangements and modalities on the transition to a democratic order;
- c) The adoption of a democratic constitution and the holding of free and fair elections for a non-racial parliament and a representative government.

In this connection, the National Executive Committee as a matter of urgency is called upon in consultation with our allies, to determine the precise formulation of this process, acting in broad consultation internally and in coordination with the anti-apartheid forces worldwide.

These forces include the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations, as well as non-governmental anti-apartheid and solidarity forces.

2. ON THE MOBILISATION OF ANTI-APARTHEID FORCES

The anti-apartheid movement world-wide has greatly assisted in creating an extensive world constituency that has compelled governments to place the issue of apartheid on their political agendas. This constituency has also served as an important source of material assistance.

During the period of transition from apartheid to democracy, the role of the international anti-apartheid movement will continue to be highly critical in strengthening the hand of the democratic forces. In this regard, the anti-apartheid movement has the task to sensitise the international community towards its obligation of assisting the people of South Africa to effect the transformations which will result in the suppression of the crime of apartheid and the institution of a social order which will uphold the objectives contained in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations.

Furthermore, the world anti-apartheid movement should prepare adequately for an important post-apartheid role. Such a role is dictated by the enormous socio-economic inequalities that will remain the legacy of apartheid and that cannot be addressed by a mere removal of apartheid legislation from the statute books.

Conference resolves that, within a year, a conference of the international anti-apartheid movement should be convened in South Africa to address these issues.

3. ON THE MOBILISATION OF FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL ASSISTANCE

The international community should be mobilised to assist the ANC and its allies, the force that constitutes the main agent of political change in South Africa, by providing material and financial resources to help us realise the following objectives:

- a) To empower the anti-apartheid forces to carry out the tasks of transforming South Africa from an apartheid to a democratic society. In this context, the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, needs to be assisted in order to facilitate its future integration into a new national army that will defend the country and the democratic order, while upholding the principles of the sovereignty of nations, regional stability and international peace and security;
- b) To assist in the evolution of development policies that will address the socio-economic imbalances resulting from apartheid, through training and research;



c) To assist post-apartheid South Africa to eliminate these imbalances and meet the expectations of the people. In this regard, the ANC must encourage such initiatives as the establishment of a South African Development Bank along similar lines to the Bank of Reconstruction and Development with regard to Eastern Europe.

4. ON REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The ANC, in pursuance of the objective of a democratic South Africa, must promote regional and international cooperation to meet the following perspectives:

- a) Further to advance the struggle for the liquidation of the apartheid system and the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial and non-sexist democracy;
- b) Actively to promote the objectives of democracy, peace, national independence, stability, development and prosperity, as well as promote Pan-African solidarity and mutually beneficial cooperation among the peoples, committed to the view that South Africa and its people will live with the rest of the world in conditions of peace, friendship and cooperation;
- c) To promote programmes directed at the protection of the environment;
- d) To help create a world free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. In this regard, to seek to promote the objectives of Africa and the Indian Ocean as nuclear-free zones and areas that would also be free of foreign military forces and bases;
- e) To work towards the admission of the democratic South Africa in such organisations as the SADCC, the PTA, the OAU, the ADB, the Lome Convention, the Non-Aligned Movement and the re-establishment of relations with the World Bank, the IMF and the United Nations.

5. ON ORGANISATIONAL MATTERS

Conference resolves that the NEC should reactivate the Commission on International Affairs, bearing in mind the new situation, to ensure wider participation within the movement with regard to discussion of foreign policy questions.

Conference further resolves that all regional committees of the ANC should establish sub-committees on international affairs which would liaise with the Department of International Affairs on foreign policy questions.

On policy development

Conference was not able to debate and take resolutions on a range of policy issues such as education, health and land, because of time constraints. The resolution below was adopted to ensure that the process of policy development is systematically implemented after National Conference.

THIS CONFERENCE, NOTING:

- 1) The urgent need to develop ANC policy on a number of issues;
- 2) That policy development is an ongoing process;
- 3) That this process of policy development has already been started at branch, regional and national levels;

RESOLVES TO:

- 1) Endorse the process of policy development that has already started;
- 2) Endorse the view that policy formulation is an ongoing developmental process;
- 3) Convene a national policy conference of mandated representatives from regions and departments within the next six months to make policy proposals to the NEC for adoption and implementation;
- 4) Mandate the NEC to appoint a national planning committee to convene such a conference and plan regional programmes in preparation for this conference.

Endorsed by the Departments of:
 Economic Policy
 Legal and Constitutional Affairs
 Projects
 Health
 Education
 Social Welfare
 Land Commission
 Local Government
 Science and Technology Group and
 Finance



Closing address

ANC President Nelson Mandela



Newly-elected ANC president Nelson Mandela and national chairman Oliver Tambo

Comrades, I must first thank the independent Electoral Commission for the excellent work they have done. Their work has been professional in the proper sense of the word. They briefed us very carefully and very patiently about the procedure that was going to be adopted, and all of us clearly understood what they required. They put aside long hours in order that they should keep up with the pressure of work which the extraordinarily large number of delegates cast upon them. We will forever remain indebted to them for their magnificent performance.

I would also like to thank the National Preparatory Committee which made the elaborate arrangements in order that this Conference should take place according to plan. I also thank our comrades in Durban for their efforts. I must express, as I did in my opening speech, our appreciation to Professor Reddy for having made this university available to us in order to hold this Conference. It is an indication of the changing times, because this

university was established as a bush college. It was never intended that an organisation like the ANC would hold a conference in a place of this nature.

DAUNTING TASK

You have entrusted me with the presidency of the ANC. It is a daunting task. In February last year shortly after I was released from prison I travelled all the way to Sweden to visit Comrade Oliver Tambo as he was recuperating in a clinic. One of the first things I told him was that in view of his state of health he was no longer in a position to carry out his duties as President. He then offered to resign from that post. I pointed out to him that it was not necessary for him to do so. He must give himself and ourselves a chance to let him carry out his duties and those of us who had worked with him over the years would see how his duties were carried out in his absence, and that if by the next conference of the ANC he still felt that he could not discharge his



Some of the thousands of ANC supporters who attended the rally at Kings Park Stadium in Durban after the ANC conference.

duties, he should leave the matter entirely until the next conference. Although he tried to persuade me I staunchly refused to accede to his request. However, as I told you the other day, he again approached the NEC and indicated that he was not available to serve. We then released him. You have now given me this responsibility. It will not be very easy for me to follow the giant footsteps of Comrade OR. Comrade OR, who is affectionately known as Chief to his comrades, paved the way forward with gold, the gold of his humanity, his warmth, his democratic spirit, tolerance and above all intellectual brilliance, which in the end outwitted the racists in this country.

Of course, comrades, no struggle can depend on one person. The struggle is basically a collective affair. But there are exceptions to every rule, and looking at the history of the 30 last years of exile, one may be tempted to think that Comrade OR is that exception. As I pointed out, I know his humility, I will not continue to embarrass him by with further praise; it is sufficient to say there is not enough rain in the skies for us to be able to shower on him the honour he deserves.

We have had the privilege to participate in one of the most democratic processes this country has ever seen. During the past five days we have witnessed a process which will be remembered in the

history of the ANC and the country as a whole as having set a standard for democratic participation. This historic conference has had a total of 2,244 voting delegates who were democratically elected at branches. Eighty five percent of this number were elected from the branches inside the country. We have changed the face of conferences to come by having the participation of our membership, represented in the steering committee and the preparatory committee of this conference through their regional representatives. Thus, comrades, we are all responsible for the successes we have achieved here today.

DEBATES

Debates leading up to this conference included rigorous debate within branches and at regional level on the policies which formed the basis of the debate at this Conference. The discussions within the plenary and in the commissions were remarkable for their frankness. Criticisms were given and taken in a debate organised to facilitate such a process. This conference has reflected the shifts we have made in our own organisation, and the transformation from a banned illegal formation to a mass based and democratic organisation. And this conference has also reflected the amount of work we



have to do to consolidate our policies among all the people in this country.

We have achieved an important milestone in our history, and that is a merging of the different strands of our organisation. The lessons we have learnt from our experiences in exile have been strengthened by the lessons we have learnt from all our attempts to build a mass-based ANC inside the country. These processes have allowed outstanding men and women to emerge as our leadership, and today we can say the process at all levels has begun. And exiles are strengthened by the wealth of experience of those of our cadres who built organisation in the towns, in rural areas of our country, at a branch and leadership level. This executive we have just elected is a clear indication of this fact. We have both leaders from exile and leaders from inside who are now entrusted with the task of leading the overwhelming majority of our population, indeed of leading the whole country to a new South Africa. We have adopted a constitution which provides for the fullest participation of the membership at grass-roots level, and a national leadership with the power to lead and guide on matters of the moment, as well as the major long-term issues facing us. I have the honour to congratulate the new leadership, and wish them success in their respective tasks.

OUTGOING EXECUTIVE

I must also pay and add my compliments and appreciation to the services of the outgoing executive and especially to those who have not been able to maintain their position. The fact that they have not been elected does not indicate dissatisfaction with their performance. I am sure they will be the first to understand that that is how the democratic process works. It is me today, it will be comrade Cheryl Carolus tomorrow who will lead this organisation. We thank them. We are indebted to all of them for the amount of work they put in, and that is why today we have such a strong organisation. The logical question to pose is: what happens to those members of the executive who have not been able to be reelected. Many of them are fairly old. They cannot get employment in industry; they have to maintain families and send children to school. The ANC will have to look at the matter as a matter of urgency, and not allow men and women who have sacrificed so much to suffer. We have no resources but will do everything in our power to make their living conditions as bearable as possible.

The leadership we have elected here today reflects the national character of our people, including class and gender composition. Our people have

strong commitments to the goals that the overwhelming majority seeks, that of justice, peace, democracy, unity and non-racialism. Our people have elected a leadership mature in character, men and women who will lead our collective with brave foresight.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS

We will ensure that our strategy and tactics are informed by the experiences of all the people in this country. Comrades, it is our revolutionary duty to support this leadership and to guide it so that we will ensure that we involve the people as fully as possible in the vital decisions we have to make in this very critical period of our struggle. The non-racial unity of our country is non-negotiable, and may not be compromised. We also have to ensure that the policies we have adopted here are given the correct administrative support. We believe that it is not only the task of the NEC, but of every member of the ANC.

As I have said earlier, we have had a very serious debate here, and today we can return to our branches with clear mandates. On the question of negotiations, this conference has given us all a very clear mandate. We have reaffirmed the premise that negotiations is a terrain of struggle leading to our central objective, the transfer of power to the people. Delegates have determined that we are not yet in a state of transition. There still remains an enormous difference in the perceptions of the oppressed about the nature of the necessary changes that have to occur, and the character of future society; and that of the Nationalist Party government. We have determined here that we cannot accept the regime's claim to recognition as the main agency of change and the manager of the current period of transition. Conference thus confirmed the position as previously communicated to the regime.

EQUAL PARTNER

The ANC is an equal partner, and not simply an organisation that is to be informed or consulted by the regime. We have asserted that everything has been done to build maximum unity among the forces committed to the perspective of a non-sexist, non-racist democracy; and to ensure that such forces act in unity throughout the process of negotiations.

The leadership has been mandated to establish a patriotic front as soon as possible. Conference has also given this, the NEC, the mandate to establish a comprehensive and representative team of negotiators, to continue our task of ensuring that the trans-



President Mandela and other ANC leaders greet the crowds as they arrive at the ANC rally after the conference.

fer of power to the people is a peaceful one. We must also admit that the manner in which we have handled the negotiations up to now has been subject to severe criticism both inside and outside this hall. Some of these criticisms have been fair, have been valid. One of the criticisms has been that there has not been sufficient consultation before we entered negotiations on a particular issue. There has also been the fair criticism that there has been no systematic and regular reporting on the outcome of negotiations, and that the membership has remained ignorant of what was going on in these discussions. We fully acknowledge that criticism. We acknowledge it without reservation, and we can assure you that we have taken note of this fact, and that in future we will try and work as systematically as you have demanded.

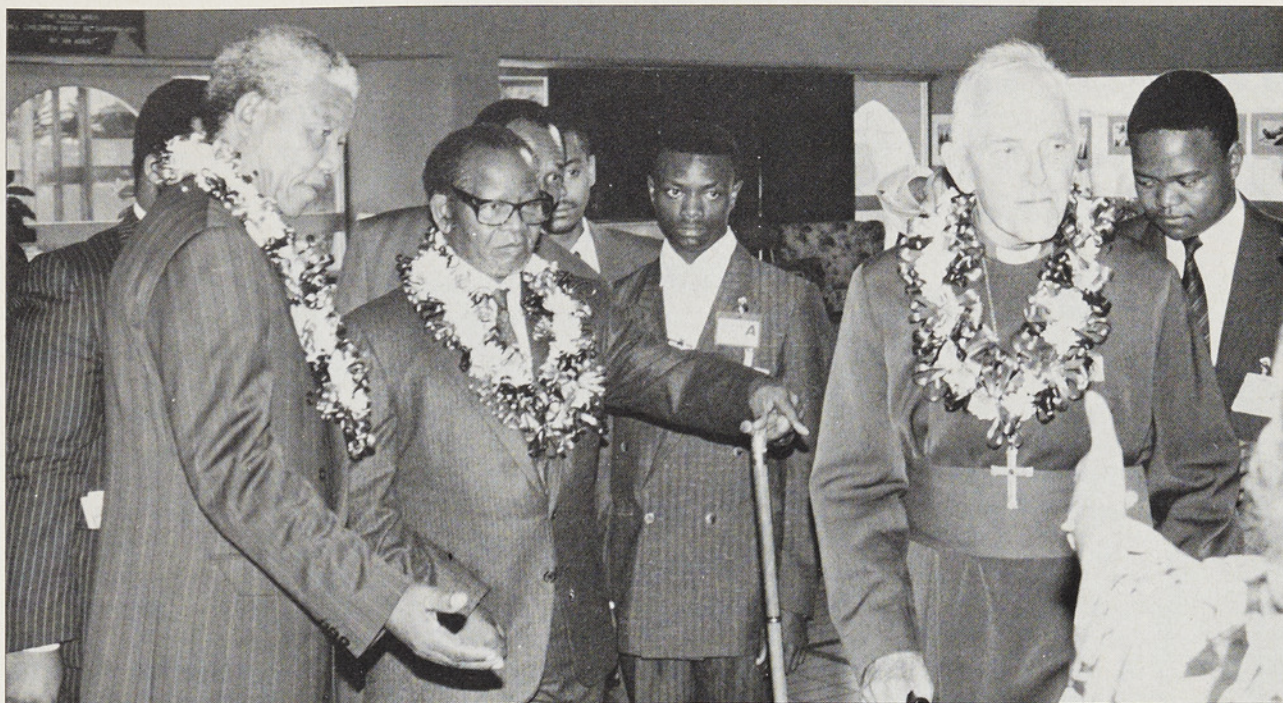
PROGRAMME OF ACTION

We have also resolved to build our organisation into a strong and well-oiled task force. The NEC has been mandated to take an inclusive approach to the question of building a programme of action to strengthen our organisation. Door-to-door campaigns to bring the policies of the ANC alive to the people, strengthening of the tripartite alliance, and

sensitivity to the fears expressed by minority groups in our country were debated, and we can confidently say that this conference has endorsed the perspective of building a mass-based ANC to the fullest extent. I think it is proper here to be absolutely brutal about our weaknesses in this regard.

MINORITY GROUPS

There has been no effective communication between the ANC and the minority groups of this country. Many of us have made the mistake of thinking that the mere declaration of our policy in the Freedom Charter, because it is the most progressive policy ever published by any political organisation in this country, meant that the masses would come rushing to join the ANC. This is not the position. Some of our structures have been so set up as to exclude the minority groups. That has been a serious weakness, because it indicates that the overwhelming majority of the Africans in this country are not taking into account the minority groups of this country. It is true that our policies are non-racial, but let us be realistic about it. There are different ethnic groups in this country, and ethnicity, especially because of the policies of the government, is still a dangerous threat to us. We have to redou-



Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Archbishop Trevor Huddleston arrive at the conference venue.

ble our efforts to make sure we have the confidence of all the different sections of the people of this country, something which is not there at the present moment.

VIOLENCE

Whilst we deliberated here our membership in the Vaal area and this province have been attacked by vigilantes and, it is believed, by some elements of the security forces. We will have to make certain that the resolutions taken here on violence are implemented, and that we reaffirm our resolve to defend our country from the attempts being made to destabilise the peace process. In this regard you will have noted the statement which appeared on television and in the press made by President De Klerk in which he condemned the attacks very strongly and expressed his sympathies to the victims of these cruel attacks. We welcome such a statement from President De Klerk. We have criticised him very harshly, and that criticism was justified, but when he does something which is commendable, it is part of honesty as public figures and as leaders to acknowledge it. When he makes a mistake, we will express ourselves quite openly on that point, as we have done on numerous occasions before. If he had done this right from the beginning, this violence would not have intensified to the state it has. We must defend our people at the same time as we push forward the process of leading to the transfer

of power to our people. We have to move faster on the question of achieving a Constituent Assembly. The power of our organised masses will outweigh any attempts to destabilise us. The Interim Government debate has been a long one, and we have reaffirmed our position that it would be incorrect for the Nationalist Party to continue to govern this country on its own, and we have resolved that an Interim Government would have to be formed in such a manner that it is broadly acceptable.

MK COMMISSION

The MK commission was lively and the debate well rounded. We have resolved that MK should have a structured relationship with all levels of the organisation, and that the organisation shall take responsibility for the maintenance of the army both inside and outside the country. We will do our very best in this regard.

On Friday I attended a session of the MK commission. It became clear to me after listening to the speakers that the problems of MK cannot be properly addressed in a one-day commission. A separate conference of MK cadres attended by leading members of the NEC is necessary if justice is to be done to their complaints. The question of the suspension of armed action will be an important question on the agenda. It has already surfaced in the discussions that we have had. Although we have given what we regarded as an adequate explanation for



having taken this action, nevertheless dissatisfaction continues to surface, and it is our duty to address that question.

Sanctions, as you all witnessed, also generated a great deal of debate, and I hope I am not patronising when I say Cde Thabo Mbeki handled this matter very well. I did not have the opportunity of listening to his entire address, but the little bit that I had the privilege to listen to I endorse it without reservation, because it is an attempt to get the delegates as well as the organisation not to rely on mere rhetoric but to look at the problem as it is developing. We want to continue to hold the line on the question of sanctions, and unless there is a great deal of flexibility and imagination we will be left holding a shell and nothing else.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

We will continue to call on the international community to support the position of the ANC for peace and unity in this country. We have asked conference to consider the question of using a phased perspective on the question of sanctions, and we have not been disappointed in the vision of our people. Sanctions have been a potent weapon, and we have made many gains. We have to continue to achieve maximum benefit out of this strategy. Many of our friends are under pressure to lift sanctions, and will not do so without consulting the ANC. We have to make a particular comment on the position taken by the Danish Parliament, whose position is to ensure that the EEC maintain sanctions until all the conditions in the Harare Declaration have been met. We also have to make particular comment on the position of the Bush Administration, whose position has been to consult the ANC before making any decision, even though the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act will force them to lift sanctions once all the apartheid laws are off the statute books. But we have problems with some of our colleagues in Africa, whose economies are strained as a result of the support they have shown to our cause. We cannot be inflexible in our approach to this particular policy.

I do not want my remarks to be misunderstood. We are calling for flexibility and for imagination; for an approach which is realistic. But our position is very clear: sanctions must continue to be maintained and applied. That is our position. The flexibility we want exercised is intended to ensure that this weapon is kept in our hands.

This conference has had a significant and historical debate on the question of the participation and representation of women, and this debate has car-

ried the ANC much further than it has ever been. This heated frank and open debate was one of the most important in this conference because we were talking about a fundamental principle, a fundamental policy of the ANC, firmly entrenched in our alliance. We have to begin to work on mechanisms which ensure that affirmative action becomes positive reality. I can say with all confidence that after that debate, and after the women had demonstrated their intensity of feeling on this issue, the ANC will never be the same.

HOMELAND LEADERS

Then there is the question of the homeland leaders, which has been raised very strongly. Again, we must confess that we have made mistakes in this regard. It is true that in some areas we have entered discussions with homeland leaders without proper consultations with our grassroots members in that particular area. We must assure you that this mistake will be attended to and in fact it is already being attended to. One can quote a few examples. In KaNgwane we have been able to consult our local branch there and the region. Not only that, we have brought the homeland leaders, as well as our people, our comrades, in a joint meeting to discuss their differences. We have done the same thing in Gazankulu. Our local membership has been brought together with the homeland leaders there to discuss their differences and iron them out. The emphatic point is that this matter is already being attended to, and we appreciate the frankness of delegates on this matter.

MASS ACTION

Then there is the question of mass action. Many people have alleged that we are now giving more attention to negotiations and ignoring mass action. We regret to say that this is an allegation which is made by people who have no real idea of what is happening in their own organisation, in their own country. Because it is common knowledge that at no time in our history have we had so many forms of mass action as we have done during the last two years. So much so that our labour organisations have had to give us a warning that we must not just resort to mass action every time we get angry, that the question of mass action must be carefully examined because of the downturn in the economy of the country, and the high level of unemployment. And those people therefore who continue saying that we have abandoned mass action, with respect, they are not very sure of their facts.

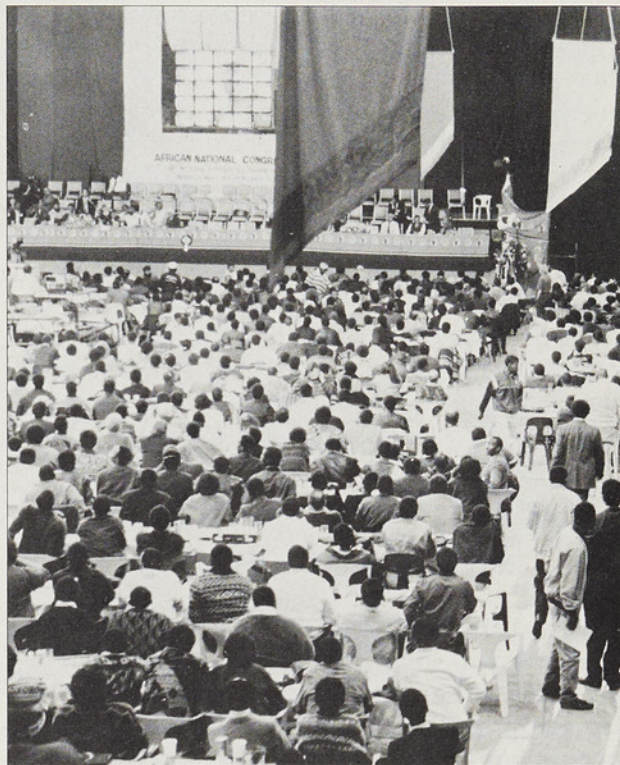
Because of the enthusiasm that has been shown here, I do not consider it necessary to go into details about our achievements. But perhaps it is necessary for me to just to say in very brief outline that the ANC in this country continues to hold the strategic initiative, and those people who say that the initiative has passed on to Mr De Klerk are just giving vent to their own wishes. The point is the ANC has made very significant achievements. It has been able to isolate the regime. As comrade OR showed in his address, we have no less than 40 representatives with foreign governments, and sanctions continue to bite deep in the coffers of this country. We were able to reject the conditions which the government sought to impose for the release of political prisoners; they said before they could release us we must condemn violence, we must distance ourselves from the Communist Party; we must go to the homelands, to rule ourselves there comfortably without interference. We rejected all those conditions, and today, all the political prisoners covered by the definitions to which I referred are back with us, without signing any of those conditions.

IDEOLOGICAL LEVEL

Most important, we have made a gain on the ideological level. The government during the last 40 years has told the country and the world that the solution to the problems of this country was the policy of apartheid, in which blacks would continue to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. On the contrary we announced a non-racial policy; we announced that we were and still are fighting for a democratic South Africa, moulded on the principle of one person, one vote. The government has now admitted they were wrong and we were right. They have embraced our policy, and there could be no greater victory than that.

On the question of sanctions, where they say sanctions are crumbling, that may be true but they are exaggerating the matter; they do not tell us that the decision taken by the EEC countries in December last year to lift sanctions on gold and iron ore, those decisions cannot be taken because of a decision of the Danish government; a decision of the EEC is that all decisions should be taken unanimously, and the decision of the Danish government rejecting the decision of the EEC makes that unanimity impossible; and that decision on the authority of the president of the EEC, to whom I spoke about three weeks ago, on his authority, that decision cannot be carried out until the Danish parliament changes its decision.

In conclusion, comrades, we are very happy in-



Delegates in session

deed to have had such a successful conference. We are happy about the contributions you have made, the constructive criticisms that you have brought forward. The leadership must listen to the membership, because we are here to serve the membership and our people. But you must also listen to us. You have given us a mandate to lead this organisation and we are going to do just that. But we are a great organisation which believes in collective responsibility. That collective responsibility means not only that the National Executive should take collective decisions, it means we must listen carefully to what you say, and take that into account in our political activities.

UNION BUILDINGS

We want you to know that you yourselves, whether you are on the National Executive or not, on the Regional Executive Committee, on the Branch Executive Committee or not, you as a member of the ANC are a leader in your own name and right; and it is in that spirit that we address you. It is in that spirit that we will listen to your criticisms and your suggestions, and if you do that there is no doubt that the road to Union Buildings and Tuynhuys has become all the shorter. ♦



International Guests

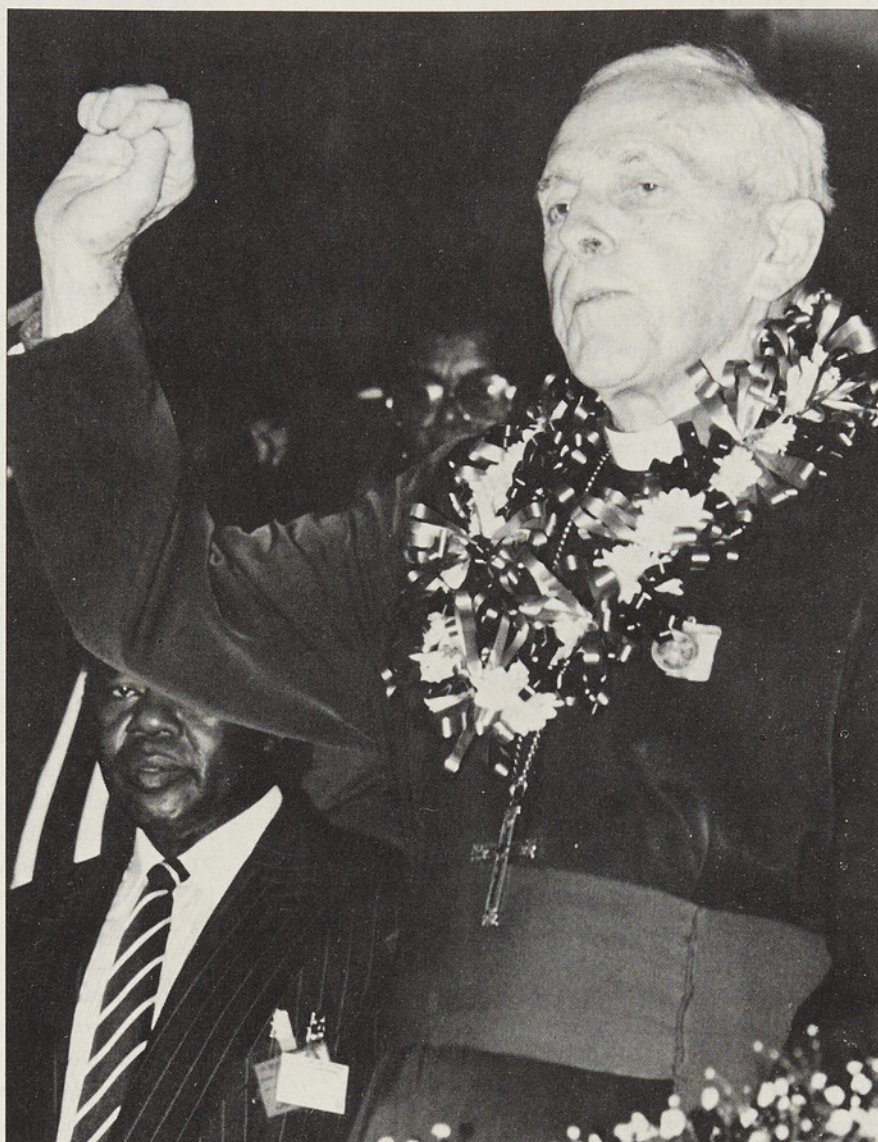
Scores of international guests converged on Durban for the historic conference of the ANC.

From as far afield as Cuba, Tanzania, Australia, Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union, their presence bore testimony to the fact that while apartheid South Africa has been an international outcast, the whole world has supported the just struggle of the oppressed and democratic majority.

In their messages of support, the visitors reaffirmed that the worldwide anti-apartheid movement knows that apartheid is still in place and will continue to support the democratic forces in South Africa.

Unfortunately we do not have space to reproduce the large number of messages received.

On the next page, we list a range of the organisations represented by the international guests at Conference.



Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Isitwalandwe and symbol of the international anti-apartheid struggle, did not want to return to South Africa before it was free. But he decided to come to show his solidarity with the ANC because Pretoria's intransigence is threatening to derail the peace process.

1. Organisation of African Unity
2. United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid
3. Commonwealth
4. Comafica (Brazil)
5. Anti-Apartheid Movement (Netherlands)
6. Anti-Apartheid Movement (Britain)
7. CIES (Italy)
8. Liberal Caucus (Canada)
9. KZA (Netherlands)
10. Japan Asia-Africa-America Solidarity Committee
11. DPP (Japan)
12. CGTP (Portugal)
13. Tranblator (Portugal)
14. House of Lords (Britain)
15. Eltsa (Britain)
16. CSP (EC)
17. International Defence and Aid Fund
18. Anti-Apartheid Movement (Ireland)
19. Anti-Apartheid Movement (USA)
20. Africa Fund (USA)
21. Boston Mobilisation for Survival (USA)
22. American Friends Service Committee (USA)
23. TVCE Mandela's Reception Left Wing (Spain)
24. Federal Political Council of the United Left Party (Spain)
25. 3rd Forced in Parliament (Spain)
26. United Left Party (Spain)
27. Institution Trade Union Federation & Development (Spain)
28. Partido Obreno Socialista (Spain)
29. Union of Workers (Portugal)
30. Conservative Party (Norway)
31. Socialist Left Party (Norway)
32. Labour Party (Norway)
33. Christian Democratic Party (Norway)
34. MMM (Mauritius)
35. MSM (Mauritius)
36. Seaman's Union of Australia
37. Fireman & Deckhands of Australia
38. PDW (Italy)
39. Danish Centre of Human Rights
40. NZCTU (New Zealand)
41. Esami (Tanzania)
42. United Malays National Organisation
43. Episcopal Church People for a Free South Africa
44. CCM (Tanzania)
45. Communist Party of Cuba
46. Swapo (Namibia)
47. Unip (Zambia)
48. All India Peace & Solidarity Organisation
49. Anti-Apartheid Movement (Sweden)
50. ISAK (Sweden)
51. Vanster Party (Sweden)
52. Karl Staaf Foundation (Sweden)
53. Communist Party (Sweden)
54. SDP (Finland)
55. Left Alliance Oraj (Finland)
56. COFTU (Finland)
57. AAI (USA)
58. Cold Comfort Trust Fund (Zimbabwe)
59. Oxfam (Canada)
60. SAETF (Canada)
61. Danish Association for International Co-operation
62. National Union of Pre-School Teachers (Denmark)
63. National Committee Action SA (Denmark)
64. Danchurchaid (Denmark)
65. Democratic Forum (Hungary)
66. Norwegian Council for South Africa
67. Kairos (Netherlands)
68. World Federation of Trade Unions
69. Mandela Freedom Fund (USA)
70. Coalition of Black Trade Unions (USA)
71. Union of Auto Workers (USA)
72. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (USA)
73. Interfaith Centre (USA)
74. Global Ministries (USA)
75. Mozambique Solidarity Office (USA)
76. Christian Democratic Youth (Norway)
77. Social Democratic Youth (Norway)
78. Norwegian Youth Council
79. Free Democratic Party (Germany)
80. Labour Party (Britain)
81. Protestant Federation of Italy
82. Anti-Apartheid Movement (Switzerland)
83. Communist Party of France
84. SOS Racisme (France)
85. Recontre Nationale AA (France)
86. Anti-Apartheid Movement of Renault (France)
87. Parliamentarians AA (Australia)
88. ANC Sports Committee (Australia)
89. CUSO (Canada)
90. Communist Party of the Soviet Union
91. Social Democratic Party of Sweden
92. Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation



ANC 1991 National Conference

Quotes from the Press

“Not only has the ANC been markedly more efficient and businesslike this week than before, it has also allowed real differences to emerge and to be debated openly and vigorously. One struggles to recall when last the same could be said of the National Party. The fact that even at this late stage no observer is sure of who will fill the top five executive posts is an indication of openness more than it is of in-fighting...”

The ANC is behaving like a political party, and a good one at that. Its proposed, high-minded “code of conduct” for members – one of the key aims of which is to ensure free speech and unstifled debate – is an indicator of this trend.

Only a complacent government would not take note of such palpable progress in its opposing camp.”

Star editorial

“The ANC’s highly successful conference in Durban this week is a tremendous coup for an organisation whose hardcore members probably know more about bullets than ballots.

Two thousand delegates from around the country crammed a hall the size of a rugby field on the campus of the University of Durban-Westville for the ANC’s first, legal in-country gathering in decades.”

John MacIennnon, Sunday Tribune, 7 July 1991

These are the documents

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