

J ()INING THE ANC
An Introductory Handbook on the
African National Congress

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J OINING THE ANC

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PREFACE

-Since its unbanning on February 2nd, the African National Congress has set out to build open, mass-based structures. Already, tens of thousands have joined. Many more have submitted applications. Because of state repression, objective information on the ANC had been restricted to a few. The population was subjected to deliberate distortions by proponents of apartheid. And interpretations even from well-meaning individuals have not always been accurate. Therefore, among the major tasks the ANC faces is to provide basic information on its history, strategy and tactics. This will afford all South Africans the opportunity to make an informed and free choice to belong to the Movement, to support it and even to oppose it. Such information will also be useful to ANC members and help them to play an active role in further shaping the ANC into a true representative of the majority of the South African people.

This booklet does not contain a detailed account of the history of the ANC. Nor is it an extensive outline of its policy positions. Rather, it provides basic information, with emphasis on current policies and structures. The information is directed mainly at those who wish to join the ANC, those who wish to know more about it indeed to all South Africans.

For a better understanding of some of the concepts and issues, reference material such as documents from the 1985 ANC National Consultative Conference, NEC January 8th Statements and recent NEC Statements will come in handy. The major basic policy documents are included as appendices to this booklet. As explained in the body of the handbook, a number of issues, especially in relation to ANC structures, will be operational until December 1990 when the ANC National Conference will be held.

The movement will from time to time issue other booklets dealing with detailed issues of policy such as on the economy, culture and education.

We invite readers to send in their comments and questions.

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CHAPTER ONE

WHAT IS THE ANC?

1. What Igg 19 Ihg ermaIiQn Qf Ihg ANQ?

The ANC was formed on January 8th, 1912 in Mangaung, Bloemfontein. Present were delegates including chiefs from the four South African provinces. There were also representatives from countries of the sub-continent such as Swaziland, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia which were then, like South Africa, colonies of Britain.

At its formation, the ANC defined as its main mission the forging of unity among the African people. The founding fathers emphasised that the various ethnic groups were defeated in the wars of resistance of previous centuries mainly because they were divided. Inter-ethnic rivalries, they said, were making it easier for the colonisers to continue oppressing the people.

But the ANC is more than just a product of the wisdom of the founding fathers. It was the reality of colonial oppression which inspired the emergence of the Movement. Black people were looked down upon as inferior and denied their basic rights; their land was taken away from them; they were paid low wages and subjected to many other oppressive and discriminatory practices. All this inspired people to fight - and the ANC emerged as an organisation to play the role of mouthpiece and leader of the struggles.

In 1910 the British colonisers and descendants of Dutch settlers had gone into an alliance to form the Union of South Africa, after the war between them for control and domination of the four provinces. This white settler coalition was given the right to rule South Africa without reference to Britain. This was an illegitimate agreement between white colonial settlers and the British imperialists. The African people in particular, and blacks in general, were not consulted. They were seen merely as subjects to be jointly oppressed. It was thus felt necessary that

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Founding leaders of the ANC

the African people should form their Town union, the South African Native National Congress as the ANC was then called.

The founding fathers were also inspired by the struggles of other oppressed communities within South Africa, such as the resistance of the Indian people led by Mahatma Gandhi. Earlier attempts to organise, by such leaders as Abdul Abduraman of the African Peoples Organisation also played an important role. So did the positive elements within the religious community, especially the independent churches.

The people's own historical experiences, especially the heroic wars of resistance led by their forefathers - Makhanda, Sekhukhuni, Cetshwayo, Moshoeshe and others - laid the foundation for the struggle under new conditions. A new era had begun: to fight using other, non-violent means; but as a continuation of the struggle against colonial domination.

2. What policies did the ANC have then?

Central to ANC policy, at its foundation, was to strive for the recognition of Africans and other oppressed people as equal citizens. It called for their right to vote and to be elected into bodies of government.

The ANC also addressed the new laws being introduced by the Union government, especially the Land Act passed in 1913 to further deprive the African people of the little land they still had. It campaigned for the right of the African people to own land and not to be evicted from the areas and farms where they stayed. From the beginning, it challenged the reservation system through which Africans were dumped in remote and barren areas and thus forced to provide cheap labour in the farms and cities.

The struggles of workers in the mines and municipal services, and by women against the imposition of passes are among the issues that helped shape ANC policy and activities in the early period.

Yet, while its basic policy - to fight against all

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Waller Sisulu

Secretary of the ANC Youth League
forms of oppression and discrimination - was consistently anti-colonial, the organisation was not without weaknesses. For instance, the early ANC recognised the sovereignty of the British Crown over South Africa. Thus many believed in the goodwill of the British government; and that deputations to London and Cape Town would persuade the colonisers to see reason. There was also the tendency to approach the question of civilisation from the point of view of the coloniser and to want to shape the oppressed in that image. Thus even the right to vote was demanded for tall civilised men that is, the educated and propertied.

However, in time, the rough edges were to be smoothed over in actual struggle.

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Certainly, the ANC of 1960 was markedly different from the organisation it was at its formation. Its policies, campaigns and pronouncements were tempered by concrete experiences.

By the end of the first decade it had become clear that the African people would have to rely less on deputations and appeals to the colonisers; and more on their own resources. Deputations were rebuffed; oppressive laws were tightened; forced removals continued; instead of political equality dummy institutions such as the Native Representative Council were introduced; discrimination at work and everywhere else was stepped up. After the National Party came into office, the process was intensified many times over: banning of the Communist Party; introduction of Bantu Education, the bantustan system and other laws.

And over this period, the South African economy had undergone many changes. With the rapid growth of industry, especially in the 1940s, the number of workers had increased. Their militant struggles such as the 1946 Great Miners' Strike shook the foundations of the system. The ANC could not stand aloof. By the 1950s, the important role of workers was recognised, and trade union organisation a matter of active policy.

During World War II, the alliances which were formed both within South Africa and internationally against fascism, the obvious inh

insincerity of the colonial powers on the issue of racism against blacks and the upsurge of anti-colonial struggles elsewhere - all these deepened the understanding of the ANC of South African and international realities. Thus, for instance, when the Atlantic Charter of the colonial powers was drawn up, the ANC put forward the Charter of Rights (African Claims) demanding freedom and independence.

In these decades, the Movement also developed to better appreciate the importance of broader unity with other forces fighting the colonial system. This took such forms as the All African Convention in the 1930s and joint campaigns with the Communist Party especially during the War and after. Greater emphasis was also laid on joint activities and alliances with democratic organisations of other race groups - the South African Indian Congress and later the Coloured Peoples Congress and Congress of Democrats (organising among whites). This laid the foundation for the Congress Alliance formed in the early 1950s. The South African Congress of Trade Unions became part of the Alliance when it was formed in 1955.

Concrete experience taught the ANC that it should act as leader of all fighters against oppression. It was important to unite all the oppressed - Africans, Coloureds and Indians - as well as democratic whites in struggle. Within its ranks, it developed to accept all Africans who agreed with its policies. Any attempt to exclude people on the basis of their other beliefs, be they religious or communist would only weaken the Movement.

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The role that was played by specific gifted, hard-working and influential personalities in the development of the ANC cannot be overemphasised. For instance, during the difficult period of the 1930s, it was such luminous individuals as Secretary General Reverend Calata who kept the Movement going. The ANC's emergence as a militant mass movement was greatly influenced by the youth leaders of the 1940s: Anton Lembede, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and other mainly African intellectuals. They pointed out the need for strong organisational structures and mass action on the basis of a clearly spelt-out programme.

When the National Party came into office in 1948, it found the ANC gearing itself for militant struggles of what has come to be known as the 1950s.

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It is in fact through campaigns of resistance that the ANC reached political maturity and created the bedrock of mass support. These campaigns revolved around the basic demand for political rights and problems which confront people in their daily lives.

In the first decade there were campaigns against the Land Act, extension of passes to women and the libbucket sm'kell of refuse collectors. Later the movement organised against the Bills on dummy institutions and tightening of the Land Act, against passes and also Pz'rcr NIIII/ca Alf Hun'hinxwz. Henry Mukgolhi. Putrit'k Molaoa, Sam Masemolu

supported the Indian Passive Resistance of the 1940s.

All these campaigns helped set the scene for the adoption of the Programme of Action in 1949. This programme called for militant mass actions against apartheid laws and practices and the boycott of dummy institutions. The campaign against the banning of the Communist Party leading to the first ever political general strike on 26th June 1950, heralded a decade of mass mobilisation on a scale never witnessed before in South Africa. In 1952, the Defiance Campaign against unjust laws was launched. Tens of thousands of volunteers in various parts of the country, from all races, deliberately broke

apartheid laws and regulations without fear of being arrested.

People's confidence had been kindled as never before. By the mid-fifties, mass action with clear aims had become a permanent feature of ANC practical leadership. A special place in these activities is occupied by the Congress of the People Campaign which culminated in the adoption of the Freedom Charter. Many other campaigns were organised: against the introduction of Bantu Education, the march on the Union Buildings by 20 000 women against imposition of passes, rural revolts in Pondoland, Sekhukhuniland, Zeerust and other areas against apartheid institutions and for land, the potato boycott, the 1960 anti-pass and anti-Republic campaigns and others.

In the ten years before it was banned, the ANC showed that, under clear and purposeful leadership and using weapons of defiance, boycotts, mass demonstrations and strikes, people could be forged into an effective fighting force. It is for this reason that the government banned the ANC.

How was the Freedom Charter drawn up?

The Freedom Charter was drawn up after a long campaign by the Congress Alliance. In 1953, at Congress of the People, June 26, 1955, Kipling's annual conference of the ANC, Professor ZK Mathews suggested the calling of a Congress of the People to adopt a Freedom Charter. This idea was adopted by the ANC's allies, the SAIC, CPC and COD. Later they were joined by SACTU when it was formed in March 1955.

A National Action Council was soon formed to carry out the campaign. Its job was to collect people's demands from every corner of South Africa and finally to convene an assembly of delegates where the Charter would be adopted. Building on organisation that had taken place during the Defiance Campaign, the Congress movement called for volunteers to take on the work of collecting the demands of the people. Volunteers from all the Congresses had to be selected and trained for this work. When meeting people they had to be simple and sincere. They had to explain their duty and be prepared to listen patiently to the people's demands. They went out to homes, farms, villages and factories. Where branches of Congress existed, they organised members to discuss the demands of the people and elect their delegates to the Congress of the People. Congress of the People Committees were set up all over South Africa, in town and countryside.

A team of over 10 000 volunteers did this work. They asked people questions like 'What is oppression and how can it be abolished?'

What laws are unjust and what should be done about them? After they had noted the demands, the volunteers had to fill in a report and note all the demands no matter how small and local they were.

Leaflets and booklet also played a big part in this campaign. These were aimed at particular groups of people and distributed nation-wide. Meetings to discuss the question of the Charter were sometimes held in huge rallies. At other times a group of neighbours would meet to discuss their demands. SACTU ensured that workers in the mines, farms and factories play a very important role in putting forward their ideas about a future South Africa.

On June 26th, 1955 over 3 000 delegates assembled in Kliptown. They represented people from most regions of South Africa, both black and white. Clause by clause: the people's demands, now compiled and designed into a Charter were read and adopted.

The Freedom Charter was later adopted by the ANC and other Congresses. In this regard, the Freedom Charter is more than just a charter of the ANC.

Rather it is a Charter of the people, adopted at the most representative gathering South Africa had ever seen.

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Women HILLIT/1 in tho thfiuru'z' Campaign

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The Constitutional Guidelines are contained in a document issued by the National Executive Committee of the ANC in 1988. The movement felt it necessary then, given the level of struggle and discussions within the country on a future constitution, to put forward its own views. It was necessary also to challenge the constitutional models that were being bandied around by supporters of apartheid and those advocating half-baked solutions.

The Guidelines are broad proposals on what the foundations of government in a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa should be. They correspond to the need to convert the principles of the Freedom Charter into a constitutional reality, and outline in point form the ANC's view on the nature of the state, the voting system, a Bill of Rights, affirmative action to overcome inequality, the basis of the economy, gender relations and workers rights.

The Constitutional Guidelines are based on the principles outlined in the Freedom Charter and further elaborated in NEC Jantu 8th Statements issued in 1985 and 1986. The Guidelines were developed over a period of years with the active participation of the ANC Constitutional Committee. Numerous meetings,

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debates and at least one major seminar took
place before they were adopted.

While representing a firm statement of broad
ANC positions, the Guidelines were never
intended to be taken as a final and definitive
prescription for the future. Rather, they were
submitted to the ANC membership and to the
people of South Africa as a whole for debate,
commentary, criticism and enrichment.
Various seminars have been held both inside
and outside South Africa to discuss the
Guidelines. A large number of comments have
been received, and an updated version is being
prepared which will take into account all
observations made. The objective is to have a
set of principles that will not belong to the ANC
alone, but be regarded as a common
constitutional platform for all anti-apartheid and
pro-democracy forces in South Africa.

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ilNoble ideasii indeed they are. The Freedom
Charter and the broad ideas of the Guidelines
set out a vision; a vision of a South Africa that
is free from racism and oppression; a South
Africa of equality and a country at peace with
itself and with the rest of humanity. But they are
above all a product of struggle.

The central theme of the Charter and
Guidelines is the issue of political power.
Apartheid means more than just separate
residential areas and beaches. It means denial to
the majority of the people the right to order their
lives as they deem fit. Decisions are made on
their behalf by a government elected by less
than 10% of the population. On the rest of society
are imposed bantustans, ghetto councils and
junior parliaments - illegitimate structures which
do not have the support of the majority.
In their place, the Freedom Charter and
Constitutional Guidelines demand one-person,
one-vote in a common voters roll. In this way,
all the South African people - without regard to
race - will take part in electing a government

responsible and responsive to them.

Apartheid means that the wealth of the country resides in the hands of a few, white individuals and families. 6 big companies control over 85% of stocks listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, reflecting the huge amount of wealth in their possession. One company, Anglo-American Corporation controls over 50% of these stocks. These companies have all along benefitted from and defended the apartheid system. On the other hand, over 50% of black South Africans live below the Poverty Datum Line; they live from hand to mouth or have no income at all.

In the place of such disparity, the Freedom Charter and the Constitutional Guidelines call for the redistribution of wealth to ensure that the economy serves the interests of all the people. It is the denial of political rights and the obvious material disparity which breed conflict within our society. The struggle to rid society of these ills, and introduce a just and humane system does not hail from the minds of great thinkers, and great leaders? It is a consequence of people's concrete experiences. Similarly, the Freedom Charter and the broad ideas in the Constitutional Guidelines contain concrete proposals to rid society of the root cause of conflict.

8. Who will bring about these changes?

The transformation of South African society cannot be brought about by a few individuals, no matter how well-meaning and heroic they may be. This is a task for the South African people as a whole. The ANC has never pretended that it could, on its own, destroy apartheid. Rather it sees as its basic task the organisation and mobilisation of the overwhelming majority of the South African people to act against apartheid and take part in the transformation of society. The oppressed people, especially the African majority, form the backbone of the forces of transformation. Black people stand to gain from the democratic transformation of our country. Many of them take part in struggles at the workplace and within the community. But for the overwhelming majority to actively participate in this struggle requires strong organisations and systematic education - within their sectors and at the national political level. The ANC recognises the leading role workers play in the national democratic struggle. Employees in the mines, factories, commercial undertakings and farms are the class on which the apartheid economy rests. In their struggles and organisations they have shaken apartheid at its very foundations.

Also central in this struggle are the landless rural masses, students and the intelligentsia,

One of the many plucking ceremonies of the anti-pass campaign of 1960

owners of small businesses and others So are such sectors as the heroic youth and women, the defiant cultural workers, the religious communities and many other forces.

The African National Congress believes that the apartheid system is also detrimental to the majority of whites. Benefit as most of them do from the system, they live in moral crisis; they are subjected to lying doctrines about South African and world reality. The isolation of apartheid South Africa in the field of culture, sport and other areas has seriously affected their lives.

The African National Congress considers the transformation of South African society to be in the interest of the whites as well. It has always warmly welcomed heroic patriots such as Bram Fischer, Beyers Naude, Helen Joseph, Joe Slovo and thousands others who have broken ranks with apartheid and taken active part in the struggle for freedom.

While it was founded as a force to unite and mobilise the African people, the ANC has developed over the years to accept in its ranks all who oppose apartheid, whatever the colour of their skin. Within its ranks, all individuals enjoy equal rights and have the same obligations. In its vision for the future, the ANC calls for equality of all individuals irrespective of colour, as well as the protection of cultural, language and other rights. It is all these forces which shall bring about a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. Then we shall build and consolidate one nation of equal Citizens.

CHAPTER TWO

TOWARDS FREEDOM

9. What method has the ANC been using to achieve the new South Africa?

The methods used in any struggle are dictated by conditions under which organisations have to operate. In broad terms, the correct strategy and tactics are ones which enable the people to achieve freedom in the shortest possible time and with the least suffering. Methods of struggle are not an end in themselves. They should serve the ultimate aim.

The organisation and mobilisation of the overwhelming majority of the people are fundamental to any social transformation. Fundamental change can only be brought about by the activities of the widest spectrum of the people, led by an organisation representing their true interests and aspirations. The involvement of all who stand to gain from victory is crucial whether the methods being pursued are peaceful or armed; whether organisations operate legally or underground.

When the ANC was banned, it refused to dissolve under the apartheid jackboot. It set up underground networks and strived to keep in touch with the people. It sought to educate the people about the new conditions, to set up legal organisations and engage the people in mass action. As a method of organisation, underground structures are crucial in a situation of repression, not only because an organisation is able to operate away from the watchful eyes of the enemy or because it can reach out to the people uncensored. It is also fundamental in affording the organisation the infrastructure for all kinds of duties, including armed struggle. With the intensification of repression, including the banning of the ANC and detention of its members, the ANC decided to launch armed struggle in 1961. It had become clear that there was no possibility of attaining the goal of freedom without resort to arms. From the simple sabotage actions of the early 60s, the movement has developed the capacity to hit at strategic enemy installations and personnel. This capacity depends, above all, on the involvement of the people in struggle.

The ANC also pays special attention to the mobilisation of the international community to support the democratic struggle and isolate the regime and its representatives.

Thus, the ANC has pursued the struggle in 4 main areas: mass organisation and mobilisation, armed struggle, building of an active and effective underground and international work. These have become popularly known as the four pillars of our struggle.

1. What do the ANC mean

organisation and mobilisation; and what is the relationship between the two?

Mass organisation aims at bringing people together in structured bodies, to express and pursue their common interests. People could be organised as workers, as students, on the basis of their profession, as sports-persons or cultural workers. They can also be organised according to where they stay, religious beliefs, age group or gender. Many such organisations exist within South Africa today. In political terms, the highest

form of organisation is a political movement or party, addressing the issue of political power. Political mobilisation is an act of rousin g the people to take part in activities aimed at realisin g their interests. In our conditions, these have entailed, in the main, extra-parliamentary militant actions such as strikes and boycotts. Over the years, anti-apartheid forces have gained

extensive experience in such work. Campaigns such as the Consumer Boycotts, Stayaways or general strikes, against the racist republic, against dummy institutions and apartheid education, to save the patriots on Death Row occupy a special place in our history.

Therefore, organisation and mobilisation are two sides of the same coin. They complement one another. But in real life this is not always the case. A contradiction can emerge if emphases at given moments do not correspond to the needs; or if wrong tactics are employed.

For instance, over-emphasis on quietll organisation can result in some steady accumulation of inactive members; recruitment could be reduced to an administrative drive; structures could end up simply as theoretical discussion groups. An organisation would thus lose members, or have cadres not experienced in action and unable to stand the test of hard times.

On the other hand, to act when an organisation is not strong enough to absorb such action can overstretch structures and lead to defeat, demoralisation and disintegration of structures.

And, overemphasis on mobilisation could bring about rallies and demonstrations, fiery meetings, collection of petitions and so on. But in the end the mobilised masses will disperse agitated but not being brought into any structures. The organisation will not grow. Its cadres will not be replenished; they will be overworked; and the organisation easily immobilised by the forces of repression.

Therefore we need consciously to ensure that organisation and mobilisation reinforce one another. An organisation should grow and develop through appropriate mobilisation; mobilisation must create the basis to bring in new members - militants tempered in struggle.

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tiEvery combatant a patriot; ever patn'ot a combatant? This is the slogan that has guided

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MK soldiers (list'uxxing
 the conduct of armed struggle over the years. It
 captures the spirit of the ANC, to involve all
 patriots in various military tasks for the transfer
 of power. Umkhonto we Sizwe is the power-
 house of the huge people's army. It has been
 responsible for planning and conducting armed
 struggle against the state for over 28 years.
 MK, as it is popularly known, was formed
 after the banning of the ANC. It was launched
 on December 16th, 1961. The decision to start
 the armed struggle hinged on two basic reasons:
 1. All peaceful forms were exhausted, subjected
 to wave after wave of state repression, including
 the banning of organisations; and
 2. It already communities, especially in the rural
 areas, were resorting to armed revolts against
 the regimes' oppressive and repressive laws.
 The movement thus saw the need to resort to
 arms and combine all necessary forms of struggle
 in the offensive against the apartheid regime.
 MK has, over the past three decades, played a
 major role both in building the revolutionary
 strength of the people and weakening the enemy.
 Its launch in 1961 was marked by a series of
 sabotage operations conducted solely on the
 basis of locally acquired skills and explosives.
 Ever since, MK has kept the fires of freedom
 burning, raising the pride and morale of the
 people.
 The conduct of armed struggle has been with
 the aim of weakening the apartheid state, and
 building the people's forces. Targets have been
 chosen on this basis, broadly being: military,
 economic and political installations of the regime
 as well as the army, police and enemy agents.
 Many spectacular operations were carried out
 such as against the Koeberg nuclear station,
 SASOL plants and the raid on the Radar camp
 in the Western Transvaal, to quote but a few
 examples. After many years of difficult work in
 a neighbouring environment not ideally suited
 for to armed struggle, MK has steadily built the
 capacity to train and arm units in some areas of
 the country.
 Many heroes have laid down their lives: Flag
 Boshie and Basil February in the Wankie (then
 Rhodesia) Campaign on the way into the country;
 Vuyisile Mini and Solomon Mahlangu who were
 hanged by the Pretoria regime; Commander
 Lt Bamey and Ashley Kriel who fell in action
 within the country; Montsho Mokgabudi and
 Cassius Make who were assassinated by agents
 of the regime in the neighbouring countries.
 Many citizens of the neighbouring countries
 have been killed in raids by the regimes' death
 squads.
 An MK cadre is not merely a disciplined
 soldier. He or she is first and foremost a
 revolutionary, armed with politics, rooted
 amongst the people and serving their interests.
 Elv'rit'ity pylons blown up during MK's first sabotage ('umpuign
 in 1961!

MK .wlr/icm (m parade

The military skills with which cadres are armed are not their exclusive preserve; they are to be passed on to the people. The weapons at a combatants disposal are not for his or her indiscriminate use, but only to be employed under political direction for specific political goals. Moreover, armed struggle is not an independent activity, removed from all other forms of struggle. Rather it depends on and has to reinforce mass actions.

MK today consists of a body of skilled cadres: soldiers, commanders and experts in various military disciplines. These skills remain an essential strategic reserve in the current phase, and an indispensable resource in the process of dismantling the apartheid armed forces and setting up of an army of a new South Africa, which must inevitably come. In this regard it is the core of the broader peoples army.

12.Wh h nherlef

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Before the unbanning of the Movement on February 2nd, all ANC work had to be conducted clandestinely. Merely being a member of the ANC constituted an offense, according to the regimes repressive laws.

Immediately after its bannin g on March 30th, 1960, the ANC set out to reorganise

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underground. Structures and networks were formed in various parts of the country, and the mobilisational work before the arrest of the leadership in Rivonia, 1963, was conducted illegally. This included buildin g a broad coalition and organising the All-in-African Conference, the general strike in 1961 and so on. It is from the underground that military work was conducted.

There were many difficulties, arising in the main from inexperience and the fact thatvirtually all cadres were known to the regime. After the Rivonia setback, this work had to be conducted mainly from outside the country. Painstaking work had to be conducted both by cadres based within the country and those sent in from outside. Without underground structures, it would not have been possible to carry out the many armed operations, ensure the reception of cadres trained outside the country and the transportation of armaments. Among its main tasks has been organisation and mobilisation. ANC cadres played a leading role in initiating and consolidating mass democratic structures. Within these structures ANC cadres won respect not by imposition; but through persuasion, recognising democratic processes within organisations, and hard work to realise the common goal.

Thanks to these underground workers:

organisers and propagandists, military operatives and others, the ANC today is recognised as leader of the national democratic struggle by the majority of the people. Over and over again, one racist minister after another has claimed to have broken the back of the African National Congress. They have been forced to swallow their words.

Many of the tasks previously carried out by underground structures can now be undertaken openly. The ANC's leadership role is exercised by the open structures. But the Movement has to keep in mind the fact that this Spring of legality can turn into a Winter of repression. Even after February 2nd, a number of activists have been the Movement expressed the hope that the first military acts would persuade the regime to discuss the resolution of the apartheid problem. And, over the years, the ANC has stated that if the possibility presented itself, it would take part in negotiations. Intensified repression, even against those who pursued peaceful forms of struggle, was the response of successive apartheid governments.

It is in this context that the evolution of the Movement's strategy of armed seizure of power should be viewed. This would entail mass action including general strikes, boycotts and demonstrations; strategic armed actions with mass involvement; revolts and low morale in the Rimpun Eigh/

Nelson Mandela. Walter Sisulu, Gavan Mbeki. Raymond Mhlaba, Lilian Ngoyi. Andrew Mlangeni. Ahmed Kathrada.

Dennis Goldberg
detained; massacres have taken place; and there are a number of areas where tyranny is the order of the day.

1. Where is it
if it is all?

The ANC has always preferred a peaceful resolution of the problems in our country. Its humane vision and morality form the basis of this approach. For close on to 50 years, the ANC conducted peaceful actions and appealed to successive racist regimes to come to the negotiating table. These appeals fell on deaf ears.

Even after the adoption of the armed struggle, the enemy armed forces; destruction of apartheid administrative structures and emergence of peoples committees and so on. Main areas of movement work have all along been influenced by this strategic consideration. Negotiations were seen as a tactical ground, a remote option to be attended to if and when the need arose. But the situation has changed especially since the mid-eighties. Many circles including those within the ruling group started to consider the option of negotiations. This was the result of all-round struggle by the people, rather than a change of heart on the part of the regime. But even then the regime's approach was to attempt to push the ANC onto the sidelines.

When it became clear that negotiations were

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entering the political terrain more insistently, the ANC saw the need to state our positions clearly: to take full advantage of the victories we had scored both within the country and internationally. The Movement initiated consultations and discussions within the democratic movement and in the sub-continent. This led to the adoption of the OAU (Harare) Declaration on Southern Africa. These positions were broadly accepted unanimously by the United Nations.

The changes that the regime has been forced to introduce since February 2nd have afforded democratic organisations some illegal space, within which to operate. But much more needs to be done to ensure that, both formally and informally, repression is brought to an end. All political organisations and their members must be allowed to operate freely.

But these changes also mean that negotiations are now more than just a possibility; they have become a matter of practical politics. The democratic movement needs to build on the OAU (Harare) Declaration initiative and keep this initiative in our hands. The new situation demands steadfastness to our principles while being flexible in our tactics. It also emphasises the need to ensure constant consultation with the rest of the democratic and anti-apartheid movement as well as the mass of the people. The central question in negotiations should be the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. To this end, power will have to be transferred to the majority of the people. The forms of such a transfer could change; but the strategic goal remains.

14. How do the various forms of struggle relate to each other?

Negotiations are themselves a terrain of struggle. They constitute a forum where the issue of political power is contested. In this sense they have to be approached with utmost seriousness, skill and a sense of responsibility. But negotiations are a result of other forms of struggle - a certain balance of forces in the political terrain compelling the other side to talk. The outcome of negotiations depends on the strength of the forces of transformation.

It would therefore be incorrect to view negotiations as a substitute to all other forms of struggle. Before and during the negotiating process, it is crucial for democratic forces to continually shift the balance of forces in their favour. Pressure must be kept on the regime, to ensure that it negotiates in good faith and for the achievement of the basic demands of the majority. The regime has its own intentions and programmes. The climate for free political activity has not as yet been fully realised. And actions against democratic forces continue in many areas. It is necessary for the people to fight for full, free political activity, and ensure the observance of undertakings when they have been formally made. Mass action should be conducted to demand an impartial transitional arrangement, the Interim Government, and a democratic forum to draft a new constitution, the Constituent Assembly. Above all, we must, in action, demand a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa and all other rights contained in the Freedom Charter.

What is being tabled by the democratic forces at the negotiating table must be echoed in demonstrations, petitions, strikes and other actions. Democratic organisations must be strengthened and unity achieved among the anti-apartheid forces.

Changing the balance of forces also means ensuring that the people control their own lives where they live and work. Those operating within undemocratic institutions such as bantustans and ghetto councils must be won over to the people's camp. Where anti-apartheid forces control the administrative machineries, we should work with them and ensure that the will of the people reigns.

In other words, mass organisation and mobilisation are indispensable to the success of negotiations.

Once a mutual ceasefire has been signed,

armed actions will have to be suspended. What is crucially important today is not that we continue to launch attacks against the enemy; but that we continue to possess and build the capability to wage armed struggle, should the need arise to revive it. Without this capacity, our negotiating position would be seriously weakened if not completely undermined. This also entails winning over forces from the regimes machineries.

Only when a peaceful settlement has been attained; only when a new constitution has been democratically adopted can the ANC formally call an end to armed struggle. To do otherwise would be giving up our ability to fight before the goal of ending apartheid has been realised.

This also applies to international work for the isolation of apartheid South Africa, including economic sanctions. The basic aim of this campaign is to assist the process of ending apartheid. Immediately the negotiating process is made irreversible by the adoption of a new constitution, the need to isolate South Africa would automatically fall away.

Negotiations are therefore not a substitute for other forms of struggle. Certainly, emphases will change. Some forms such as armed struggle will be suspended. Others will become more important. But central to all our work should be to shift the balance of forces in our favour.

15. Who is to negotiate, whgrg and on whose behalf?

The ANCis broad concept of negotiations is outlined in the OAU (Harare) Declaration on Southern Africa.

Naturally, negotiations about a new order are to take place between the forces striving for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa and the government and its supporters. The central principles behind the ANCis approach to negotiating mechanisms are:

:k Negotiations should not be a secret parley behind the backs or above the heads of the people. They should be among delegated representatives

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with a mandate from their constituents. The creation of a climate of free political activity is central to this.

tk There should be a specific time frame within which negotiations should take place. The process must not be unduly protracted. The faster we get it over and done with the better for society as a whole.

it To supervise the transitional process, there will have to be an impartial Interim Government. This cannot be done within and through the existing apartheid institutions.

There will most certainly be a number of phases before the new constitution is adopted.

For a start, after the climate has been created, it will be necessary to bring about the suspension of hostilities on both sides. In other words, the forces practically involved in armed confrontation, that is, the liberation movement and the South African government will have to reach an understanding on a mutually-binding ceasefire on the basis of terms agreed upon.

It will then be necessary to negotiate the principles to form the basis of the new constitution. From the onset, all participants will have to proceed from the premise that

apartheid must go. There can be no compromise on this issue. Moving from this understanding, broad principles will have to be worked out on what the new South Africa will look like. The Statement of Principles contained in the Harare Declaration sets out the minimum constitutional requirements without whose implementation, we are convinced, apartheid shall not have been eradicated. The central theme is a united, non-racial and democratic state based on one-person, one-vote under a common voters roll and full equality without regard to race.

The parties to such negotiations will be formed and defined on the basis of their acceptance or rejection of given constitutional principles. On its part, the ANC seeks to form a broad coalition of forces which agree with the main principles outlined in the Harare Declaration, and any others that these forces agree on. Therefore, many organisations will take part, united by this

Nelson Mandela with Julius Nyerere.
the first chairperson of the Front Line States
common purpose; and, importantly, operating
on the basis of maximum consultation within
and among these organisations and with the
people in general.
It is, broadly-speaking, these same forces
which will negotiate the transitional mechanisms
towards the new constitutional order: an
impartial interim government to supervise the
transitional process, the question of the role of
the international community, and the forum to
draw up the new constitution.

1. When will it be set up, and what issues will
it address?
The ANC believes that the body to decide on a
new constitution should be a Constituent
Assembly, elected on the basis of one- person,
one-vote under a common voters roll.
Constitutional matters, concretely defining the
basis of future government and legislation, are
serious issues which cannot be dealt with without
the maximum possible involvement of the
people.

It will therefore be necessary for the parties to
go to the people with their vision of the new
order and canvass for support. The outcome of
the elections will determine the majority view
within society and form the basis of the policies
which will prevail in the Constituent Assembly.
Elections to such a forum cannot be based on
apartheid's racial classification of so-called
groups or nations". Such an approach can only
have the effect of entrenching discrimination
and perpetuating the racial and ethnic divisions
fostered by apartheid.

The Constituent Assembly will deal with
such issues as: the character of the state and its
machineries; how the franchise will be exer-
cised; how to promote and protect peoples
rights; broad parameters of economic and land
policies; place and role of classes and sectors of
society; international relations and so on. The
ANC's broad positions are outlined in the
Constitutional Guidelines, a document which is
being updated on the basis of comments re-
ceived from a wide spectrum of anti-apartheid
forces.

ISITWALANDWE-
SEAPARANKOE

This is the highest honour awarded by the
people of South Africa, through the ANC,
to those who have made an outstanding
contribution and sacrifice to the liberation
struggle. Chief Albert Lutuli, Dr Yusuf Dadoo
and Father Trevor Huddleston were
proclaimed Isitwalandwe-Seaparankoe at the
Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955.
Since then other outstanding leaders have also
been honoured, notably Govan Mbeki,
Lilian Ngoyi. Helen Joseph and the
"Rivonia Trialists" - Nelson Mandela, Elias
Motsoaledi, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed
Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni and Walter Sisulu.

17. Why go against the ANC policy of international attention

19 international work; what are its

its international relations?

It should be emphasised from the very beginning that the main arena of struggle is within South Africa. This is the terrain where the most decisive struggles take place.

But international solidarity is an important pillar of our struggle. The apartheid regime relies heavily on international economic and political relations to maintain and defend the apartheid system. South Africa forms part of the economic system of the Western world? Foreign investments, loans and technology are crucial for the apartheid system. These are used to build the industrial base including the military industry, and to finance the apartheid system. Using its network of political and diplomatic contacts, the regime works day and night to justify the system of apartheid.

Over the years, the ANC saw it as crucial to convey South African reality to the world community. Even before its banning, international visits were conducted to campaign against the oppressive system. Contact was made and relations built with other liberation movements, governments such as the those in the socialist countries, and movements in the West who supported or were sympathetic to our cause.

Consistent anti-apartheid actions started in earnest in the late 1950s with the emergence of the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund to assist those in the Treason Trial. ANC policy on the isolation of South Africa was clearly stated in 1959 by the then president, Chief Albert Lutuli. This was to entail military embargoes, all-round economic sanctions and boycotts, and isolation in the field of culture and sport.

The basic aim of this policy is to weaken apartheid structures and ensure the isolation of supporters of apartheid. In the cultural field, including education, the emergence of a powerful democratic movement and development of

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alternative structures necessitated further elaboration of the boycott policy. The aim is to ensure that isolation of apartheid South Africa does not hurt but rather benefits those in these fields who are actively involved in the struggle against apartheid. Movement policy in these fields and the area of sport has been adopted and made public. Due to the rapidly changing situation, it is under constant review.

Today, international awareness about the situation in South Africa is at its highest. Millions have taken part in actions such as the boycott of South African goods, pressure against companies operating in South Africa, demonstrations and pickets. Anti-apartheid movements and governments render multifaceted support to the ANC: scholarships, funds and material goods, political and military assistance.

Within the United Nations, many resolutions have been passed against apartheid South Africa, including the suspension of South Africa from the General Assembly, designation of apartheid as a crime against humanity and the arms embargo. It is a reflection of the abhorrence of

the apartheid system by the world community of nations that the UN unanimously adopted the UN Declaration on South Africa, broadly restating the positions in the OAU (Harare) Declaration.

An important role in the anti-apartheid campaigns has been played by the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement, socialist countries, and numerous non-governmental organisations which have rendered the ANC and the struggling people as a whole all-round support. Nordic countries, such as Sweden, have also been consistently supportive,

Today, even the erstwhile supporters of the apartheid regime barely come out openly in its defence. The anti-apartheid movement has grown in all corners of the globe. As a result of popular struggles in these countries, many multinational companies have withdrawn from South Africa. Investments and loans are, for the

regime, hard to come by. Governments in the United States of America, Western Europe and Japan have been forced to take some measures against the apartheid regime.

The standing of the ANC has grown worldwide. It enjoys observer status in the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement. It has official representation offices in 44 countries. The ANCLs view, not only on the issue of apartheid, is respected by friend and foe alike. These gains are the result of the heroic all-round struggles within South Africa; as well as painstaking work by Movement leaders and cadres. These achievements have contributed immeasurably in forcing the apartheid government to consider the issue of negotiations and take some steps in that direction.

The ANCLs positions on international relations are outlined in the Freedom Charter and include the following major principles:

- support for the national liberation of all oppressed peoples;

- international political, economic, information and other relations based on the principle of equality among nations and non-interference in other states internal affairs;

- world peace and disarmament;

- non-alignment in so far as military blocs are concerned.

The new, democratic South Africa will be a member of the OAU, UN and NAM, committed to the Charters and policies of these world bodies.

The ANC NEC with leaders of the MDM after an NEC extended meeting in February 1990 in Lusaka

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Ruth Firx/

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Some of the comrades we have lost over the last 25 years

CHAPTER THREE

HOW IS THE ANC ORGANISED TODAY?

1g. What sjrugjurgs is the ANQ

gening up within the ggunjry?

After it was unbanned on February 2nd, the ANC set out to reorganise itself as an open movement. Previously, the ANC was structured into underground units, including area and regional underground leadership committees under the Politico-Military Council. External structures carried out tasks related to internal work, organisation of the membership in exile and international mobilisation. Now we operate as a mass organisation made up of individuals who subscribe to its programme, policies and constitution. A provisional constitution has been drawn up to guide ANC activity until the National Conference is held in December, 1990. It is based on the last ANC Constitution (1958) before the Movement's banning as well as organisational experiences since, as codified in the 1985 National Consultative Conference documents. The Provisional Constitution also takes into account the all-round experience of the Mass Democratic Movement and changes within the country since the early 1960s. The highest policy-making body in the ANC is the National Conference, where the programme, policy and organisational matters are decided upon. In-between Conferences, the highest policy-making body is the National Executive Committee which operates within the confines of policy as adopted at Conference. The National Working Committee handles NEC matters in-between NEC sessions.

After the unbanning, the Movement decided to set up a national leadership structure within the country, the Interim Leadership Core, which plans and directs ANC operations inside the country. It works under the direction of the NEC. The ILC is made up of NEC members who constitute its core, stalwarts of the Movement not in the NEC, some ANC cadres who have been in MDM structures and Convenors of Regional Committees.

All structures at every level are being reinforced in an ongoing way by cadres from outside the country and those who have been released from prison. The country has been divided in 14 Regions, whose Committees will set up area, zonal and branch structures. Regions are subdivided as presented below:

The five highest offices of the Movement are: President Deputy President Secretary General Treasurer General Chairperson of the NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS - JOHANNESBURG

REGION

Western Cape
Northern Cape
Eastern Cape
Border
Transkei
Southern Natal
Natal Midlands
Northern Natal
Southern OFS
Northern OFS
Northern Transvaal
PWV
Western Transvaal
Eastern Transvaal

REGIONAL HQ
Cape Town
Kimberley
Port Elizabeth
East London
Ummm
Durban
Pietermaritzburg
Empangeni
Bloemfontein
Wclkom
Pietersburg
J ohannesburg
Lichtcnburg
Nelspruit
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ILC Under these offices fall departments,
committees and other structures of the
Movement. After the unbanning, the following
departments/offices were set up: Office of the
National Organiser, Department of Information
and Publicity, National Political Education
Committee, National Finance Control
Committee and the Administrative Secretariat.
Many other structures are being established
depending on the needs. The Movement has
also started the process towards the launch of
Youth and WomenTs Leagues.

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The present NEC was chosen at the 2nd National
Consultative Conference held at Kabwe in
Zambia in 1985. Voting for the posts of President,
Secretary-General and Treasurer-General was
by show of hands when only one nomination
was received for each position. Voting for the
remaining members of the NEC, however, was
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by secret ballot and the delegates had a
completely free choice of persons for whom
they could vote.

Subsequent to the Conference, further
members were co-opted to the NEC - in
accordance with the regulations adopted by the
NCC - either to reinforce it, or to replace persons
who had died. More recently, members of the
NEC at the time of the banning of the
organisation in 1960 were restored to their
positions after being released from prison. The
Internal Leadership Core and Regional
Committees were appointed by the NBC and
ILC respectively.

National Conference is the highest organ of
the ANC. At least ninety percent (90%) of
delegates are freely chosen by the branches,
with the outgoing NEC having the right to
supplement the number with persons who have
special skills and experience. Members of the
NEC have the right to attend and participate
fully in an ex officio capacity, that is by virtue
of the position they hold within the Movement.

The Conference decides on policy, elects a new leadership and charts out a programme of activities until the next Conference. The intervals between Conferences has varied considerably in different historical periods. The 1958 Constitution provides for annual Conferences and leadership elections every three years. The Kabwe Consultative Conference laid down an interval of five years for both Conference and elections. The next National Conference is due to be held on December 16th 1990. At this Conference, a new constitution will be adopted.

A National Preparatory Committee and corresponding regional structures will supervise all preparations for the Conference and ensure the widest possible participation of members. Principles guiding preparations and election of delegates, discussion documents and other relevant information will be provided to all members.

2Q.Whg1pringiplgsguiggtheinteraction
gmng ANQ members and structures?

These principles are outlined in the Provisional Constitution, Code of Conduct and other relevant policy documents. The ANC is a mass movement operating on the basis of consistent democracy and other principles ensuring efficient organisation and good working relations among J00 Slum (uldrarwx rho Kabwe Cmtfk'rcna' 0 R Tumlm members.

It is fundamental that ANC members take part in the formulation of policy so that what it says and does reflects the collective view of the organisation as a whole. This is taken care of through discussion of policy issues at all levels and democratic election of office-bearers and delegates to Movement Conferences.

Higher bodies of the organisation are obliged to account to lower ones and vice versa; to provide regular reports and seek the opinions of all structures on policy matters. To ensure proper authority, lower organs subordinate themselves to higher structures. Once a decision is taken, representing the majority view, it is binding to whether they agree or not.

But individuals have the right to hold contrary views, to air them and openly canvass for support within Movement structures. All members of the Movement are equal in so far as their rights and duties are concerned.

The Code of Conduct, adopted at the 1985 National Consultative Conference is based on the rights and duties of members. It serves to guide movement members in their political and social conduct: to behave in a fashion that wins people's confidence. When a member has behaved in a manner that conflicts with Movement policy some penalties are applied, not as retribution, but to correct and build movement cadres. In extreme cases, suspension

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or even expulsion are resorted to. Members do
have the right to appeal against any penalty.

21. What is the pggition of women
in the ANQ?

The place and role of women in the ANC and in
the struggle should be viewed against the
backdrop of their position within society as a
whole. Historically, male supremacy was a
feature of traditional black societies as well as
British and Afrikaner societies. It is manifested
in economic, social, political and psychological
domination of women. This shapes the very
fabric of social institutions and family life.
Black women, particularly Africans, occupy
the lowest rung on the social ladder. They are
oppressed and discriminated against as a people,
within the work-force and in their communities.
Worst off are women in the rural areas where
poverty reigns supreme, and family life is
undermined by the migratory labour system.
For many years after the founding of the ANC,
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these attitudes and practices influenced
Movement formal policy. The ANCLs first
constitution excluded women from full
membership. They could only become auxiliary
members. This remained the position until the
1943 constitution which recognised women as
full, equal members. This has been reaffirmed
in all constitutions and policy documents since.
Most notable among the policy documents is
the Freedom Charter which affirms the principle
of sexual equality and demands such rights as
equal pay for equal work and maternity leave
with full pay for working mothers. The
Constitutional Guidelines call for the
entrenchment of the principles of gender equality
- in all spheres of public and family life - in the
Constitution of a future South Africa: a united,
non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.
It also recognises the need for the state to take
affirmative action in favour of women, to lid
society of inequalities and discrimination
between the sexes.

Since the 19503 the ANC approach to this

question has been guided by the outlook which sees the national, class and women's issues as intertwined. The Women's Charter, adopted in the early 50s, states that freedom cannot be won for any one section or for the people as whole so long as women are in bondage. The ANC and other democratic forces have built on this tradition.

This did not come of its own accord. It is a direct result of the struggles waged by women - in the overall campaigns and on specific women's issues. From the 1913 and 1918 anti-pass campaigns, more and more women became active participants in strikes, demonstrations and actions of defiance. The ANC Women's League, formed in 1918 played an important role in organising women and in the formation of the Federation of South African Women in 1954.

Within the ANC, women are to be found in the NEC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, underground structures, heading departments, as intellectuals and in many other areas. The Women's Section is the organisational mechanism adopted after the banning of the ANC. Its tasks have been many and varied, including mobilisation and organisation within the country, attending to members in exile, and international work. The declaration of formal equality is not a guarantee for its practical realisation. There are still many practices and attitudes within the Movement which hamper the development and realisation of the full potential of women members. Women form a small percentage of the membership; there are few female cadres in leading positions; in social life the kitchen and baby-minder's attitude has not been fully erased. This demands the education of men and women alike.

But it also requires the creation of appropriate material conditions which will allow women to take full part in Movement activities.

The ANC recognises the need to organise and mobilise women - more than half the population simply because it is politically expedient to do

In the universities, schools and in the family. It is the duty of the ANC to ensure that women are fully educated and trained for the work of the nation. The ANC is committed to the full participation of women in all spheres of life. The ANC is committed to the full participation of women in all spheres of life. The ANC is committed to the full participation of women in all spheres of life.

so. But real democracy and equality cannot be realised within the ranks of the Movement and in society as a whole if women are oppressed. Since its unbanning, the Movement has started the process to set up a mass-based ANC Women's League. The League is made up of female members of the ANC - therefore over the age of 18 - and operates as an autonomous body. Like the Women's Section, its objectives are to defend and advance the rights of women, both inside and outside the ANC, in relation to all forms of national, social and gender oppression. It also strives to ensure that women play a full role in the life of the organisation, in the people's struggle and in national life.

22. What about the youth?

Young people occupy an important place in the life of any society. The future of any nation depends on the moulding of its young generation and the practical role that this generation plays in society. In this regard, society - in its various classes, strata and political groups - seeks to impart a definite outlook to the youth.

But the youth are important not merely as a reserve force for the future. They contribute decisively in the shaping of society and in struggles to attain specific ideals. Young people's initiative, enthusiasm and verve adds dynamism to struggle and life in general. Their minds are alert and they constantly seek the truth. Their idealism forms the basis for bold initiatives in historical development. At their age of constant search for ideals, the youth are also open to various positive and negative influences. And it is crucial that they learn, not only from the elderly, but also in practical life experiences.

Young people do not form a uniform group.

They are to be found within various classes and strata such as workers, intellectuals, peasants and owners of enterprises - both as individual members and as sons and daughters of these classes. Depending on their position within society and their outlook, they are also to be

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found in various political parties and movements. Black youth feel most keenly the effects of oppression and exploitation. Lack of jobs, apartheid education, the rising cost of living, the torture of seeing youthful ambitions smothered by apartheid laws and practices, the humiliation of seeing parents harassed and insecure - all these and other ills fill their young hearts with hatred for the apartheid system, and spurs them to fight it. Over the years, they have been - and still remain - the most militant and heroic formation in the democratic struggle.

Within the ANC, young patriots have played a decisive role. They emerged as an organised force in the early 1940s, with the formation of the ANC Youth League. At its founding, the League reflected the impatience of the young generation with the moderation of the ANC, in a period when oppression, exploitation and repression were being intensified. Mandela, Tambo and others sought to change Movement policies to assert militant patriotism and mass action. They initiated the adoption of the 1949 Programme of Action which laid the basis for the actions of the 1950s and after. They were in the front ranks during the Defiance

Campaign and the process leading up to the adoption of the Freedom Charter. They formed the main body of the Volunteers who, when Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed, responded. But, when it was formed, the ANC Youth Leagues views on many issues were erroneous and had to be tempered by time and experience. Like many after them, such as adherents of Black Consciousness in the late 1960s and early 1970s, they objected to relations with Communists and had as yet to realise the correctness of broad nationalism which recognises the place and role of whites in the struggle. Black and democratic youth played an exceptional role in the revival of militant struggles after the setbacks of the early 1960s. In the universities and schools and within the working class, they defied state terror and helped lay the foundation for the emergence of the Mass Democratic Movement. They have been in the

forefront of many campaigns, including in particular the struggles to rid the townships of dummy councils and the emergence of peoples committees and Self-Defence Units. Their organisations - SAYCO, SANSCO and others form the backbone of the democratic movement. In the white community it is mainly the white youth, in universities, in resistance to conscription into the racist army and other fronts who have helped sustain and consolidate the tradition of militant non-racialism. The achievements of the ANC on all fronts are due also to the important role that the youth have played. Heroic young men and women - soldiers of MK - have fought many a battle. Brave and skilled underground operatives have performed many a feat. Young intellectuals and administrators constitute an important contingent of movement structures. After the banning of the ANC, it was decided for reasons of efficient underground organisation, that the Women's and Youth Leagues must dissolve. ANC youth in external structures have been organised under the ANC Youth Section. Like the Women's Section, it has engaged in internal organisation and mobilisation, international tasks and work among its members in various parts of the world. Given the legal space won by the people, the ANC Youth League is being revived. Its objectives are to unite and lead young men and women in confronting the problems that face the youth and in ensuring that they make a full and rich contribution to the work of the ANC and the life of society as a whole. Formation of regional, area, branch and other structures will precede the actual launch targeted for early next year. The Youth League is open to persons between the ages of 14 and 30. Thus persons under 18 can belong to the Youth League but not the ANC. It is open to all South Africans who agree with its programme and policies. While these policies are based on those of the ANC, the Youth and Women's Leagues are not mere satellites of or transmission belts for the mother body? They have a vigorous life of their own, and contribute towards the enrichment of ANC policy and activity.

23. What is the ANC's view on religious believers?

THESE MEN Ni
OUR BROTHERS,
OUR WOMEN,
tives are to unite and lead young men and women in confronting the problems that face the youth and in ensuring that they make a full and rich contribution to the work of the ANC and the life of society as a whole. Formation of regional, area, branch and other structures will precede the actual launch targeted for early next year. The Youth League is open to persons between the ages of 14 and 30. Thus persons under 18 can belong to the Youth League but not the ANC. It is open to all South Africans who agree with its programme and policies. While these policies are based on those of the ANC, the Youth and Women's Leagues are not mere satellites of or transmission belts for the mother body? They have a vigorous life of their own, and contribute towards the enrichment of ANC policy and activity.

23. What is the ANC's view on religious believers?

The ANC firmly holds the view that an individual's religious beliefs are a private matter. It recognises the right of all persons to freely choose whether they wish to be believers or non-believers. In so far as membership of the ANC is concerned, the guiding principles are its policy positions. This is what unites Movement members, be they Christians, Moslems, Hindus

'l'ln' rut'IAI Amlv hm HUI warm! the mtl in t/t'uling with Ihrm'
u'lm ('Imllt'ngz'z/ Ilzv hvrt'xi' ofapurlhz'it/
or any other faith. The question whether
individuals are religious believers, communists
or whatever else is not important. What is central
is that their other beliefs should not conflict
with Movement programmes, policies and
constitution.

It is also a matter of historical record that
believers played an important role in the
foundin g and development of the ANC. Amon g
the founding fathers and outstanding leaders
have been many ilmenli of the cloth and devout
religious believers. Moved by their hatred of
oppression and exploitation many religious
cadres have performed heroic deeds in pursuit
of justice and democracy. They are to be found
in all fomiations of the Movement.

On the other hand, the racist state has not
spared the rod in dealing with believers who
have dared to challenge the heresy of apartheid.
Individuals as well as religious institutions have
been the target of all kinds of attacks, official
and informal. Basing itself on a warped
interpretation of religious texts, the apartheid
regime - and its religious supporters - have
ironically sought to turn religious institutions
into willing servants of the system.

While many outstanding believers played an
important role in the struggle over the years, the
Christian Church, in the main, lagged behind

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the mass of its members.

More often than not, official positions
recognised the evils of apartheid but were wary
of popular struggles. This has changed, and
identification with the poor and oppressed, as
well as with their struggles, permeates the
doctrines of many denominations.

In this process, the laity and many prominent
Church leaders have played an important role.
In recognition of the spiritual needs of
believers within its ranks, the ANC set up an
Inter-faith Chaplaincy several years ago. This
was a continuation and development of the
tradition that had been part of the Movement
since its foundation. The Chaplaincy operates
within the Department of Religious Affairs
whose tasks include political organisation and
mobilisation both within the country and
internationally.

In its vision of a new South Africa, the ANC
stresses the importance of religious tolerance,
the right to worship, freedom of assembly and
association as well as many other rights without
which religious practices would be severely
limited. These and other rights should be
entrenched both in the Constitution and attendant
Bill of Rights.

FORWARD TO A

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY!

Alimm/ Karlirudu (URI Dulluh Omar with Muslim t'lergy at the grave
of Imam Huron, u'lm um murdered in (lctcntian

24. How the ANC relates

Like any other political movement or party, the ANC believes that its programme and policies are correct, and seeks to win others to its point of view. But we recognise the right of others to differ with Movement positions, and to have their own philosophies, policies and programmes. Among such organisations are many which oppose apartheid and strive to bring it to an end. One of the basic aims of the ANC is to unite the broadest spectrum of such forces to rid our country of apartheid.

Historically, many efforts were made to bring anti-apartheid organisations together: joint actions with the Industrial and Commercial Union (ICU) in the 1920s the All African Convention in the 1930s, the Xuma-Dadoo-Naicker Pact (ANC/ITC/NIC) of the late 1940s and the Congress Alliance in the 1950s. In 1960/61 the ANC initiated the idea of a broad anti-apartheid front to be made up of such forces as the ANC, PAC, Liberal Party, organisations of black business-persons and others to jointly fight apartheid and in particular to campaign against the intended declaration of the racist republic. From the underground, Nelson Mandela and other leaders approached these organisations, and jointly with them worked out programmes and convened the All-African Conference in 1961. The PAC and the Liberal Party withdrew at the last moment, but the basic aim was realised, and the experience historically instructive in many respects. In its approach to alliances, the ANC proceeds from the premise that anti-apartheid forces have areas of agreement as well as those on which they differ. It is therefore crucial to identify those areas - both strategic and tactical - and work out joint programmes to achieve the common objective. The fundamental issue at this historical moment is to rid our country of apartheid and create a united, non-racial and democratic society.

Among these anti-apartheid forces are those to which the ANC-SACP relationship is a model, the non-racial and the youth in the 1940s, when some ANC members questioned joint actions with the Communist Party. And there were times in the early period when some Communist Party members also dismissed relations with the ANC.

But as both organisations developed in their understanding of the political situation and the methods to bring about change, their relationship grew from strength to strength. The role of Moses Kotane and other outstanding members of the Communist Party in the struggle for freedom and as members of the ANC, and the CP's respect for the democratic practices within the Movement have also helped cement this relationship. The alliance foundation is commitment to a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa as outlined in the Freedom Charter as well as the strategy and

tactics to bring this about. A formal structural arrangement exists to ensure joint planning and co-ordination. The close alliance with the (now dissolved) South African Congress of Trade Unions was also based on these principles.

The Mass Democratic Movement, including the democratic trade union movement also share the main objectives of the ANC as enshrined in the Freedom Charter. Except for the armed struggle, these forces also agree with the strategy and tactics of the ANC. It is on this basis that strong working relations have developed among these forces. While the character of the MDM is definitely changing - with the legalisation of the ANC - many allied sectoral structures will remain. Joint planning and strategising have become part of the tradition in the ANC's relations with these forces.

There are other anti-apartheid forces which took part in the Conference for a Democratic Future. The ANC agrees fully with the resolutions of this Conference as well as the programme adopted. The Movement seeks to build close bilateral and multilateral relations

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with such organisations on these and other areas of agreement. In building a broad anti-apartheid front, account also has to be taken of those forces abandoning the apartheid camp and which are moving closer to our positions. On issues where there is agreement, the ANC is prepared to work with them.

Within these alliances, the ANC believes in free exchange of ideas and debate, and the right of organisations to differ and to pursue their own programmes.

The unifying factors must be the political positions agreed upon, the programme to achieve given aims and concrete actions in pursuit of those aims.

The African National Congress relates to these organisations on the basis of equality. Its members respect the democratic practices within the alliances, and they actively and selflessly pursue the common objectives.

THE NKHONAL

Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika
Maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo
Yizwe imithandazo yethu
Nkosi sikelela - Nkosi sikelela
Nkosi sikelel' i-Afrika
Maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo
Yizwe imithandozo yethu
Nkosi sikelela - Thina lusapho
lwayo
Woza Moya
Woza Moya, oyingcwele
Usi sikelela
Thina lusapho lwayo
Morena boloka
Sechaba se heso
O fedise dintwa le Matswenyeho
Morena boloka
Sechaba se heso
O fedise dintwa le Matswenyeho
O se boloke - O se boloke
O se boloke - O se boloke
Sehaba se heso
Sechaba sa Afrika
O se boloke Morena - O se boloke
O se boloke Sehaba - O se boloke
Sechaba sa heso
Sechaba sa Afrika.

ANTHEM

Nkosi Sikelel' L'Afrika the National
Anthem of the people of South
Africa, has its roots deeply
embedded in our history and
cultural traditions.
Its composer, Enoch Mankayi
Sontonga, was born in Lovedale,
Cape Province, in 1860. He left
school at an early age and went to
Johannesburg where he was
employed in various occupations.
A Christian, Sontonga was
endowed with a wonderful voice,
and he wrote both music and lyrics.
His songs, sung in churches and
concerts, were popular throughout
the country.
Composed in 1897, Nkosi's
Sikelela was commonly sung by
choirs, churches and in African
schools. By the turn of the century
it was known throughout the
country. Mankayi Sontonga died
in Johannesburg in 1904, and was
buried in Brixton Cemetery.
It was SEK Mqhayi (1875-1945)
im n i izw 'ik l l the
national poet), who added seven
stanzas to the national anthem. The
Xhosa lyric, with the exception of
the first stanza which was
Sontonga's, was Mqhayi's version,
and was first published in 1927.
Nkosi Sikelela, originally
intended as a hymn, was sung in all
provinces and steadily gained
recognition as the people's national
anthem. The first verse
(Sontonga's) has survived as the
basis of the popular national
anthem today.
The ANC adopted Nkosi S ikelela

as its national anthem in 1925, and many organisations and churches followed suit.

It was at this time also that the ANC adopted black, green and gold as our national colours.

Today the song has become the national anthem of many countries in Africa north of the Limpopo River, including Zambia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Within South Africa the song is sung in many languages, although an English translation can only be literal and loses the poetic and melancholy rhythm of the song - a prayer for the people of Africa.

Today Sontonga's Nkosi Sikelela is closely associated with and symbolises the struggle of our people for a democratic South Africa. It is heard at protest and solidarity meetings, conferences and funerals. It is sung by workers, women, youth and students, who stand with fists raised while singing - a sign of respect for our traditions, culture and fight for freedom.

SOUTH
AFRICA'S
NATIONAL
DAYS

Our history, our struggle for
freedom, has created days of
great significance for the
people of South Africa.
Among the most important
are:

JANUARY 8

FOUNDERS DAY

On this day in Mangaung - the
whites call the place Bloemfontein
- the ANC was formed in 1912.
Representatives came from all over
South Africa. The call of the day
was unity and anti-colonialism. The
founding fathers of the ANC had a
vision of a united continent free
from racism and colonialism.

MARCH 21

INTERNATIONAL DAY OF
SOLIDARITY WITH THE
PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

u-

in Durban in 1959, it was decided
to launch a national campaign
against the Pass Laws in 1960. On
March 21, 1960, a peaceful demon-
stration in Sharpeville against the
Pass Laws was fired on by the
police, leaving 69 dead and 178
wounded. Pretoria declared a State
of Emergency, arrested over 20,000
people and banned the ANC, which
decided to continue the struggle
underground.

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JUNE 16 - YOUTH DAY

In 1976 the youth of Soweto
rebelled against the imposition of
Afrikaans as a medium of
instruction. This event, as it spread
and escalated through the length
and breadth of the country, was an
example of how such a single issue
can become a spark that started
what became a raging fire, whose
smouldering embers of resistance
subsequently became an inferno,
renewing the challenge to every
aspect of white minority rule. Since
June 16th, 1976, South Africa has
never been the same. The ANC has
declared June 16th National Youth
Day.

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JUNE 26 - FREEDOM DAY

It was on May 1st, 1950, that
trigger-happy police killed 18
innocent demonstrators in
Alexandra, Johannesburg. On June
26 the ANC, the South African
Indian Congress, and the
Communist Party of South Africa
called a Day of Mourning. Since
then the Congress Movement has
held meetings, rallies and
conferences on this date. It was on
this day that the Freedom Charter
was adopted in Kliptown by 3,000

delegates. The ANC regards this day as Freedom Day.

AUGUST 9 - WOMEN'S DAY

More than 20,000 women marched on Pretoria to protest the imposition of passes on African women. In a solemn demonstration of unity and fighting spirit, the women sang their defiant song: 'You have touched the women, k you have struck a rock'. This day, South African Women's Day, is a symbol of resistance by our women.

DECEMBER 16

HEROES DAY

On this day in 1961 Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed. December 16th has a special significance in the history of our people's struggle against colonialism in the 19th century. Umkhonto we Sizwe announced its existence through acts of sabotage. The era of armed struggle had begun.

CHAPTER FOUR

JOINING THE ANC

2. How many ANC

members?

Any South African by birth or residence over the age of 18 can apply. So can spouses or children of South Africans if they identify with the country and the people's struggles. The organisation is open to all, irrespective of race, gender, language or creed.

The standard procedure is to approach the secretary of the local ANC branch, or, if no branch exists, the secretary of the Regional Executive Committee. You will be expected to provide information on your background, to undertake to engage in activity in pursuit of the aims and objectives of the ANC and to pay an annual subscription fee.

The decision to accept or reject a membership application will be made by the body authorised to receive the application. If your application is rejected, you have the right to appeal to the Region from the branch or to the Interim Leadership Core and the National Executive Committee from the Region.

The main qualities expected of a member are personal integrity and willingness to work for the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa in which all forms of national and racial oppression will be eliminated. It is not necessary to be learned in political theory or to be able to speak English to become a member. Nor is anyone excluded because of their parentage. What matters is commitment to the cause of freedom, democracy and social justice.

The procedures for existing members will be different. This applies to those who have served in the underground, in exile or prison as members of the ANC. It also applies to persons who were members at the time the organisation was banned and who have never dropped out of the struggle. All such persons will be registered as existing members and allocated to branches in the area where they live.

2. What is the role of ANC members?

ANC members are expected to take an active part in the life of their branches; to pay their subscriptions; to take all necessary steps to understand and carry out the aims, policy and programme of the ANC. They must deepen their own understanding of the social, cultural, political and economic problems of the country; explain the aims, policy and programme of the Movement to the people; combat propaganda detrimental to the interests of the ANC and defend the policy and programme of the Movement;

It is the duty of an ANC member to fight against racism, ethnic chauvinism, sexism, religious intolerance or any other form of discrimination or chauvinism. ANC members must be disciplined; behave honestly and loyally carry out decisions of the majority and decisions of the

THE SPEAR

AND

SHIELD

The spear and shield symbolise the early wars of resistance. This tradition is continued today by the ANC and especially its military wing,

Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Spear of the Nation,
which was formed in 1961, 49 years after the
formatio n of the ANC.

of higher bodies; and to inform their branches when moving to another area.

In addition to fulfilling the general norms and standards of the organisation, members are prohibited from abusing office, behaving corruptly, indulging in sexual harassment or misappropriation of funds or property. An ANC member must not take part in any disgraceful practice that brings the organisation into disrepute or manifests flagrant violation of the moral integrity expected of members.

At the same time, disciplinary proceedings should not be abused to stifle the free expression of opinion, nor to interfere with the private lives of members where the norms of the organisation are not directly affected.

7. In which?

Of course not. All members of the ANC enjoy certain necessary rights within the organisation. Like the duties and obligations, members' rights apply to all without regard to rank, origin or any other discriminatory consideration.

These rights have to be understood in the context of the general character of the ANC.

The ANC is a democratic organisation whose policies are determined by the membership and whose leadership is accountable to the members.

In its composition and functioning, the ANC is anti-racist and against any form of ethnic exclusivism or chauvinism. While striving for the maximum unity of purpose and functioning, the ANC respects the linguistic, cultural and religious diversity of its members. It supports the emancipation of women, who have the right to have their voices heard and to be properly represented and active at all levels in the organisation. While the ANC is a secular organisation, it accords members the right, on a non-denominational basis, to have their spiritual needs inside the organisation ministered to.

The principles of free speech and full circulation of ideas are recognised. All members have the right to hold office at all levels without regard to race, gender, colour or creed.

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More concretely, members have the right to take a full and active part in the discussion, formulation and implementation of policy. They have the right to offer constructive criticism of any member, official, decision, policy, programme or activity of the organisation as long as such criticism is conducted within structures of the Movement. Members take part in elections and stand for any position or office within the ANC; they can submit proposals or statements to the branch, regional or national leadership.

2. An ANC member belongs to

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Most certainly. It would be surprising if someone belonged only to the ANC, and not to religious, trade union, community, professional, sporting, business or social organisation as well. What would not be possible would be to belong to other political organisations that have policies opposed to those of the ANC.

ANC members who belong to other organisations are expected to be loyal members of such organisations. They will fight for the ANC philosophy wherever they are, but do not form cliques or factions. Similarly, persons

belonging to other organisations who join the ANC will be expected to be loyal and active members of the ANC and not gang up on the basis of membership of other organisations.

2. Wh r h

ANfce ?

min k h h

Since February 2nd, the political situation within our country has changed drastically. The ANC and other organisations are unbanned; leaders have been released; exiles are returning; and the first steps towards real negotiations have been taken...

However, these changes mu st not be confused with the fundamental question of ending apartheid. This outrageous system is alive and well in all its main manifestations. Black people

do not have the right to vote or stand for elections to bodies of real power; we are still saddled with a racist parliament, bantustans and ghetto councils; apartheid education is still operational; the wealth of the country still serves the interests of a minority, to quote but a few examples. The struggle to rid our country of these evils must continue.

The main task of the ANC is to organise and mobilise the people, black and white, to act together to bring about a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. This task has become, more than ever before, the cutting edge of our struggle. Success in negotiations - if they do come - will depend, not so much on the skills of those who sit at the negotiating table. It will rest on what members of the ANC and other anti-apartheid organisations do. It will depend on what all South Africans do to bring an end to the system of apartheid.

It is therefore crucial for all South Africans interested in the achievement of a democratic and non-racial society to throw in their lot with the ANC. It is the duty of all ANC members to build the movement into a strong mass formation, take active part in the formulation of policy and spread the ideas of freedom and democracy far and wide.

There are many other organisations, sectoral, local and national. Many of them agree with ANC policies and act jointly with it. Others differ with the movement on certain questions of strategy and even tactics, but seek to create a society free from racism and oppression. All these formations must be welded into a broad patriotic front and work together on those issues on which they agree. At the same time, democratic sectoral organisations of workers, students, professionals, religious communities, traditional leaders and others must be strengthened.

Civic structures, street committees and other peoples organs must be consolidated in the townships and villages. The people must run their own lives in a democratic manner. Crime and hooliganism must be uprooted, mainly through education and patient persuasion. Using the weapon of ANC policies and its vision, members must strive to bring to the fold of struggle those who have served and are serving in the army, police and administration of the apartheid system.

The strength of the forces for transformation will rely also on their support.

The eradication of apartheid requires organised mass action. The demand for transformation must be backed by calls and actions to bring such transformation into being.

At the forefront of such action should be:
it the creation, consolidation and defence of the atmosphere for free political activity.
it the demand for an impartial Interim Government, a Constituent Assembly and one-person, one-vote

it the call for people to run their own lives where they live and work;

it the demands for a Living Wage, for land, better housing and low rents, a democratic education system, and all other rights.

This is the time to build the people's forces and act to change the political balance in favour

of the movement for a united, non- racial and
democratic South Africa.

EVERY DEMOCRAT

AN ANC MEMBER!

EVERY ANC MEMBER AN ORGANISER!

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THE
FREEDOM
CHARTER

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:
that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;
that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;
that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;
that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore we, the people of South Africa, black and white together - equals, countrymen and brothers - adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;
All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;
The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;
All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

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ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL
HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;
All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;
All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;
The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;
All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE
COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of the country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;
The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;
All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;
All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.
THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED
AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial
basis shall be ended, and all the land
redivided among those who work it, to banish
famine and land hunger;
The state shall help the peasants with
implements, seed, tractors and dams to save
the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to
all who work on the land;
All shall have the right to occupy land
wherever they choose;
People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and
forced labour and farm prisons shall be
abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL
BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or
restricted without a fair trial;
No one shall be condemned by the order of
any government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the
people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes
against the people, and shall aim at re-
education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all
on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and
protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of
race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY
EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to
speak, to organise, to meet together, to
publish, to preach, to worship and to educate
their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids
shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction
from countryside to town, from province to
province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits and all other laws
restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND
SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade
unions, to elect their officers and to make
wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of
all to work, and to draw full unemployment
benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive
equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a
national minimum wage, paid annual leave,
sick leave for all workers, and maternity
leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and
civil servants shall have the same rights as all
others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot
system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF
CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and
encourage national talent for the enhancement
of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be
open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas
and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the
youth to love their people and their culture, to
honour human brotherhood, liberty and
peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory,
universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall
be opened to all by means of state allowances

and scholarships awarded on the basis of
merit;
Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state
education plan;
Teachers shall have all the rights of other
citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES,
SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space is to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and all laws which break up

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families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND
FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates - Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland - shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT
FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT
OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON
OUR LIBERTY!

Adopted at Kliptown. 26th June, 1955

MANIFESTO OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

Leaflet issued by command of Umkhonto we Sizwe, 16th December 1961

Units of Umkhonto we Sizwe today carried out planned attacks against government installations, particularly those connected with the policy of apartheid and race discrimination.

Umkhonto we Sizwe is a new, independent body, formed by Africans, It includes in its ranks South

Africans of all races. It is not connected in any way with a so-called Committee for National

Liberation whose existence has been announced in the press. Umkhonto we Sizwe will carry on the

struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods, which are necessary to complement the actions

of the established national liberation organisations. Umkhonto we Sizwe fully supports the national

liberation movement, and our members jointly and individually, place themselves under the overall

political guidance of that movement.

It is, however, well known that the main national liberation organisations in this country have

consistently followed a policy of non-violence. They have conducted themselves peaceably at all

times, regardless of government attacks and persecutions upon them, and despite all government-

inspired attempts to provoke them to violence. They have done so because the people prefer peaceful

methods of change to achieve their aspirations without the suffering and bitterness of civil war. But

the people's patience is not endless.

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That

time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by

all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.

The government has interpreted the peacefulness of the movement as weakness; the people's non-

violent policies have been taken as a green light for government violence. Refusal to resort to force

has been interpreted by the government as an invitation to use armed force against the people without

any fear of reprisals. The methods of Umkhonto we Sizwe mark a break with that past.

We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country.

The government

policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only! The

choice is not ours; it has been made by the Nationalist government which has rejected ever peaceable

demand by the people for rights and freedom and answered ever such demand with force and yet more

force! Twice in the past 18 months, virtual martial law has been imposed in order to beat down

peaceful, non-violent strike action of the people in support of their rights. It is now preparing its forces

- enlarging and rearming its armed forces and drawing the white civilian population into commandos

and pistol clubs - for full-scale military actions against the people. The Nationalist government has

chosen the course of force and massacre, now, deliberately, as it did at Sharpeville.

Umkhonto we Sizwe will be at the front line of the people's defence. It will be the fighting arm of

the people against the government and its policies of race oppression. It will be the striking force of

the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation! Let the government, its supporters who

put it into power, and those whose passive toleration of reaction keeps it in power, take note of where the Nationalist government is leading the country!

We of Umkhonto we Sizwe have always sought -as the liberation movement has sought - to achieve liberation without bloodshed and civil clash. We do so still. We hope - even at this late hour - that our first actions will awaken every one to a realisation of the disastrous situation to which the Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both the government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war. We believe our actions to be a blow against the Nationalist preparations for civil war and military rule.

In these actions, we are working in the best interests of all the people of this country - black, brown and white - whose future happiness and well-being cannot be attained without the overthrow of the Nationalist government, the abolition of white supremacy and the winning of liberty, democracy and full national rights and equality for all the people of this country.

We appeal for the support and encouragement of all those South Africans who seek the happiness and freedom of the people of this country.

Afrika Mayibuye!

7111' ANC rally (1/ Sm't't'r Cily

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THE ANC INTERIM CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Whereas the ANC was founded in 1912 to defend and advance the rights of the African people after the violent destruction of their independence and the creation of the white supremacist Union of South Africa; and

Whereas in the course of fulfilling this historic aim, the ANC has emerged to lead the fight of all democratic and patriotic forces to destroy the apartheid state and replace it with a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa in which the people as a whole shall govern and all shall enjoy equal rights; and

Whereas through the struggles and sacrifices of its members over the generations the ANC has come to be recognised as the central organiser and inspirer of a vast popular upsurge against apartheid, involving a great array of social, cultural, religious, trade union, professional and political organisations; and

Whereas, pending the adoption of a new Constitution, duly adopted at a national conference on South African soil, reflecting its new role and responsibilities in the new South Africa that is being created, it is necessary to have a constitutional framework for the re-establishment of the ANC functioning legally in South Africa;

The National Executive Committee of the ANC, basing itself on the terms of the 1958 Constitution of the ANC, as updated by the Constitutional Guidelines adopted at the Kabwe National Consultative Conference in 1985, hereby adopts the following constitutional framework for the period of re-establishment leading up to the holding of a National Conference.

1. NAME

The name of the organisation shall be the African National Congress, hereinafter referred to as the ANC.

2. AIMS AND OBJECTS

The aims and objects of the ANC shall be:

1. To unite the people of South Africa, Africans in particular, for the complete liberation of the country from all forms of discrimination and national oppression.
2. To end apartheid in all its forms and transform South Africa as rapidly as possible into a united, non-racial and democratic country based on the principles of the Freedom Charter.
3. To defend the democratic gains of the people and advance towards a society in which the government is freely chosen by the people according to the principles of universal suffrage on a common voters roll.
4. To fight for social justice and eliminate the vast inequalities created by apartheid.
5. To build a South African nation with a common patriotism and loyalty in which the cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of the people is recognised.
6. To promote economic development for the benefit of all.
7. To support the cause of national liberation, development, world peace, disarmament and respect for the environment.

3. CHARACTER OF THE ANC

1. The ANC is a democratic organisation whose policies are determined by the membership and whose leadership is accountable to the members in terms of the procedures laid down in the Constitution.
2. The ANC shall in its composition and functioning be anti-racist and against any form of tribalistic exclusivism or ethnic chauvinism.

3. While striving for the maximum unity of purpose and functioning, the ANC shall respect the linguistic, cultural and religious diversity of its members.

4. The ANC shall support the emancipation of women and ensure that the voice of women is fully heard in the organisation and that women are properly represented at all levels.

5. The principles of free speech and full circulation of ideas and information shall operate within the ANC.

6. Membership of all bodies of the ANC will be open to all men and women in the organisation without regard to race, colour or creed.

7. While the ANC is a secular organisation, it collaborates closely with religious bodies in the country and provides, on a non-denominational basis, for recognition of the spiritual needs of its many members who are believers.

MEMBERSHIP

1. Membership of the ANC shall be open to all South African men and women above the age of 18 years, irrespective of race, colour or creed, who accept its principles, policies and programme and are prepared to abide by its Constitution and rules.

2. Spouses, or children of South Africans who have manifested a clear identification with the South African people and its struggle, may apply for membership.

3. The National Executive Committee of the ANC (hereinafter referred to as the NEC), shall draw up a list of existing members of the ANC. This shall include men and women who have functioned in ANC units in the underground, in prison and in exile, as well as persons who were enrolled as members of the ANC at the time it was banned and who have maintained their links with the people's struggle.

4. The NEC shall appoint persons in all the regions of South Africa to receive applications for membership. Where branches have been established, such persons shall be members of the branch committee.

5. Applications for membership shall be considered by the branch committee where such exists, and by the regional executive if no branch committee exists. The branch committee, the regional executive committee, or such interim structures as the NEC may create from time to time to decide on applications, shall have the power to accept or refuse any application for membership submitted to it, provided that such acceptance or refusal shall be subject to review by the next higher organ of the ANC.

6. The NEC shall arrange for membership cards to be issued to registered members of the ANC and to persons whose application for membership has been

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accepted, subject to review as aforesaid, and, in all cases, subject to payment of the prescribed subscription.

7. On being accepted into the ANC, new members shall, in a language he or she knows well, make the following solemn declaration to the body or person who received the application:

"I, ,
solemnly declare that I will abide by the
aims and objectives of the ANC as set
out in the Constitution and the Freedom
Charter, that I am joining the organi-
sation voluntarily and without motives
of personal gain or material advantage,
and that I will participate in the life of the
organisation as a loyal, active and dis-
ciplined member."

8. Members shall pay an annual subscription fee calculated as a percentage of income, as determined by the NEC. Non-earning members or those on reduced incomes will pay a flat fee at a low amount to be fixed by the NEC.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERS

1. Rights

A member of the ANC shall have the right to:

- a) Take a full and active part in the discussion, formulation and implementation of the policy of the ANC.
- b) Receive and impart information on all aspects of ANC policy and activities.
- c) Offer constructive criticism of any member, official, decision policy, programme or activity of the ANC.
- d) Take part in elections and be elected or appointed to any committee, structure, commission or delegation of the ANC.
- e) Submit proposals or statements to the branch, region or NBC.

2. Duties

A member of the ANC shall:

- a) Belong to and take an active part in the life of his or her branch.
- b) Take all necessary steps to understand and carry out the aims, policy and programme of the ANC.
- 0) Explain the aims, policy and programme of the ANC to the people.
- (1) Deepen his or her understanding of the social, cultural, political and economic problems of the

country.

e) Combat propaganda detrimental to the interests of the Movement and defend the policy and programme of the ANC.

1) Fight against racism, tribal chauvinism, sexism, religious intolerance or any other form of discrimination or chauvinism.

g) Observe discipline, behave honestly and carry out loyally decisions of the majority and decisions of higher bodies.

h) Inform his or her branch of movement to any other area, and report to the branch committee secretary on arriving at any new area.

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

1. The ANC shall consist of the following organs:

a) The National Conference which elects the NEC.

b) The Regional Conferences, which elect the regional executive committees.

c) The branch meetings, which elect the branch committees.

2. Branches may be grouped together into zones and may be subdivided into smaller units such as street committees.

3. Pending the re-establishment of regional committees and branches, the NEC may nominate temporary structures to carry out their functions.

4. The ANC Women's League shall have the same basic structure, namely national, regional and branch. Its objectives will be to defend and advance the rights of women, both inside and outside the ANC, against all forms of national, social and gender oppression and to ensure that women play a full role in the life of the organisation, in the people's struggle and in national life. The Women's League will function as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC, of which it will be an integral part.

5. The ANC Youth League shall be open to persons between the ages of 14 and 30. It will operate on a national, regional and branch basis. Its objectives will be to unite and lead young men and women in confronting and dealing with the problems that face the youth, and in ensuring that the youth make a full and rich contribution to the work of the ANC and to the life of the nation. The Youth League will function as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC, of which it shall be an autonomous part.

6. Members of the Women's League and Youth League over the age of 18 shall be expected to play a full part in the general political life of the ANC.

7. This interim constitutional framework shall serve as the basis for the convening of the next national conference of the ANC at which a new Constitution for the ANC will be adopted.

HEADQUARTERS

National Headquarters will be established in Johannesburg.

REGIONAL STRUCTURES

The country will be divided into the following regions:

Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Border, Transkei, Southern Natal, Midlands, Northern Natal, Northern OFS, Southern OFS, Northern Transvaal, PWV, Western Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal.

The regional headquarters will respectively be:

Cape Town, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth, East London, Umtata, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Empangeni, Welkom, Bloemfontein, Pietersburg, Johannesburg, Rustenburg, Nelspruit.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The National Conference shall be the supreme ruling and controlling body of the ANC. It shall be composed as follows:

a) At least 90% of delegates shall be chosen directly by branches in proportion to their membership, save that special provision can be made to ensure adequate representation of areas where membership is reduced.

b) The NEC may invite individuals who have made a special contribution to the struggle or who have special skills or experience to offer the conference, their total number not to exceed 10% of delegates.

c) All members of the NEC will attend ex-officio as full participants in the conference.

(1) The NEC shall appoint a conference organising committee which will circulate conference information in advance, determine the precise procedure for selection of delegates and indicate how the membership can ensure that their concerns are on the agenda.

e) The conference shall determine its own procedures in accordance with democratic principles.

0 Voting on key questions, including election of office-bearers and members of the NEC, shall be by secret ballot.

DUTIES AND POWERS
OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The National Conference shall:

- a) Decide and determine the policy, programme and Constitution of the ANC.
- b) Receive and discuss the reports of the NEC which shall include the Presidential address, the Secretary General's Report, the Treasurer General's report, and reports from the regions and from the Women's League and the Youth League.
- c) Have the right and power to review, ratify, alter or rescind any decision taken by any of the constituent bodies, units or officials of the ANC.
- d) Elect the President General, the Deputy President, the Secretary General, the Treasurer General and the remaining 40 members of the NEC; nomination shall be by delegates at the Conference.
- e) Have the power to elect or appoint any Commission or committee and assign specific tasks and duties to such Commission or committee.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. The National Executive Committee shall be elected by the National Conference and shall hold office for three (3) years.
2. The NEC shall be constituted as follows:
 - a) President General, Deputy President General, Secretary General, Treasurer General and the remaining forty (40) members elected at the National Conference.
 - b) The president and secretary of each region, or their respective deputies, who shall be ex-officio members of the NEC.
 - c) The president of the Women's League and the president of the Youth League, or their respective deputies, who shall be ex-officio members of the NEC.
3. The NEC shall have the power to elect new members to replace persons who cease to be members.
4. The NEC shall meet on the day of its election and thereafter at least four times a year.
5. The NEC shall appoint from amongst its members a National Working Committee of not less than seven (7) members residing within a radius of fifty miles of the National Headquarters, who shall constitute a permanent core responsible for the activities of the NEC in between meetings.
6. The NEC shall appoint the National Organising Secretary.

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7. The NEC shall appoint the National Finance and Control Committee.
8. The NEC shall:
 - a) Carry out the decisions and instructions of the National Conference.
 - b) Issue and send directives and instructions to and demand and receive reports from regional committees and branches.
 - c) Supervise and direct the work of the ANC generally.
 - (1) Ensure that the regional and branch structures of the ANC function democratically and effectively.
 - e) Supervise the work of the Women's League and the Youth League.
 - f) Manage and control all the national property and funds of the ANC.
 - g) Submit reports to the National Conference.
 - h) Do all things necessary in furtherance of the policy and programme of the ANC.

THE NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

The National Working Committee (NWC) shall:

- a) Carry out decisions and instructions of the National Conference and the NEC.
- b) Conduct the current work of the ANC and ensure that regions and branches carry out decisions of ANC.
- c) Submit a report to each NEC meeting.

THE NATIONAL FINANCE
AND CONTROL COMMITTEE

The National Finance and Control Committee shall consist of senior cadres of proven reliability and experience in handling financial matters, who shall be responsible for monitoring the collection, receipt, allocation and spending of funds. It shall have under it the Treasury and Fundraising Committee, and shall report to the NEC on the state of the organisation's funds and resources before each NEC meeting.

DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF OFFICIALS

1. The President General:

The President General is the head and chief directing officer of the ANC and the leader of the house in a national conference. He or she shall:

- 3) Present to the National Conference a comprehensive statement of the state of the nation and the political situation generally.

- b) Make pronouncements for and on behalf of the NEC outlining and explaining the policy or attitude of the ANC on any question.
- c) Preside over meetings of the NEC in conformity with the Constitution, by-laws and rules of procedure adopted by the NEC.
- d) Be an ex-officio member of the NWC.
- e) Be Commander-in-Chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe.
- t) In carrying out his or her functions, the President General shall be assisted by a Presidential Council consisting of the Deputy President General, the Secretary General, the Treasurer General and such other members as the NEC may appoint.
- g) The President General shall, under the overall supervision of the NEC, orient and direct the activities of the Constitutional Committee of the ANC.

2. Deputy President General

The Deputy President General shall assist the President General, deputise for him or her when necessary and carry out whatever functions are entrusted to him or her by the National Conference, the President General or the NBC.

3. The Secretary General

The Secretary General is the chief administrative officer of the ANC. He or she shall:

- a) Keep the minutes of the National Conference, the NEC, the NWC as well as other records of the ANC.
- b) Conduct the correspondence of the NBC and the NWC and send out notices of all conferences and meetings at the national level.
- 0) Convey the decisions and instructions of the National Conference, the NBC and the NWC to the regional committees, and see to it that all units of the ANC carry out their duties properly.
- (1) Prepare annual reports on the work of the NBC and the NWC and such other documents which may, from time to time, be required by the NBC and the NWC.
- e) In the absence of the President General or the Deputy President General, the Secretary General shall assume the functions of the President. In the event of death or permanent incapacity of the President General and the Deputy President General, the NEC shall as soon as possible appoint an Acting President until such time as the National Conference meets.

3. Treasurer General

The Treasurer General is the chief custodian of the funds and property of the ANC. He or she shall:

- a) Receive and bank all monies on behalf of the NBC and shall, together with any two members of the NEC, operate a banking account.
- b) Keep such books of account as may be necessary to record clearly the financial position of the ANC.
- c) Submit to the National Conference a report showing the Income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet of the ANC for the period since the previous National Conference, and shall submit periodic reports to the NBC and the NWC.

(1) Be responsible, with the National Finance and Control Committee, for working out and executing plans for fund raising.

4. The Auditor General

The NEC shall establish the office of Auditor General with the task of ensuring strict control of the assets of the ANC and accountability of members concerned with financial matters. The Auditor General's office shall:

- a) Be headed by a member of the NBC and shall consist of three members chosen on the basis of

proven integrity and standing in the movement.

b) Have all the powers necessary to act as permanent financial watchdog of the ANC.

c) Normally function collectively, but may on an ad hoc basis entrust specific tasks to its members.

(1) Act as a supervisory financial inspectorate with access to all books and financial documents of the ANC and the right to make such reports and recommendations as it sees fit.

e) Be accountable to the NEC through the National Finance and Control Committee, and be independent of the Treasury.

5. The National Organising Secretary

The National Organising Secretary shall be appointed by the NEC with the task of organising the ANC nationally, recruiting new members and generally strengthening the organisational machinery of the ANC.

6. The National Chaplain

The National Chaplain shall be appointed by the NEC on a non-denominational basis to provide such spiritual leadership as believers in the ANC might wish to have, including the saying of prayers at the National Conference.

REGIONAL STRUCTURES

Subject to the overall guidance of the national leadership, the Regional Conference shall be the highest organ of the ANC in each region. The Regional Conference shall:

- a) Be held at least once a year and more often if requested by at least one third of all branches in the region.
- b) Be a delegates conference attended by delegates chosen on a democratic basis by all branches in the region, with Special attention being paid to securing adequate representation of areas where membership is reduced.
- c) Be attended by members of the Regional Executive Committee who shall have full voting and speaking rights as ex-officio participants.
 - (1) Carry out the decisions of the National Conference, the NEC and the NWC.
- e) Receive and consider reports by the Regional Executive Committee.
 - 0 Elect the Regional President, Secretary, Treasurer and eight (8) other members of the Regional Executive Committee; and
- g) Carry out and develop the policy and programme of the ANC in the region.
- h) Pending the creation of branches and the holding of a Regional Conference in any region, the NEC shall appoint an interim Regional Executive Committee for that area.

REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Regional Executive Committee shall be the body responsible for carrying out the decisions of the Regional Conference. It shall consist of the Regional Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer and eight other men and women elected by the Regional Conference. The Regional Chairpersons of the Women's League and the Youth League shall be ex-officio members with full voting and speaking rights. The REC shall:

- a) Meet on the day of its election to elect the Regional Working Committee and thereafter at least once every three months.
 - b) Carry out the decisions of the Regional Conference and of the national leadership.
 - c) Manage and control the funds of the ANC in the region.
 - (1) Submit reports to the NEC as often as is required on the state of the organisation, the financial position of the region, and such other matters as may be specified.
 - e) Appoint the regional organiser, who need not be
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a member of the REC.

- l) Organise and establish branches in the region.
- g) Carry out the policy and programme of the ANC and do all things necessary to further the interests, aims and objects of the organisation.

REGIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

The Regional Working Committee shall be a core group of the REC and shall consist of not less than one quarter of its members, all of whom shall reside within fifty miles of the regional headquarters. It shall perform the duties and functions of the REC to which it shall report.

FUNCTIONING OF THE

REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. Pending the holding of Regional Conferences, the NEC may appoint interim members of the RECs.
2. Regional offices shall, with due allowance for differences of detail, perform the same functions as

their national counterparts.

3. Any three or more branches within a region may be grouped into zones, with appropriate organisational structure.

BRANCHES

Every member of the ANC shall belong to a branch, which shall be the basic unit of the organisation. The branch shall:

1. Be registered with the REC.
2. Meet as provided for in the rules and regulations.
3. Be the place where members exercise their basic democratic rights to discuss and formulate policy.
4. Be the basic unit of activity for members.
5. Elect at an annual branch meeting a chairperson, secretary, treasurer and six other committee members.
6. The branch committee shall:
 - a) Meet on the day of its election and choose a branch sub-committee to carry on the day-to-day affairs of the branch.
 - b) Carry out the publicity and organisational work in its area in furtherance of the policy, programme and decisions of the ANC.
 - c) Submit reports on its work to the branch meeting and at least each quarter to the REC.
 - d) Look after the funds of the branch.

DISCIPLINE

1. The NEC shall review all cases presently falling under the Code of Conduct and take such decisions as may be necessary to benefit persons affected by the Code.
2. In the light of experience gained in the period of re-establishment of the ANC a new Code of Conduct shall be drafted for presentation to the National Conference.
3. In the interim, the existing Code of Conduct will operate insofar as it is relevant, and will progressively be replaced by disciplinary proceedings to be exercised according to the following principles:
 - a) Disciplinary proceedings should be confined to violations of the basic principles and norms of the ANC, and not be used as a means for stalling debate or denying members their basic democratic rights.
 - b) Proceedings shall normally be conducted at the level where the alleged violations took place, namely branch, region or national, and shall be heard by the relevant structure.
 - c) Any person faced with disciplinary proceedings shall receive due notice of any hearing and of the basic allegations against him or her and be afforded a reasonable opportunity to make his or her defence.
 - (1) Any person adversely affected by the outcome of any hearing shall have the right to have the matter reviewed by the next higher body of the ANC.
 - e) Penalties for proven violations of the Constitution, principles, norms and decisions of the ANC shall include reprimand, suspension, expulsion, payment of compensation, the performance of useful tasks, and demotion.
 - f) Matters shall be attended to expeditiously.
 - g) In addition to misconduct which directly violates the norms of the ANC, any abuse of office, corruption, sexual harassment or misappropriation of funds shall give rise to proceedings.
 - h) Proceedings may also be brought against members who behave in a disgraceful way that brings the organisation into disrepute or manifests a flagrant violation of the moral integrity expected of members.
 - i) Disciplinary proceedings shall not be brought as a means of solving private problems or as a means of interfering in the private lives of members where the norms of the organisation are not directly affected.
 - j) Members who fail to pay their subscriptions for six months or who fail without just cause to attend branch meetings for three consecutive months, and who have been reminded of their lapse and not responded appropriately, shall be lapsed from membership.

FUNDS

The NEC shall adopt a document entitled ANC Funds which, in the light of constitutional provisions, will set out the manner in which funds will be raised and utilised and which will in particular indicate how funds shall be distributed at the branch, regional and national levels. Proper records shall be kept of all receipts and expenditures and regular evaluations made of all assets.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

1. The NEC shall have the power to adopt rules and regulations for the better carrying out of the activities of the ANC, and in particular to deal with transitional situations brought about by the changing political position in South Africa.
2. The REC's shall have the power to adopt rules and regulations for the better functioning of the ANC in their respective regions and, in particular, to deal

with transitional situations as referred to above.

3. All such rules and regulations shall be consistent with the constitutional norms of the ANC, and rules and regulations framed by a REC shall only become operative when approved by the NEC, or, on a provisional basis pending approval by the NEC, by the N WC.

AMENDMENTS

This constitutional framework is intended to be operative in the period leading up to the holding of a National Conference, when a new Constitution will be adopted or the groundwork laid for the adoption of a new Constitution. Any new proposed Constitution shall be submitted to the membership who shall be given a reasonable opportunity to study it and propose amendments.

GENERAL

The ANC shall have perpetual succession and power, apart from its individual members, to acquire, hold and alienate property, enter into agreements, and do all things necessary to carry out its aims and objects and defend its members, property and reputation.

CONSTITUTIONAL GUIDELINES
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

The Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955 by the Congress of the People at Kliptown near Johannesburg, was the first systematic statement in the history of our country of the political and constitutional vision of a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa. The Freedom Charter remains today unique as the only South African document of its kind that adheres firmly to democratic principles as accepted throughout the world. Amongst South Africans it has become by far the most widely accepted programme for a post-apartheid country. The stage is now approaching where the Freedom Charter must be converted from a vision for the future into a constitutional reality. We in the African National Congress submit to the people of South Africa, and to all those throughout the world who wish to see an end to apartheid, our basic guidelines for the foundations of government in a post-apartheid South Africa. Extensive and democratic debate on these guidelines will mobilise the widest sections of our population to achieve agreement on how to put an end to the tyranny and oppression under which our people live, thus enabling them to lead normal and decent lives as free citizens in a free country. The immediate aim is to create a just and democratic society that will sweep away the centuries-old legacy of colonial conquest and white domination, and abolish all laws imposing racial oppression and discrimination. The removal of discriminatory laws and eradication of all vestiges of the illegitimate regime are, however, not enough; the structures and the institutions of apartheid must be dismantled and be replaced by democratic ones. Steps must be taken to ensure that apartheid ideas and practices are not permitted to appear in old forms or new. In addition, the effects of centuries of racial domination and inequality must be overcome by constitutional provisions for corrective action which guarantees a rapid and irreversible redistribution of wealth and opening up of facilities to all. The Constitution must also be such as to promote the habits of non-racial and non-sexist thinking, the practice of anti-racist behaviour and the acquisition of genuinely shared patriotic consciousness. The Constitution must give firm protection to the fundamental human rights of all citizens. There shall be equal rights for all individuals, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed. In addition, it requires the entrenching of equal cultural, linguistic and religious rights for all. Under the conditions of contemporary South Africa 87% of the land and 95% of the instruments of production of the country are in the hands of the ruling class, which is solely drawn from the white community. It follows, therefore, that constitutional protection for group rights would perpetuate the status quo and would mean that the mass of the people would continue to be constitutionally trapped in poverty and remain as outsiders in the land of their birth. Finally, success of the constitution will be, to a large extent, determined by the degree to which it promotes conditions for the active involvement of all sectors of the population at all levels in government and in the economic and cultural life. Bearing these fundamental objectives in mind, we declare that the elimination of apartheid and the creation of a truly just and democratic South Africa requires a constitution based on the following principles:

The State:

- a) South Africa shall be an independent, unitary, democratic and non-racial state.
- b)i. Sovereignty shall belong to the people as a whole and shall be exercised through one central

legislature, executive and administration.

ii. Provision shall be made for the delegation of the powers of the central authority to subordinate administrative units for purposes of more efficient administration and democratic participation.

0) The institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed to serve the interests of the people as a whole in conformity with the democratic principles embodied in the constitution.

d) All organs of government including justice, security and armed forces shall be representative of the people as a whole, democratic in their structure and functioning, and dedicated to defending the principles of the constitution.

Franchise

e) In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall have the right to vote under a system of

universal suffrage based on the principle of one person, one vote.

f) Every voter shall have the right to stand for election and be elected to all legislative bodies.

National Identity

g) It shall be state policy to promote the growth of a single national identity and loyalty binding on

all South Africans. At the same time, the state shall recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of

the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development.

A Bill of Rights and Affirmative Action

h) The constitution shall include a Bill of Rights based on the Freedom Charter. Such a Bill of Rights

shall guarantee the fundamental human rights of all citizens irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed,

and shall provide appropriate mechanisms for their enforcement.

i) The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to eradicate race

discrimination in all its forms.

j) The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to take active steps to

eradicate, speedily, the economic and social inequalities produced by racial discrimination.

k) The advocacy or practice of racism, fascism, Nazism or the incitement of ethnic or regional

exclusiveness or hatred shall be outlawed.

l) Subject to clauses (i) and (k) above, the democratic state shall guarantee the basic rights and

freedoms, such as freedom of association, expression, thought, worship and the press. Furthermore,

the state shall have the duty to protect the right to work, and guarantee education and social security.

m) All parties which conform to the provisions of paragraphs (i) to (k) shall have the legal right to

exist and to take part in the political life of the country.

Economy

n) The state shall ensure that the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of all sections

of the population.

o) The state shall have the right to determine the general context in which economic life takes place and define and limit the rights and obligations attaching to the ownership and use of productive capacity.

p) The private sector of the economy shall be obliged to co-operate with the state in realising the objectives of the Freedom Charter in promoting social well-being.

q) The economy shall be a mixed one, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector and a small-scale family sector.

r) Co-operative forms of economic enterprise, village industries and smallscale family activities shall be supported by the state.

s) The state shall promote the acquisition of managerial, technical and scientific skills among all sections of the population, especially the blacks.

t) Property for personal use and consumption shall be constitutionally protected.

Land

u) The state shall devise and implement a Land Reform Programme that will include and address the following issues:

i) Abolition of all racial restrictions on ownership and use of land.

ii) Implementation of land reforms in conformity with the principle of Affirmative Action, taking into account the status of victims of forced removals.

Workers

v) A charter protecting workers' trade union rights, especially the right to strike and collective bargaining shall be incorporated into the constitution.

Women

w) Women shall have equal rights in all spheres of public and private life and the state shall take affirmative action to eliminate inequalities and discrimination between the sexes.

The Family

x) The family, parenthood and children's rights shall be protected.

International

y) South Africa shall be a non-aligned state committed to the principles of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity and the Charter of the United Nations and to the achievements of national liberation, world peace and disarmament.

DECLARATION OF THE OAU AD-HOC COMMITTEE
ON SOUTHERN AFRICA
ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA
Harare, Zimbabwe - 1st August, 1989

1. PREAMBLE

1. The people of Africa, singly, collectively and acting through the OAU, are engaged in serious efforts to establish peace throughout the continent by ending all conflicts through negotiations based on the principle of justice and peace for all.

2. We reaffirm our conviction, which history confirms, that where colonial, racial and apartheid domination exist, there can neither be peace nor justice.

3. Accordingly, we reiterate that while the apartheid system in South Africa persists, the peoples of our continent as a whole cannot achieve the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace which are both crucial in themselves and fundamental to the stability and development of Africa.

4. With regard to the region of Southern Africa, the entire continent is vitally interested that the processes, in which it is involved, leading to the complete and genuine independence of Namibia, as well as peace in Angola and Mozambique, should succeed in the shortest possible time. Equally, Africa is deeply concerned that the destabilisation by South Africa of all the countries in the region, whether through direct aggression, sponsorship of surrogates, economic subversion and other means, should end immediately.

5. We recognise the reality that permanent peace and stability in Southern Africa can only be achieved when the system of apartheid in South Africa has been liquidated and South Africa transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country. We therefore reiterate that all the necessary measures should be adopted now, to bring a speedy end to the apartheid system, in the interest of all the peoples of Southern Africa, our continent and the world at large.

6. We believe that, as a result of the liberation struggle and international pressure against apartheid, as well as global efforts to liquidate regional conflicts, possibilities exist for further movement towards the resolution of the problems facing the people of South Africa. For these possibilities to lead to fundamental change in South Africa, the Pretoria regime must abandon its abhorrent concepts and practices of racial domination and its record of failure to honour agreements, all of which have already resulted in the loss of so many lives and the destruction of much property in the countries of Southern Africa.

7. We reaffirm our recognition of the right of all peoples, including those of South Africa, to determine their own destiny, and to work out for themselves the institutions and the system of government under which they will, by general consent, live and work together to build a harmonious society. The Organisation of African Unity remains committed to do everything possible and

necessary to assist the people of South Africa, in such ways as the representatives of the oppressed may determine, to achieve this objective. We are certain that, arising from its duty to help end the criminal apartheid system, the rest of the world community is ready to extend similar assistance to the people of South Africa.

8. We make these commitments because we believe that all people are equal and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, sex or creed. We believe that all men and women have the right and duty to participate in their own government, as equal members of society.

No individual or group of individuals has any right to govern others without their consent. The apartheid system violates all these fundamental and universal principles. Correctly characterised as a crime against humanity, it is responsible for the death of countless numbers of people in South Africa. It has sought to dehumanise entire peoples. It has imposed a brutal war on the whole region of Southern Africa, resulting in untold loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent men, women and children. This scourge and affront to humanity must be fought and eradicated in its totality.

9. We have therefore supported and continue to support all those in South Africa who pursue this noble objective through political, armed and other forms of struggle. We believe this to be our duty, carried out in the interests of all humanity.

10. While extending this support to those who strive for a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa, a point on which no compromise is possible, we have repeatedly expressed our preference for a solution arrived at by peaceful means. We know that the majority of the people of South Africa and their liberation movement, who have been compelled to take up arms, have also upheld this position for many decades and continue to do so.

11. The positions contained in this Declaration are also consistent with and are a continuation of those elaborated in the Lusaka Manifesto two decades ago. They take into account the changes that have taken place in Southern Africa since that Manifesto was adopted by the OAU and the rest of the international community. They constitute a new challenge to the Pretoria regime to join in the noble effort to end the apartheid system, an objective to which the OAU has been committed from its very birth.

12. Consequently, we shall continue to do everything in our power to help intensify the liberation struggle and international pressure against the system of apartheid until this system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens.

13. In keeping with this solemn resolve, and responding directly to the wishes of the representatives of the majority of the people of South Africa, we publicly pledge ourselves to the positions contained hereunder. We are convinced that their implementation will lead to a speedy end of the apartheid system and therefore the opening of a new dawn of peace for all the peoples of Africa, in which racism, colonial domination and white minority rule on our continent would be abolished forever.

II. STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

14. We believe that a conjuncture of circumstances exists which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the Pretoria regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations. Such an eventuality would be an expression of the long-standing preference of the majority of the people of South Africa to arrive at a political settlement.

15. We would therefore encourage the people of South Africa, as part of their overall struggle, to get together to negotiate an end to the apartheid system and agree on all the measures that are necessary to transform their country into a non-racial democracy. We support the position held by the majority of the people of South Africa that these objectives, and not the amendment or reform of the apartheid system, should be the aims of the negotiations.

16. We are at one with them that the outcome of such a process should be a new constitutional order

based on the following principles, among others:

16.1. South Africa shall become a united, democratic and non-racial state.

16.2. All its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed.

16.3. All its people have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of a universal suffrage, exercised through one person one vote, under a common voters roll.

16.4. All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism.

16.5. All shall enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched Bill of Rights.

16.6. South Africa shall have a new legal system which shall guarantee equality of all before the law.

16.7. South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary.

16.8. There shall be created an economic order which shall promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans.

16.9. A democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples.

17. We believe that agreement on the above principles shall constitute the foundation for an internationally acceptable solution which shall enable South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner among the African and world community of nations.

III. CLIMATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS

18. Together with the rest of the world, we believe that it is essential, before any negotiations can take place, that the necessary climate for negotiations be created. The apartheid regime has the urgent responsibility to respond positively to this universally-acclaimed demand and thus create this climate.

19. Accordingly, the present regime should, at the very least:

19.1. Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them.

19.2. Lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons.

19.3. Remove all troops from the townships.

19.4. End the State of Emergency and repeal all legislation, such as and including the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity; and

19.5. Cease all political trials and political executions.

20. These measures are necessary to produce the conditions in which free political discussion can take place - an essential condition to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of remaking their country. The measures listed above should therefore precede negotiations.

IV. GUIDELINES TO THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION

21. We support the view of the South African liberation movement that upon the creation of this Climate, the process of negotiation should commence along the following lines:

21.1. Discussions should take place between the liberation movement and the South African regime to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire.

21.2. Negotiations should then proceed to establish the basis for the adoption of a new Constitution by agreeing on, among others, the Principles enunciated above.

21.3. Having agreed on these principles, the parties should then negotiate the necessary mechanism for drawing up the new Constitution.

21.4. The parties shall define and agree on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order.

21.5. The parties shall agree on the formation of an interim government to supervise the process of the drawing up and adoption of a new Constitution; govern and administer the country, as well as effect the transition to a democratic order including the holding of elections.

21.6. After the adoption of the new Constitution, all armed hostilities will be deemed to have formally terminated.

21.7. For its part, the international community would lift the sanctions that have been imposed against apartheid South Africa.

22. The new South Africa shall qualify for membership of the Organisation of African Unity.

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V. PROGRAMME OF ACTION

23. In pursuance of the objectives stated in this document, the Organisation of African Unity hereby

commits itself to:

23.1. Inform governments and inter-governmental organisations throughout the world, includ-

ing the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations General Assembly, the Security Council, the Commonwealth and others of these perspectives, and solicit their support.

23.2. Mandate the OAU Ad-Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, acting as the representative of the OAU and assisted by the Frontline States, to remain seized of the issues of a political

resolution of the South African question.

23.3. Step up all-round support for the South African liberation movement and campaign in the

rest of the world in pursuance of this objective.

23.4. Intensify the campaign for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa: in this regard, immediately mobilise against the rescheduling of Pretoria's foreign

debt; work for the imposition of a mandatory oil embargo and the full observance by all countries of the arms embargo.

23.5. Ensure that the African continent does not relax existing measures for the total isolation

of apartheid South Africa.

23.6. Continue to monitor the situation in Namibia and extend all necessary support to SWAPO

in its struggle for a genuinely independent Namibia.

23.7. Extend such assistance as the Governments of Angola and Mozambique may request in order to secure peace for their peoples; and

23.8. Render all possible assistance to the Frontline States to enable them to withstand Pretoria's

campaign of aggression and destabilisation and enable them to continue to give their all-round

support to the people of Namibia and South Africa.

24. We appeal to all people of goodwill throughout the world to support this Programme of Action

as a necessary measure to secure the earliest liquidation of the apartheid system and the trans-

formation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

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W8ch row From left to right: Archie Gumede, Ahmed Kathrada. Joe Modise, Beyer: Naude, Thabo Mbeki. Front row from left to right: Ruth

v Mompoti. Alfred Nzo. Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo, Walter Sisulu. Cheryl Carolus.

The ANC delegation met 10 May 2 talks with Dc Klurk Ix g(n'mmzz'ul

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