

ANC VISION FOR 1991 - WHAT IS TO BE DONE

ANC JAPAN OFFICE

I. INTORODHCTION

This year the ANC marks its 79th anniversary. Having been formed January 8, 1912, the ANC remains by far the largest anti-apartheid force and command majority support among the South African population. Its multi-racial and non-racial character and outlook give it a strategic advantage over many political groups in the country.

The ANC was unbanned in 1990 after 30 years of apartheid repression. Its prominent leaders like Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela and others were released after spending close to three decades in apartheid prisons. Many . of its veterans and leaders, like President Oliver Tambo, returned to South Africa after over 30 years in exile to attend the first ANC Conference inside South Africa since late 1950is

The ANC Chief Representative to Japan, Jerry Hatsila, just returned from South Africa first time in over ten years of exile. He found apartheid in place, condition of people desperate, school crisis alarming, health services, roads and houses in Black areas worse than in the 1970's when he left South Africa.

II. SOUTH AFRICA AT CROSS ROADS

Mr. F.U.de Klerk's reforms have lead to disappearance of petty-apartheid. t is also expected that during 1991 other apartheid pillars like Land Act, Group Areas Act, etc., will crumble under weight of mass action from the masses of people and De Klerk reformist thinking.

Talks about talks with ANC are deadlocked. The problem is simply because the Pretoria regime have not implemented agreements made with ANC during talks in 1990, namely:

- i) release of all political prisoners, including those on the death row,
- ii) seizure of political trials and detentions without trial,
- iii) unconditional return of all exiles,
- iv) stopping violence perpetrated by racist police and security forces, etc,

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While there is strife among Black communities, it is also true to say that majority of White South Africa, 'especially among the civil service (army, police, security and ministries) are not ready for a democratic South Africa. If anything, they are doing everything possible to delay and sabotage the eventuality - creation of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist South Africa.

While F.U.de Klerk and his National Party, that misgoverned South Africa for 43 years since 1948, had no choice but to accept that it was the right of all the people of South Africa, both black and white, jointly to decide the future of our country, entailing the inevitability of a negotiated resolution of the problems facing our country, the white minority regime still want to hold on to power, and single-handedly decide our future!

CRITICAL QUESTIONS FACING THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

The reality South Africa still faces is that, whatever might have been done or said during 1990, that country minority regime, which functions on the basis of an apartheid constitution and a litany of apartheid laws still rule.

In terms of the issue of the fundamental transformation of South Africa, the principal question that faces all South African people now is - what do they do with the common victory they have all scored enabling all the people to participate in shaping the destiny of that country!

What must be done to break the present impasse, and move the process of negotiation on the table, and thus commence the irreversibility of the processes that will lead to demise of apartheid white minority government, discrimination and assures a dawn of new society, free, just, democratic and peaceful!

What initiatives must be undertaken to end violence, and promote culture of tolerance among all South Africans, including and addressing so-called white fears.

What type of mechanism or body will be best suitable and acceptable to All South African that must be constructed to enhance chances of peaceful and speedy resolution of the South African problem.

\$ In the meantime, how do we solve the disparity between Black and Whites? How do we tackle the school and education crisis, lack of houses, poor and sometimes non-existent health facilities among the Black population in South Africa.

IV. ANC EISION FOR 1991

1 The ANC will focus attention on the central question confronting South Africa - the question of the transfer of power to the people. This requires that a Democratic Constitution should be adopted, based on the principle of one-person-one-vote in a United South Africa incorporating an entrenched and justiciable Bill of Rights and protected by a Representative and Independent Judiciary.

What is therefore required urgently is that South Africa moves forward to the establishment of the Representative and Sovereign Body which must, within a determined period, draw up the new democratic Constitution. ANC demands that this body should be an elected CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

The ANC approaches the future with only two aims in mind. These are the Total Abolition of the System of Apartheid, and not its reform or amendment, and its replacement by a genuine non-racial democracy. Power must be transferred into the hands of all the People so that they, the People, GOVERN.

The ANC has stated many times that it is firmly committed to the view that all political forces in South Africa should be involved both in determining how the Constitution - making body should be composed as well as drawing up the Constitution itself.

The ANC assert that none who genuinely believe that the will of the People should reign supreme should have any problem in agreeing that each Party at the Negotiations should, as in Namibia, represent a proven Constituency, as would be determined during Free and Fair elections to a Constituent Assembly.

The ANC declares as absolutely vital that everything be done to improve the quality of the poor section of the population. The process of change will inspire very little confidence and occur in a situation of increasing instability, if in the practice, the impoverished masses of the people continue to experience a further lowering of their standards of living. ,

7 The International Community, government and non-governmental organization must continue to play critical role in the joint effort to end the apartheid crime against humanity. This requires that the International Community should continue to exert pressure for the speedy transformation of South Africa through the application of various ACTIONS.

8 To create opportunities for training and imparting relevant skills for Black children in respective countries as preparation for Manpower ready to resume responsibility in a new democratic country.

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9 Furthermore, the desperate situation facing millions of our youngsters, victims of apartheid systems, necessitate that the International Community mobilise material and financial resources to assist in realising a just dream for these children - to attend school.

V. ANC NEW INITIATIVES

1 PATRIOTIC FRONT:

t During 1991, the ANC recognising that no permanent solution can be achieved without its participation and involvement, will build its organisational structures throughout the land and mobilise the country for justice and peace.

t The ANC will reach out to other organisations that pursue goals that are similar to it, as well as those that are capable of moving towards and accepting its positions, to form a PATRIOTIC FRONT for a Democratic . South Africa.

2 THE ALL PARTY CONGRESS:

As visualised in both the Harare and the United Nations Declarations dealing with the peaceful resolution of the South African question, ANC asserts that it is necessary and indispensable that an ALL-PARTY CONGRESS be summoned to discuss various questions. In 1961 ANC called for a similar forum - National Convention preceded by an ALL-PARTY Conference.

\$ The summoning of such a Congress would constitute the First Step in the process leading to the adoption of the New Constitution. Unless it

were mandated by the people themselves, this Congress will not itself have the power to Draw up a Constitution.

t The ALL-PARTY Congress, which can only be convened after all obstacles to negotiations have actually been removed, would have to carry out three tasks. These are:

- i) to set out the broad principles within which the detailed Constitutional work would be carried out,
- ii) to determine the make-up of the body, such as an Elected Constituent Assembly, that would draw up the Constitution,
- iii) to Establish an Interim Government to oversee the process of Transition until a New Parliament was elected, and a Democratic Government formed, on the basis of the New Constitution.

Having decided these three issues, and completing its work within a defined period of time, the ALL-PARTY Congress would then dissolve, unless, as ANC said, it obtained a specific popular mandate to continue as a constitution-making body, an Interim Government or both.

\$ F.W.de Klerk's National Party must understand and accept that not only apartheid legislation must be done away with, but also that its government itself, an apartheid institution, should be abolished. It must be replaced, in the interim by an authority which would include representatives of National Party as well as those of other political parties/formations that would be participating in the process of negotiations.

The early installation of an Interim Government, as a body with real Power in fact and in Law, and in control of all instruments of State Power, is critical to the process of the transition to the new order.

\$ Quite clearly, the process of transition away from apartheid cannot be supervised by an apartheid institution. F.W.de Klerk and his minority government is presently both a Referee and a Player. This situation is totally unacceptable.

3 VIOLENCE:

The ANC will set up Self-defence Committees, the mechanism for the Defence of each community which mechanism must enjoy the support and confidence of the People as a whole.

\$ Additionally, the ANC will also further pursue its programme of liaising with all relevant Political Organisations, including Inkatha Freedom Party, to ensure togetherness in stopping and precluding all violent confrontation and conflict that emanates from the fact that people hold varying political views.

VI. PROGRAMME OF ACTION - DEMANDS

The main focus of the demands of the ANC and the people of South Africa will be: .

- i) the formation of a Constituent Assembly,
- ii) establishing an Interim Government,
- iii) to produce a Democratic Constitution.

Further the campaigns will demand:

- iv) the unconditional return of all exiles,
- v) the unconditional release of all political prisoners and halting of political trials,
- vi) arrest and charge all police and security apparatus, including vigilantes and war-lords in this way bring violence against the people to a stop,
- vii) demand "Mass Education Now" and "Open All Schools to All People".

VII. FORMS OF ACTION

t The following forms of mass action, which we request all to support here, will be undertaken to pressurize the apartheid regime to speedily meet the above demands. The campaigns were launched in January 1991.

\$ Marches, demonstrations and the occupation of embassies of governments which are traditional supporters of the regime, should take place on the day the white minority parliament opens and on the days which ANC is meeting with De Klerk.

t Mass rallies.

t National consumer boycott targeted at certain government activities with specific time limits.

t The convening of a Patriotic Front by ANC before de Klerk convenes his Multi-party Summit.

VIII. UH T PEOP OF K RE AN DO TO S PPORT TH

\$ Signature campaign - door to door and ANC delegation to Banstustands. To also pressurise Bantustand leaders to meet demands of the people and informing them of the ANC programme to dismantle apartheid.

3 ANC will urgently consult Hass Democratic Movement organisations to discuss Sanctions.

\$ The ANC will initiate discussions with the International community through its respective representation on the question of sanctions to ensure the continued isolation of those who relain coulitted to the perpetuation of apartheid, increased support for the democratic forces and such International intervention as would help expedite the disnantling of the apartheid system and the upliftment of the dispossessed majority, the victims of the apartheid systel.

The campaign on education "Hass Education Now" will also focus on the re-orientation of the community and students towards a Culture of Learning. March 8, 1991, will be a day set aside to focus on Women issues nationally.

March 21, 1991, convening of a conference for formation of a Patriotic Front against Apartheid.

Other days of mass actions are: May 1st, Hay 31st, June 1st, and June 16.

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'PEOPLE IQ DISHANTLE APARTHEID

The ANC and the people of South Africa value highly the contribution of the people of Korea towards the total dismantling of apartheid.

The immense contributions made by various Political Parties, Citizens Movements, Religious Groups, Parliamentarian Organizations, Anti-Apartheid and Solidarity Organizations, Labour Unions, Schools, Universities, old and young, including Government have helped the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa to have brought about the present situation. '

Whatever was said and done in 1990, Apartheid regime and its Constitution still single-handedly rule South Afrita. And therefore the struggle to totally eradicate this system continues. We should therefore:

1 Continue to exert pressure for the speedy transformation of South Africa through the application of various Sahctions

2 Focus anti-apartheid campaign and action around the demand for

i) Establishment of an Interiii government

ii) Creation 6% Constituent Assembly through one-person-one-vote for all the People of South Africa '

iii) Drawing-up of a Democratic Constitution.

3 Calpaigns for unconditional release of all Political prisoners, Return of exiles and stopping of Apartheid violence should continue to receive attention.

4 Time has also come when the Anti-apartheid and Solidarity Organizations . including all Citizens movements begin to discuss how to contribute towards improving the desperate socio-econonic situation of the Black people; especially to mobilise resources and funds for various types of Community Development Projects in the Black areas.

5 Concretely, an'inportant part of the 1991 Action in Korea should mobilise resources, like the citizens did through Mandela Freedom Fund, towards:

1) Education for Black Children to realise "Mass Education NowT by providing funds and books,

ii) Health Projects, especially in the countrysides,

iii) Skills training in all fields to help prepare manpower for the Post Apartheid South Africa,

iv) Skills training for women- food production, sewing, and literacy campaign,

v) Food production and other self help projects now underway in rura. areas of South Africa,

vi) Creation of sustainable self-help projects for returning exiles and political Prisoners.

6 Continued support for ANC Japan Office .

7 Mobilizing resources to help ANC to realize the above outlined programme of action and realise its Vision of a democratic, non-racist and non-sexist South Africa.

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