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REPORT OF THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE WOMEN'S SECION OF THE ANC HELD IN LUANDA: 1-6 SEPTEMBER 1987

Abridged Version

A successful conference was held in Luanda, the People's Republic of Angola under the theme: "For the all-round organisation and greater unity of women for the Seizure of Power". The main objective of this second National Conference of the Women's Section was to review progress made since the first National Conference which was also held in Luanda in September, 1981 and to chart the way forward.

Attending the Conference were 137 members of the ANC Women's Section representing 24 regions or units from different parts of the world. They came from Angola, Belgium, Botswana, Britain, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Lesotho, Mozambique, Nigeria, Senegal, Soviet Union, Swaziland, Sweden, Tanzania, United States of America, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Also present were 2 delegates from home, representing the democratic Women's Movement. The region not represented due to problems with travel arrangements (problems with) was Canada. Also participating in the Conference were representatives of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the Youth Section. Also represented were ANC department of Arts and Culture, Education, Political Education, International Affairs and the Health and Social Services. Two representatives came from the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) and the All African Student Organisation (AASO). The ages of the participants ranged from 17 to 74 years with the majority of delegates within the range of 20 to 40 years. Two infants, Nokuthula Zuma and Monde More sat quietly throughout all the sessions.

The mood of the conference was set on the very first day with women singing out of the buses and into the conference room and the chanting of revolutionary slogans and toi-toi. In the conference hall itself a big banner calling women to battle was up. At the end of the conference the slogan "every woman a combatant and every combatant a patriot", was adopted. The conference was opened by Comrade Dan Tloome, member of the ANC, National Executive Committee, auditor general of our movement and Chairman of the South African Communist Party. The opening session was honoured by the presence of the President of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), Comrade Dr Sam Nujoma, Comrade Maria Santos, representative of OMA organisation of Angolan Women, and comrade Pendukeni Kaulinge Itana, secretary of SWAPO

Women's council. Also invited to the opening ceremony were representatives of some members of the diplomatic corps. Also invited to the opening ceremony were representatives of Palestinian People's Organisation, Polisario, Fretelin, and the ANC membership in Angola.

The opening remarks were delivered by comrade Getrude Shope, Head of our Women's Section member of the NEC of the ANC. The remarks were preceded by a moment of silence in memory and honour of our martyrs, including comrades Victoria Mxenge, Greta Ncaphai, Nomava Shangase, Florence Mophosho, our Isithwalandwe comrade Lilian Ngoyi and others whose deeds and contribution have brought our struggle to the level at which it is at present. Their presence was felt throughout the deliberations as some of their photos hung on the walls of the conference centre. The conference undertook to achieve their cherished goal of a free, unitary non-racial and democratic South Africa in the shortest possible time.

The SWAPO President comrade Sam Nujoma addressed the opening session. Messages of solidarity were delivered at the opening session by Maria Santos, Pendukeni Kaulinge Itana. Representatives of the SACP, SACTU, Youth Section and various departments represented greeted the conference. The message from the comrade commander of MK, Comrade Joe Modise, was received with great enthusiasm marked by singing and chanting of battle songs in readiness to fight the enemy right inside the country. Part of this message read "... Women's deployment should not be restricted for certain forms of labour. Ways of reducing family and household tasks must be found. We want to see the greater involvement of women in MK."

Messages of solidarity were received from regional, national and international women's organisations and the international anti-apartheid community. We also received a message from the UDF women's congress and from some of our missions.

Following the opening session conference was closed to delegates and a number of organisational and administrative committees were set up for the running of the conference Rules of Procedure and Programme were adopted.

The second day of the conference was largely occupied by the representation and discussion of the National Women's Secretariat report covering the periods from September 1981 to September 1987. Naturally, with a six year period under review, there was so much to look into that delegates were alive with questions, amendments, recommendations and challenges facing the women. It was very clear that delegates were exercising their right to contribute to all aspects of the running and performance of the whole women's

section and of our movement with the main objective of bringing the struggle to new heights. After intensive discussion and debate, the main report was provisionally adopted by conference pending corrections and amendments.

Among other things, it addressed the question of revival of the Federation of South African women of the 1950's and various issues related to it - like the name, the adoption of the Freedom Charter. The Secretariat clearly stated their request for guidance by the conference.

The commissions considered these various aspects with the seriousness they deserved. On women in MK, the Commission on the military noted their minimal participation in the people's army in all its aspects i.e. training, recruitment and deployment, and put the blame on themselves and the movement as a whole. Propaganda as a tool for mobilising was also discussed under this commission.

The commission on Education and Culture was also divided into two with some delegates looking into Education while others focused on culture. The sub-commission on education looked at various developments in this field since 1976 to date, and noted that much more still remains to be done to strengthen the role of the movement, especially in the implementation of people's education for people's power, in accordance with the principles of the Freedom Charter. Issues raised ranged from the disproportionate ratio of boys to girls in education; reforms made by the regime; high illiteracy rate among women; lack of suitable candidates for scholarships; co-ordination of the women's section with the Department of Education; need for a special programme to develop women. The other sub-commission looked at culture and discussed revolutionary culture as opposed to apartheid culture. The commission deliberated on various aspects of culture with special reference to the role of women as transmitters of culture. Issues raised under the commission included language, distortion of our culture and customs, cultural and artistic riches of our traditions, need to research on South African culture with emphasis on African cultural developments, documentation and archiving of cultural material, popular culture, competitiveness in the art world, and the cultural boycott.

The commission on women, children and health discussed the situation of women, children and health in South Africa and outside South Africa within the ranks of the ANC. Issues raised included the gross disparity in the health conditions of the overwhelming majority of our people and the health of the privileged white minority; the health of women; family planning; the mobilisation of women around health and family issues; mobilisation of health workers; training of psychologists, social workers, psychiatrists, nurses; provision of scholarships in health skills; health problems

in the rural areas, save the children campaign; status of racist health organisations internationally.

The commission on the international front looked at developments which have taken place in the international arena since our last conference. It also focused on the role the women's section has played and challenges ahead. Issues raised included relations with Frontline States and Africa in general; the policies of various western countries to our struggle; sanctions and other campaigns for the isolation of the regime; campaign around specified issues.

The commission on structure looked into the structure of the women's section, which was submitted to the council held in Lusaka in February 1983, but was never adopted. Discussion centred around the council, the composition of the National Women's Executive; the secretariat; tasks of the women's section and those of various assistant secretaries. Various amendments aimed at strengthening the work of the women's section were made to the proposed structure.

The six commissions came up with various recommendations and resolutions which conference discussed in plenary, made some amendments and added more recommendations. The recommendations and resolutions were adopted by conference. Also adopted by conference was programme of action for the next five years. Messages were sent out by conference to fraternal organisations (internationally), our host, various mass democratic organisations inside South Africa, (the women inclusive) and to our President, comrade Oliver Tambo on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

The last day of conference witnessed the first democratic election of 16 members of the National Women's Executive Committee. The results of these elections were as follows:

1. Gertrude Shope - Head of the Women's Section
2. Ray Simons
3. Makho Njobe
4. Ruth Mompati
5. Baleka Kgositsile
6. Lindiwe Mabuza
7. Zanele Mbeki
8. Thenjiwe Mtintso
9. Mavivi Manzini
10. Rebecca Matlou
11. Mittah Seperepere
12. Yolisa Modise
13. Regina Nzo
14. Doreen Motshabi
15. Lulu Mabena
16. Jessica Monare

Out of the 16 members of the NWEC 9 are to be nominated by the NWEC to be members of the secretariat. Jubilation was intense after each name was read out with some delegates hopping in joy to hear the name(s) of their choice, while others stirred their ears to hear the next name. After all the names were read, conference once again burst into freedom songs and this in turn inspired our poet - Laurette (Imbongi) to recite a call to victorious struggle, "now that the elected have taken the oath of blood. The land of our ancestors shall return upon spilt blood. Fortitude is required of each and everyone of the new leadership".

After a speech by the re-elected Head of the Women's Section Comrade Getrude Shope, the conference was officially closed by comrade Dan Tloome.

The closing ceremony was open to all those dignitaries and comrades who attended the opening. The conference had the honour of being addressed by Comrade Ruth Neto, Secretary General of OMA. This session was preceded by an out-door ceremony, where the leading women of the ANC representing all the regions together with the leading women of OMA, paid homage to the heroines of Angola's struggle for independence at the impressive monument dedicated to them.

RECOMMENDATIONS/RESOLUTIONS

The 2nd National Conference of the Women's Section of the African National Congress of South Africa, meeting in Luanda, capital of the People's Republic of Angola, from September 1 - 6 1987 under the theme "For the all-round organisation and greater unity of women towards the seizure of power", made the following recommendations:

Recommendations on Internal Political Mobilisation, and Women's Unit in Umkhonto We Sizwe

A. Formation of a National Women's Organisation

1. Conference agreed to the urgent need to form an umbrella National Women's organisation against apartheid;

2. Recommends that the adoption of the Freedom Charter and the women's charter should not be put as a precondition to joining the national body, but to have some principles derived from the two documents which will bring together a broad spectrum of women's organisations;

3. Recommend that affiliation should not be on the basis of local organisations;

4. Recommend that political education classes are conducted both within existing women's organisations and the envisaged national body.

5. Recommend for an information campaign to assist in the formation of the national body;

B. Mobilisation of Women

1. Recommends as a matter of urgency, that the women's section seek consultation with PMC to establish proper working relations and general principles pertaining to our internal work. This should include representation in the PMC to implement the programme of action.

2. Recommend that the NWS be involved in the de-briefing of women cadres so that this exchange on input can help to give directions to women's organisations at home;

4. That more information of an educational and agitational nature directed at women be included in VOW and other ANC publications and that it be sent home. That this information should focus on the burning issues facing our people at home such as mass removals, education crisis, housing etc. This work, it was felt, would be

facilitated by the inclusion of women cadres in PMC structures in the forward areas;

5. That the time has come to suggest to our women at home to appeal to white, coloured, Indian and African women to influence their sons, brothers and husbands from being coopted into enemy organs of oppression such as SADF, South African Police, vigilantes, etc. This appeal should also go to women in the rural areas as it is these rural areas where the racist regime takes advantage of the hign unemployment rate by recruiting men into these vicious organs;

6. We recommend that the women's section organise funds for projects inside the country and also examine ways of channelling these funds through women's organisations in the Frontline States and progressive international organisations;

7. We recommend that attention be given to mobilizing white women and that it be done around issues such as forced conscription into the SADF;

8. We recommend that ways of mobilizing Indian women be looked into with due regard to their particular religion and culture;

9. We recommend that the women's section look into the establishment of a Resource Centre that would cater for women's organisations. Where these centres already exist, the women's section should utilize them;

10. We recommend that women at home be urged to devise methods of working within Bantustan Women's Organisations with the purpose of neutralising them and influencing individual women within them to our side. As a back up to this initiative, the women's section should do an in-depth research into these different organisations and pass on the information to our women at home.

<u>Women in Trade Unions</u>

1. We recommend that the organisation of unemployed women be addressed;

2. We recommend that the women's section urge our women to work in reformist led unions and bring them into the democratic federation, COSATU. Our women in the street committees should be urged to politicise women working in these reformist led unions so as to influence their unions into our struggle;

3. We recommend for the strengthening of the link between women's organisations and trade unions. Trade union women should be drawn into local community based organisations, and be encouraged to raise issues affecting working women within these organisations;

4. We recommend for women in trade unions to play a major role in including within their campaigns run in urban areas, rural issues such as unemployment, the plight of agricultural workers, the majority of whom are women;

5. We recommend for the political training of women trade union activists in order to be able to assume leadership positions;

6. We recommend that we address the mobilisation of intellectual women who have to make a contribution to the National democratic revolution;

7. We recommend that a discussion be held with domestic workers including other categories of workers on how to further our struggle at all places of work. We should have an input in the initiative already taken for example in the street committees already formed.

8. We recommend that women should conduct seminars and workshops for improving confidence and skills especially the implementation of projects which women can mobilise around such as basic needs, illiteracy, income generating etc;

9. We recommend that women be given courses in office skills, bookkeeping and leadership skills to enable them to carry out trade union work;

10. We recommend for the mobilisation of agricultural workers around the land issue and the grievances surrounding this. We should use this in our propaganda material.

Publicity and Information

It was noted that at present our propaganda is lagging behind in the struggle to win the hearts and minds of our people towards our political thinking and understanding. It was noted that it is faced with the problems of lack of resources, lack of appropriate personnel, problems of distribution inside etc. The feeling was that instead of guiding our women we are rather following them. The following recommendations were made:

1. a) Should reflect the views of our movement on international and internal issues;

   b) Should charge regions with the writing of articles and distribution of material;

   c) Should concentrate on training cadres for production of material inside the country;

2. The problem of personnel should be urgently addressed, for both our journal and radio programmes. Personnel should be recruited to take up journalism courses;

3. That our research unit should get hold of the research material produced at home and abroad by various academic institutions to study and use in our work;

4. We recommend that ways and means of distributing our propaganda material be found e.g. using progressive organisations internationally for the establishment of DIP units in the forward areas;

5. We recommend for the use of strong images in our propaganda material depicting the fighting spirit of our women.

6. We recommend that the editor of VOW be part of the internal sub-committee.

7. We recommend that the women's section train our cadres for underground printing inside the country to enable us to produce materials, badges, stickers, leaflets and pamphlets and VOW internally. If possible, reading material to be translated into African languages and Afrikaans;

Military

1. Recruitment, training and deployment of women be stepped up. Recruitment of more women into the ANC will create a balance thus enabling the movement to deploy women in combat work as well as other political military duties;

2. We put in more effort in recruiting from the ranks of the working women, the rural and domestic workers, thus involving women in the process of a people's war that we are engaged in;

3. We embark on a conscious drive to recruit with specific aims among women, both old and young, for the consolidation of women's military units inside the country;

4. Recruiting structures within the women's section be improved. An ad hoc committee be set up to look into the consolidation of this task from PMC level in order to ensure the promotion of women in the military to facilitate our recruitment, training and deployment drive;

5. The women's section assumes as its priority the task of recruitment, training and deployment of women. A plan must be devised, starting with the re-mobilisation and deployment of women who have already trained to initiate tasks;

6. A special effort be made to mobilise white, coloured and Indian women to join our MK forces inside the country;

7. More responsibilities be given to our MK women including the tasks of commander, commissar in the training camps as part of the grooming process.

8. The political imbalance be breached. Women should be constantly briefed about the home front. Women should in the same way as male comrades be given opportunities to develop, be allowed to go through the process of political development by staying longer in the West. However, conditions for all comrades in the camps must be improved by providing the most basic facilities, e.g. health and diet to make camp life more attractive. In this regard, women need not be given any special treatment;

9. Sex education be introduced in the camps to alleviate the high rate of pregnancies amongst the young women. Contraception, which is obligatory, must be accompanied by education of both male and female cadres. The Health and Education departments together with the women's section should put their heads together on this issue. Sex education must be addressed by all structures in the ANC;

10. Political education should be stepped up to enable cadres to understand the character of our revolution, the seriousness and the imminent danger of war. In

this way, cadres will be able to differentiate between personal priorities and national obligations;

11. All able bodied women should undergo intensive military political training, particularly those in the leadership and working in our offices;

12. Women be considered for military specialisation;

13. Medical examination of female comrades from the point of entry be seriously undertaken. Contraception of female comrades be accompanied by proper counselling. It is the duty of both men and women to engage in family planning programmes and not just women;

14. Training in the camps should address the upliftment of women as a keynote in a political manner. The question of attitudes should be addressed more positively - we are all victims of a society we grew under. The decisive person in solving the problems of women's development is the woman herself;

15. Uneducated women be counselled to understand the importance of attending education programmes and classes. Patience must be exercised;

16. An attempt be made to have women commanders in the Front Line areas;

17. We organise books for the FLA, cassettes and videos on women's struggles and participation in the people's war to show to women who come from home as part of politicisation;

18. That all MK cadres, men and women acquire skills;

19. That teachers be sent to our military camps to assist in the adult education programmes;

20. That seminars be conducted to address the problems faced by our comrades in the military viz the shortage of doctors, teachers and military training instructors;

21. That distant education be explored to facilitate for cadres who cannot be released from military duties;

22. That the movement have authority in deciding the deployment of professionally trained cadres;

23. That a military school be set up to include amongst others the new generation of MK cadres under age. As the President Comrade O. R. Tambo has stated, "We must turn Angola into an education centre". The construction of such a school should not be regarded as

a problem, negotiations can be conducted with the Angolan Government. Trainees in this school will be determined by the relevant structures. The purpose of having such a school will be to create a balance between military and academic training for MK cadres who qualify under this category, young and old, men and women;

24. That in this Year of the 75th Anniversary of the ANC we honour Lilian Ngoyi by naming one of our camps or detachments after her, like Madi Noge, Luthuli and others;

25. That one of the operations reflect the women's unit inside the country, under the Lilian Ngoyi detachment.

26. That in the FLA, we must have politico-military women whose task would be to work on the Women's Front. These cadres would work within or under the existing structures and not parallel or be in competition with ANC internal structures;

27. That the women's section has a representation in the PMC and its implementing organs to making, recruiting, training and deployment of women cadres in all aspects of our struggle. Those cadres could be part of the Internal Affairs Sub-Committee of the women's section;

28. The PMC and the Assistant Secretary for Internal Affairs of the women's section keep in regular contact;

29. That we imbue our women's section with the fighting spirit needed for all our organs. Marriages must not be reduced to a cul-de-sac and unmarried mothers treated as an "unfortunate lot" - special effort must be made to involve women in internal work. This will alleviate the suffocation of women in our movement.

Emancipation

Noting the triple oppression that women are subjected to in apartheid South Africa; nationally, under an oppressive regime, exploited as workers in a capitalist system, subordination and discriminated against in a male dominated society;

Concerned that there are manifestations of sex discrimination against women even in the ranks of the ANC;

Convinced that women's emancipation is to be seen as the need to liberate the minds and energies of women from being confined to their traditional roles in the family and in society in order to contribute fully in the liberation struggle and later, in reconstruction and transformation;

Convinced that the women question is not only the concern of women alone but men as well and the movement as a whole;

Recalling that the question was raised at the 2nd National Consultative Conference of the ANC in Kabwe in 1985.

Deeply Concerned that woman/wife-beating, psychological and sexual harrassment within the ranks of the movement is on the increase particularly in Mazimbu, including child abuse;

Recalling that fighting among comrades is a punishable offence;

Reiterating the recommendations of the First Conference of the Women's Section in 1981 in Luanda and Council Meeting in Lusaka in 1983 calling for "discrimination in favour of women", or "affirmative action in favour of women" by the movement;

Therefore resolves/recommends:

1. That all three forms of oppression be fully addressed by the movement. A National Commission be set up by the ANC to oversee, monitor and stimulate the question of women's emancipation;

2. That the Commission should comprise of members of NWEC, men and women from the different departments and sections of the movement;

3. That the National Executive Committee of the ANC should also sign the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against women in the same way that the NEC became a signatory to the Geneva protocol on the Prisoner of War Status that should be accorded to cadres captured by the racist regime;

4. That the movement should examine ways and means of assisting both men and women to be able to handle both their revolutionary and family/social responsibilities;

5. That the movement should consciously give more challenging responsibilities to women;

6. That in conjunction with the Department of Legal and Constitutional Affairs the movement should formulate a code of conduct dealing specifically with relationships between men and women, including marriage aimed at the protection of women's and children's rights within the ranks of the ANC and beyond;

7. That the movement should examine the existing ANC Code of Conduct to ensure that sexism, sexual abuse, sexual and psychological harrassment, child and woman/wife battering as a mode of behaviour be prohibited and ensure that measures be taken against those who practise such;

8. That priority should be given to research into the oppression of women - black and white - in racist South Africa.

INTERNATIONAL

Realising that international mobilisation is very important in our struggle for national liberation and that women have a part to play in this mobilisation;

Noting with concern, however. that the Movement has done very little in the field of training and deployment of women in ANC missions abroad;

Noting with regret the failure of the Women's Section to renew the Protocol Agreement signed with the Organisation of Mozambican Women (OMM);

Deeply concerned by the tendency of the Movement, including the Women's Section, to concentrate on consolidating already existing relations while neglecting to establish new ones - further, that outside South Africa the Women's Section has even fewer friends;

Appalled by the imperialist offensive led by the Reagan Administration to undermine the ANC and its allies, to promote renegade groups both in South Africa and abroad, and its continued assistance to racist destabilisation campaign against the Frontline States - particularly Angola;

Realising that the campaign for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the racist regime continues to meet opposition from the major imperialist countries;

Noting with satisfaction that the disinvestment campaign has borne some fruit and that some countries - particularly the Scandinavians - have legislated for sanctions;

Concerned with increase in assassinations and abductions of our comrades by the racists - particularly in the Kingdom of Swaziland;

Further alarmed by the increase in the number of executed and condemned combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe and other patriots including Theresa Ramashamola;

Therefore resolves

1. That women take an active part in the all-round mobilisation of the international community. Further, that this participation can only be achieved if women are trained in diplomatic work in significant numbers and deployed in the same manner that men are in the movement.

2. That the Protocol Agreement with the Mozambican Women's Organisation (OMM) be renewed as a matter of urgency, and further that such Agreement be entered into with other Women's Organisations, including the Socialist Countries;

3. That through the International Affairs Department of the ANC, the Women's Section should request our missions all over the world to provide profiles of different women's organisations with whom relations may be established;

4. That a deliberate drive be made to establish the relations with Women's Organisations even in those countries which through racist pressure have been forced to expel our cadres e.g. Lesotho, Swaziland etc;

5. That ANC women married to nationals of other countries not be isolated but encouraged to work with support groups wherever they are to popularise the struggle and campaign for support. Further, the dynamic contact with such women be maintained by the women's section;

6. a) That the women's section vehemently condemn all manouevres to undermine ANC, SACP, SACTU and the world anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-apartheid movement;

b) Urge all countries, member states of the United Nations to condemn the USA's attack on the ANC and provide more information to the progressive forces in the USA;

c) Condemn in the strongest terms the hostile act of the U.S. administration to impose sanctions on the People's Republic of Angola and denial of aid to SADCC countries because of their support for ANC;

d) That at all international fora the question of revolutionary violence be raised sharply and put into perspective;

e) The women's section spare no effort in the campaign for the recognition of the ANC as the sole representative of the oppressed in South Africa.

7. a) That the campaign for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the regime be stepped up;

b) To commend those governments in the Scandinavian countries that have legislated for sanctions;

c) To commend all African states which have adhered to the call for sanctions and urge others to follow suit;

d) To commend the Caribbean countries that have played a decisive role in support of sanctions and the cultural boycott which includes sports, both in the Commonwealth and the Caribbean;

e) That the women's section intensifies the campaign for the stay of execution of the 30 patriots, including a woman - Theresa Ramashamola. Further, to condemn in the strongest terms the execution on August 31, of comrades Jantjies and Mielies;

f) That a campaign be launched demanding the release of comrade Sheila Moipone Nyanda who was kidnapped in Swaziland and held in police cells in South Africa;

g) Similarly, the campaign for the release of all detainees - including children - and political prisoners be stepped up.

8. That the women's section considers very strongly joining the newly formed "Women for a Meaningful Summit" which was a response to the Reykjavik Summit.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

The 2nd National Conference of the Women's Section of the African National Congress meeting in Luanda, capital of the People's Republic of Angola, from September 1-6, 1987, under the theme "For the all round greater organisation and unity of women towards the Seizure of People's Power"

Affirming that culture is how we live as a society and nation, in the way we experience our lives;

Noting that under colonialism and racist oppression our culture has been assaulted and altered by Colonialists as a method of gaining and entrenching dominance over the oppressed, culture cannot be stripped of political content;

Noting that the impact of apartheid education on women in particular has created many structural imbalances to which solutions must be found;

Noting Further that apartheid education has left the majority of the oppressed, particularly women - illiterate - especially in the rural areas;

Concerned that there is a gap between academic and military training, the tendency among combatants to ignore education and the general lack of motivation particularly among women to attend literacy classes;

Noting that women play an important role in preserving and transmitting our culture, further that there are dynamics and contradictions in the diverse South African culture because of the nature of the society;

Concerned about the way women are portrayed in the arts e.g. paintings, literature, media, films etc;

Recognising that lobola and polygamy are still widely practised at home despite the disabilities and problems they bring to women;

Concerned that the movement lacks a career guidance policy resulting in cadres concentrating on the so-called "prestige" careers and women in particular unable to look beyond the women; "traditional" careers such as nursing, teaching etc;

Concerned that the political training of women in the movement is very slow and that priority for party school is given to men;

Noting that thus far only one male comrade trained and worked as a pre-school teacher;

Greatly concerned about the disparity between boys and girls attending school, the persistence of the unfounded notion that girls do not have a flair for natural sciences, which becomes a handicap to young girls and women later, particularly if they are to continue higher education;

Greatly concerned about the education crisis in South Africa and children presently out of school because of the continued unrest;

Noting that a few "integrated" schools now exists in South Africa;

Considering that the overwhelming majority of children out of school cannot benefit from such schools because of the further impoverishment of the oppressed;

Noting the importance and dire need to train for and deploy South African teachers at SOMAFCO;

Considering the importance of language in culture and concerned that children growing up in exile lose the ability to speak South African languages;

Therefore resolves/recommends:

1. That the women's section in conjunction with the Departments of Education and Arts and Culture effectively research, record and document our diverse culture and their artistic expression especially in regard to women. Women scholars at home and abroad should be encouraged to participate in such studies to help assess the differences that divide us and the ties that bind us as a people to be able to develop strategies to unite our people and mobilise women for a free South Africa;

2. That the positive aspects of our culture should be developed and preserved and in doing away with the negative aspects, bear in mind that these should be correctly analysed and explained to people in order not to superimpose on the masses;

3. That the movement should make concerted efforts to thoroughly do research among the people on the practices of Lobola/Bohadi and polygamy to assess the attitude of our people towards them;

4. That the movement takes seriously the general education of women and young girls, likewise encourage them to take up natural sciences and technical subjects which they have been denied access to;

5. That the movement should establish a career guidance body to work closely with the Deparment of Manpower Development;

6. That all women pay particular attention to the negative way in which women are portrayed in the mass media, arts, films, particularly in advertisements. Products advertising negative images of women should be boycotted and women who earn a living through participating in such advertisements be drawn into the political campaign for women's emancipation;

7. That the Department of Information and Publicity, Education and Arts and Culture in conjunction with the women's section produce propaganda material posters, cartoons, slogans etc to use in the campaign for women's emancipation and in the political education of women;

8. That revolutionary culture in its diverse forms of poetry, literature, song and dance which the youth create in the camps be recorded, documented and distributed at home and abroad, as well as preserved for archives;

9. That women writers be encouraged to write in any of our languages;

10. That the movement addresses the language problem among the children in exile by e.g. considering the teaching of our language in the kindergarten and primary schools to prevent the decay of these languages to give the children another skill and sense of identity with home;

11. That the women's section should implement the decision taken in 1981 in Luanda to produce a children's book of folklore and tales;

12. That the tradition of the older generation telling stories to the young be continued;

13. That the women's section identify progressive women cultural workers inside South Africa and look for ways to provide political and material support for them;

14. That our National Cultural Ensemble, Amandla, be reinforced with more women members. There is also a need for new ideas - political and artistic - to be introduced to respond to the dynamic situation at home and the demands of the struggle;

15. That the women's section should consider honouring the late comrade Martin Duma, thus far the only man who trained and worked as a pre-school teacher;

16. That qualified teachers be sent to the military camps to assist in the adult education programme;

17. That distant education be explored to facilitate the upgrading of cadres who cannot be released for military duties;

18. That the movement consider the establishment of a military school to include, amongst others, the new generation of MK cadres who are under age. As the President, Comrade O. R. Tambo stated... "We must turn Angola into an educational centre...";

19. That new arrivals from home be properly guided in choosing between military training and education - the importance of both should be underlined;

20. That the movement asserts its authority in the deployment of returning students to avoid Comrades going away to work outside the movement.

WOMEN, CHILDREN AND HEALTH

Noting that as far as the situation inside South Africa is concerned, women and children bear the brunt of apartheid. Almost all the racist laws like migrant labour, influx control, forced removals, race classification and Group Areas Act, Bantu Education, security and Detention Laws have direct bearing not only on their well being, but also on their very survival;

Alarmed by the gross disparity in the distribution of health services and resources between the black majority and the white minority;

Noting with disgust the genocidal methods used by the regime to annihilate the black population under the pretext of family planning by using dangerous drugs like depo-provera and forced sterilisation;

Recognising that it is only in a non-racial, democratic South Africa that health services for the black majority can be improved;

Realising that up to now our creches and primary school in Mazimbu still do not have trained matrons;

Noting that the ANC community outside is the embryo of the non-racial democratic society that we envisage in a free South Africa, and the need to provide suitable health facilities for women and children;

Noting that a growing number of children suffer severe traumas in the war situation inside the country and that upon leaving they insist on going to MK rather than school;

Concerned that the apartheid system had brought about a lot of mental disturbances which continue even in exile;

Therefore resolves/recommends

1. That the women's section looks into some strategies for mobilisation of progressive health professionals and health education workers into existing alternative health workers structures as well as recruiting some into underground structures or units;

2. That the women's section intensifies its material assistance for progressive organisations through, among others, arranging speaking tours for members of these organisations;

3. That the women's section identifies and supports these organisations that are involved in exposing the current onslaught on children, mass detentions, deaths in

police cells, prisons and detention camps, torture, murders and disappearances and intensify the "Free the Children" campaign;

4. That the movement looks into the feasibility of locating appropriate international organisations to sponsor international children's tours for South African children;

5. That women should be mobilised around issues of their health and their families;

6. That people from inside the country be brought for training in all fields of health care including psychiatry, psychology, social work, geriatrics, care of the disabled and handicapped and physical training. These cadres should then return to practise their skills inside the country;

7. That the establishment of primary health care projects in the rural areas be a priority of these progressive organisations inside the country;

8. That the health secretariat of the ANC hold an in-house seminar on health in a post apartheid South Africa and that the ANC works closely with progressive organisations at home in formulating a health policy;

9. That our women should play an active role in formulating a policy on the health of women and children;

10. That the women's section through VOW and radio freedom increase propaganda regarding health issues and appeal to our women at home to work with alternative structures to improve the health of their families;

11. That the women's section embark on a programme of action to politically challenge professional bodies especially social workers' organisations at home to take/play up their role in the struggle;

12. That Dora Tamana creche-nursery school in Lusaka should have an overall trained matron;

13. That a trained matron be found for the SOMAFCO primary school boarding section to assist the present one;

14. That young children in Mazimbu who are in the boarding section be integrated into families there wherever possible and they be taken out for excursions and holidays;

15. That there should be urgent training of personnel to deal with the special education of children with special needs e.g. mentally retarded, blind and deaf etc;

16. That a regional children's committee be created in Tanzania urgently under the supervision of women's section, education, health and youth section to cater for the various aspects of child care and ensure uniformity in the development of ANC children;

17. That such a committee should keep a register of children in the region and place them in schools accordingly without taking the task of upbringing from families but ensuring cooperation in order to make it a collective task as far as possible;

18. That the practice or ruling by the Treasurer General's office of taking all secondary school children to Mazimbu is not in accordance with the 1981 recommendations which were approved by the NEC, agreeing to keep families together where possible. Therefore, this should be considered - children should be left with their families whenever possible;

19. That we should campaign for the expulsion of MASA in all international organisations and the acceptance of NAMDA in its place;

20. That no children should be sent to South Africa;

21. That there be medical check-ups every six months for children in the ANC;

22. That the SG's office looks into the question of children of the ANC in socialist countries;

23. There be a joint PMC, health and women's section effort to improve the conditions in the transit houses in the Frontline States;

24. That we visit the camps as often as possible to impart the well needed parental love and attention;

25. That we look into the possibility of giving the children further education when they finish military training or create special camps where children get military as well as academic education simultaneously;

26. That the NEC reconsider the inclusion of sex education and family planning in the curriculum of secondary and high school students and in the MK training programme;

27. That in cases of unplanned pregnancies, especially among very young women, the health department be allowed to take appropriate measures towards the termination of pregnancies;

28. That the movement should encourage and educate our community on the use of condoms. This is crucial for the prevention of the spread of AIDS but in addition will cut down on unplanned pregnancies and other diseases;

29. That the movement address the mental well being of cadres and the welfare of mental patients and make sure that after they be discharged from hospital they are integrated into society and go back to their original places of work, if possible be placed with the closest possible relative or somebody who was staying with the individual in South Africa. Special attention must be paid to MK cadres. Occupational therapy must be introduced.

STRUCTURE OF THE ANC WOMEN SECTION

Preamble

The conference of the ANC Women's Section meeting in Luanda from September 10 - 14, 1981 mandated the Women's Secretariat to create and organise a functional structure through which to effectively implement the decision of that historic conference.

The guidelines for drawing this structure were based on the recommendations made by the Regional Women's Section (Zambia) which provided for the creation of different desks and sub-committees within the women's secretariat. The subsequently created structure document was further enriched by the working committee and the structure of the Youth Section. This structure flows from the operative structure of the ANC and its January 1978 meeting and subsequently adopted in 1985 by the National Consultative Conference.

At its 2nd National Consultative Conference the women's section discussed and adopted the following structure:

THE ANC WOMEN'S SECTION STRUCTURE

1. The highest organ of the ANC is conference

2. The highest executive body of the ANC in between conferences is the NEC.

3. The executive body of the ANC in between sessions of the NEC is the Working Committee.

4. There are three offices under which departments and sections of the ANC fall, namely:

   i) The office of the President
   ii) The office of the Secretary General
   iii) The office of the Treasurer General

5. The Women's Section falls under the office of the Secretary General

6. The highest organ of the women's section is conference, which shall meet at least once in five years.

7. The highest body of the women's section in between conference is the National Women's Executive Committee (NWEC), which shall meet at least once a year.

8. The highest administrative body of the women's section is the National Women's Secretariat (NWS).

TASKS OF THE WOMEN'S SECTION

a) Shall implement the decisions of Conference;

b) Shall mobilise the masses of women inside South Africa into the struggle;

c) Shall organise the women of South Africa outside the country into the ANC units of the women's section;

d) Shall ensure the care and wellbeing of all ANC children in co-operation with the appropriate ANC structures;

e) Shall mobilise women internationally and all progressive forces to support the ANC politically, materially, morally and diplomatically;

f) Shall produce propaganda material for both internal and external use;

g) Shall enunciate clearly the oppression of women in South Africa;

h) Shall provide ANC/NEC with dynamic think-tank on all issues affecting women;

i) Shall advise the ANC/NEC on policy matters affecting women;

j) Shall assist the ANC/NEC in formulating national policies for the emancipation and advancement of women towards a democratic, non-racial South Africa;

k) Shall report regularly to the office of the Secretary General;

THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (NWEC)

a) Shall implement the decisions of conference;
b) Shall execute, supervise and direct the work of the Women's Section between conferences

c) Shall convene and make necessary preparations for conference

d) Shall report to Conference

e) Shall review national and international developments since the last meeting of the NWEC

f) Shall formulate and adopt the Programme of Action

g) Shall report on the implementation of the Programme of Action

h) Shall receive and consider reports from all organs and representatives of the women's section;

i) Shall report to the National Executive Committee the state of organisation within the women's section and recommend new initiatives

j) Shall constitute and direct the work of the Secretariat.

Composition of the NWEC: the NWEC shall consist of 16 members, elected by conference, which shall also elect 5 reserves of the NWEC.

THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S SECRETARIAT (NWS)

Tasks of the NWS

1. Shall execute the tasks of the women's section as laid down by the NWEC

2. Shall co-ordinate, supervise and direct the work of the women's section between sessions of the NWEC.

3. Shall receive and consider reports from all organs of the movement and representatives of the women's section

4. Shall report to the NWEC on the state of organisation within the women's section and recommend new initiatives.

Composition of the NWS

All members of the secretariat shall be members of the NWEC. The NWS shall consist of:

1. The head of the women's section who shall also be the head of the NWEC

2. Deputy head of the women's section who shall also be head of political education

3. Assistant secretary for information, publicity and research

4. Assistant secretary for internal affairs

5. Assistant secretary for international Affairs

6 Assistant secretary for finance, logistics and projects

7. Assistant secretary for administration
8. Assistant secretary for children
9. Assistant secretary for education and culture

Sub-committees of the National Women's Secretariat

There shall be seven sub-committees of the National Women's Secretariat. These are:

1. Sub-Committee on Political Education
2. Sub-Committee on Education and Culture
3. Sub-Committee on Information, Publicity and Research
4. Sub-Committee on Finance, Logistics and Projects
5. Sub-Committee on International Affairs
6. Sub-Committee on Internal Affairs
7. Sub-Committee on Children

Tasks of the Head of the Women's Section

1. Shall head the women's section, the National Women's Executive Committee and the women's secretariat

2. Shall submit annual reports from the NWEC to the SGO/ECC on the state of organisation within the women's section

3. Shall preside over the women's secretariat and National Women's Executive Committee meetings.

4. Shall supervise and coordinate the overall work of the women's section.

Tasks of the Deputy Head of the Women's Section

1. Shall deputise for the Head of the women's section in her absence

2. Shall assist the Head of the women's section in the execution of her duties

3. Shall be in charge of the Political Education Sub Committee

Tasks of the Sub Committee on Political Education

This Sub Committee shall be headed by the Deputy Head of the women's section.

1. Shall strengthen the women's section and raise higher the political consciousness of women in the ANC

2. Shall in consultation with the women's secretariat and the Department of Political Education, work out a general programme of political education for all units of the women's section

3. Shall report regularly to the women's secretariat

Tasks of the Sub-Committee on Internal Affairs

This Sub-Committee will be presided over by the Assistant Secretary for Internal Affairs.

1. The Assistant Secretary for this sub committee shall be the representative of the women's section on all internal matters;

2. Shall in cooperation with the existing machinery, establish projects for women internally;

3. Shall work within such structures to establish ANC women's section units inside the country;

4. Shall closely follow events inside the country on the women's front and supply the women's department of information, publicity and research with the relevant material they need;

5. Shall hold regular meetings of the sub-committee which shall be convened by the Assistant Secretary for Internal Affairs;

6. Shall have representation in the PMC and its implementing organs to enable it to be involved in decisions like recruitment, training and deployment of women cadres in all aspects of our struggle. Those cadres would be part of the Internal Affairs Sub-Committee.

7. Shall have representation at the Regional PMC structures and their implementing machineries in order to be involved in the political-military work among women at home. Such cadres would be the women's Internal Unit operating through the relevant structures.

8. Shall report regularly to the Women's Secretariat.

Tasks of the Sub Committee on International Affairs

This Sub-Committee shall be presided over by the Assistant Secretary for International Affairs.

1. Shall mobilise the international women's movement, progressive organisations and individuals to support the struggle waged by the people of South Africa;

2. Shall liaise with the International Desks of the Youth Section and the International Department of ANC;

3. Shall monitor the work of the women's section representatives in international women's organisations;

4. Shall study the international situation and make recommendations to the women's secretariat on the selection and preparation of delegates to conferences and shall receive reports from such delegates;

5. Shall keep the women's secretariat in close contact with women's groups, including those within the broad anti-apartheid groups;

6. Shall report regularly to the women's secretariat.

Sub Committee on Information, Publicity and Research

This Sub Committee will be presided over by the Assistant Secretary for Information, Publicity and Research.

1. Shall disseminate information and other progaganda material for the women internally and internationally.

2. Shall edit the official organ of the women's section VOW

3. Shall deal with such aspects of women's section work as the radio, leaflets, periodicals, legal publications at home, films, press, news briefings and the training of publicity personnel.

4. Shall liaise with the Internal and International Sub-Committees of the women's secretariat and the Department of Information and Publicity of the ANC.

5. Shall establish a resource centre and organise material to serve research needs of the women's section

6. Shall report regularly to the women's secretariat

Tasks of the Sub Committee on Finance, Logistics and Projects

This Sub Committee shall be presided over by the Assistant Secretary for Finance, Logistics and Projects.

1. Shall in consultation with the National Secretary for Logistics, assess the material needs of the women's

section as a whole, and find ways of meeting those needs.

2. Shall keep a record of donations received by the Women's section, including subscriptions to VOW;

3. Shall liaise with the International Secretary of the women's section;

4. Shall liaise with the National Women's Secretariat;

5. Shall receive all requisitions made to the women's section for goods;

6. Shall ensure the distribution of goods to women internally and externally;

7. Shall in consultation with the National ANC Logistics Officer, keep records of goods belonging to the women's section and shall duly inform the women's secretariat about receipt of such goods;

8. Shall report regularly and prepare an annual financial report for the women's secretariat.

Tasks of the Administrative Secretary

1. Shall be the chief administrator of the women's secretariat;

2. Shall take down minutes of the women's secretariat during meetings;

3. Shall record all incoming and outgoing correspondence of the women's secretariat and pass it on to the relevant Assistant Secretary for attention;

4. Shall liaise with the Secretary of the Youth Section;

5. Shall report directly to the Head of the women's section and the relevant Assistant Secretary on issues that need prompt attention;

6. Shall ensure the smooth running of the women's secretariat by following up issues with the Secretaries of the different desks;

Tasks of the Children's Sub Committee

1. The Assistant Children's Secretary shall be overall in charge of projects relating to children;

2. Shall ensure the well being of children in all areas;

3. Shall regularly liaise with the Youth Section on matters pertaining to Masupatsela;

4. Shall report to the women's secretariat.

Regional Women's Structure

1. The highest organ of the women's section regionally is the regional women's conference.

2. The Regional Women's Committee shall be the highest executive body of the Regional Women's Section in between regional conferences.

Composition of the Regional Women's Committee

Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer, Education Officer and Logistics Officer.

The size of the committee shall be dictated by the size of the women's section in the region and the availability of personnel. The above is ideal if the circumstances allow. In any region where an RPC and an ANC office exist, the RWC shall immediately fall under them, having one of its members seconded to the RPC and the Secretary, where possible and necessary, operating from within the ANC office.

General Duties of the Regional Women's Committee (RWC)

1. Shall ensure that all South African women in the region are mobilised into functioning ANC units and active ANC women's section;

2. Shall organise South African women who, by virtue of their marriage, have assumed the nationality of their spouses, into active support groups of the ANC;

3. Shall ensure that all members are grounded in the policies of the movement and that members in the region discuss and understand current political strategies and tactics of the ANC, as well as the situation internationally;

4. Shall implement decisions and recommendations of the women's secretariat in the region;

5. Shall ensure that members participate in the formulation and evaluation of the policies of the ANC and the women's section;

6. Shall ensure that the women's secretariat is acquainted with such political, social and other problems that members may face regionally. It shall however, try to

solve these problems before passing them over to the women's secretariat;

7. Shall raise funds for the women's section and for the ANC;

8. Shall second one of its members to the RPC where it exists;

9. Shall submit half yearly reports to the women's secretariat, which include financial statements.

Duties of the Regional Women's Committee Chairperson

1. Shall preside over all RWC meetings;

2. Shall see to the implementation of tasks assigned by the Secretariat to the region;

3. Shall mobilise all South African women in the region;

4. Shall report to the RWC.

Duties of the RWC Secretary

1. Shall take minutes of the meetings of the RWC;

2. Shall keep records of decisions, documents, correspondence etc of the RWC;

3. Shall liaise with the secretaries of the women's units in the region and ask for regular reports, including feedback, on all activities of the women's units, in time to be discussed by the RWC;

4. Shall liaise with the women's secretariat on behalf of the RWC;

5. Shall be the administrator of the RWC;

6. Shall in consultation with the chairperson, convene meetings of the RWC.

Duties of the RWC Treasurer

1. Shall be responsible for raising material support for the ANC women's section.

2. Shall research on projects which can be undertaken to raise material aid.

3. Shall keep a record of funds of the women's section in the region.

4. Shall report regularly to the regional women's section.

5. Shall prepare quarterly financial reports for the Regional Women's Committee.

6. Shall liaise with the Regional Treasurer of the ANC.

Duties of the Education Officer

1. Shall deal with the educational problems and educational needs of women in the region.

2. Shall act as the scholarship officer of the RWC, liaising with the women's secretariat on the question of scholarships.

3. Shall report regularly to the RWC.

Duties of the Logistics Officer

1. Shall be attached to the Logistics Committee of the ANC in the area.

2. Shall take care of the logistics needs of the women in the region, and duly report these to the Logistics Committee.

3. Shall report regularly to the Regional Women's Committee.

Programme of Action

A. Preamble

The second ANC Women's Conference, taking place in Luanda, People's Republic of Angola on the 1 - 6 September 1987, under the theme "For all round mobilisation and greater unity of women towards the Seizure of Power" takes great courage from the achievements scored by the struggling women and people of our country since the historic ANC Women's Conference held in Luanda on September 10 - 14, 1981.

Since the last Conference our country has been characterised by the intensification of people's resistance and the broadening of the democratic movement. The masses of our people have surged forward in a tidal wave that is making the very roots of racist colonial rule in our country shake.

We are daily experiencing the ever growing number of people swelling the ranks of the revolutionary struggle that is unfolding in our country.

In their various formations the people of our country from various social strata have scored great victories against the enemy. The emergence of organisations like the UDFWC, COSATU, MECC, DPSC, RMC, SANSCO, SAYCO, SADWU, FEDSAW, UWCO, MOW, PAWO and many others have been a milestone in the struggle for unity and united action against the racist Pretoria regime.

On the battlefield, our People's Army, Umkhonto Wesizwe, has struck serious blows at the Botha-Malan economic and military machine.

The women of our country have not been found wanting in this revolutionary upsurge. Under very difficult conditions they built more grassroot organisations to mobilise the people against the racist Botha regime in both urban and rural areas. In their pursuit for unity they built regional organisations as they prepare for the launch of a national women's body. Our women remain the Rock of the nation and titans of our revolution.

The apartheid system has been rendered unworkable. In many areas apartheid structures have been destroyed and replaced by organs of people's power. The regime has been driven into an all-round crisis. In response to this situation the regime has intensified its repressive measures to try and crush the people's determination to liberate themselves. Racist troops and police are occupying major black townships and the regime's created "Vigilantes" kitskonstables which are death squads engaged in assassinations of activists in the democratic movement. Since July, 1985 our country has been under a state of emergency aimed at crippling

progressive organisations and limiting the people's capacity and determinations to fight for freedom, with a drive to destroy our infrastructure both inside and outside the country. Based on its strategy of total onslaught the regime has established joint management committees (JMC) to reverse gains scored by the progressive forces. They hope to hoodwink the masses into believing that there is fundamental change in their lot.

This state terror which the regime has unleashed against our people instead of having negative effects has, however, made the people look for more effective ways of organising with unity of the oppressed, their major objective being the total destruction of the apartheid colonial system. In this regard, the mass democratic movement has undergone qualitative changes. We have seen the emergence and growth of national and regional organisations such as those mentioned earlier.

In addition the question of women's emancipation and their involvement in all aspects of the national liberation struggle as a prerequisite is raised very sharply in the women's movement, the trade unions, the youth and in the community organisations. More and more women are becoming involved.

Based on this situation the second national ANC Women's Conference discussed the following aspects:

i) Internal mobilisation of our women

ii) The health of our women and children.

iii) The education of our women and their role as transmitters of our culture.

iv) The role and place of South African women in the international women's movement.

v) The structure of our women's section and

vi) The question of women's emancipation.

B. <u>Conference Resolved that the Women's Section</u>

- Work tirelessly for the exclusive recognition of the ANC as the only leader in the struggle against White domination, national oppression and exploitation.

- Mobilise more women into the ANC and intensify their recruitment into Umkhonto Wesizwe. Pay special attention to rural women for their importance in the people's war.

- Put special emphasis on the deployment of women into combat duties.

- Strengthen political links with patriotic and democratic women's organisations in the common struggle against the racist regime, above all unity is crucial.

- Call on women of South Africa to unite and consolidate all efforts of the democratic women's organisation at local, regional and national level to strive for higher levels of organisation, planning, mobilisation and discipline.

- Increase the women's political understanding of armed struggle through exposure to experience of women in similar circumstances such as Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Algeria, Vietnam, Nicaragua, Cuba etc.

- In consultation with the PMC examine all decisions pertaining to internal work. Women's section to be represented in PMC structures to facilitate internal work.

- Be involved in the debriefing of women cadres at entry points to assist in implementing the programme of action.

- Our propaganda especially in VOW could be more educational in character directed at women in VOW. This propaganda should be informed by and concentrate on the burning issues facing our people at home.

- Appeal to our people at home - White, Indian, Coloured and African mothers - to stop their children, male and female, their brothers, sisters and husbands being coopted into enemy organs of oppression such as the SADF, SAP, Vigilantes, etc.

- Give special attention to mobilizing and organizing white women around issues of forced conscription into the SADF.

- Find ways and means of mobilizing more Indian women.

- Address itself to the organisation of the unemployed whom women are in the majority.

- Strengthen the link between women's organisations and trade unions.

- Link campaigns in urban areas with rural issues and to involve women trade unionists in this work.

- Mobilise intellectual women into the national democratic revolution.

- Conduct seminars and workshops for improving confidence and skills especially for the implementation of projects which women can mobilise around such as basic needs, illiteracy, income generation etc.

- Mobilise agricultural workers around the land issues and grievances surrounding this.

- Encourage women to study natural sciences and technical subjects which they have been denied access to.

- Work out a programme in conjunction with the political education department which will systematically set out to upgrade our women politically.

- Give special attention to the upgrading of women. Discriminate positively in favour of women in education.

- Campaign for the withdrawal of all racist troops and police from schools.

- In conjunction with the Department of Arts and Culture encourage all women artists to speak out seriously, correct the negative portrayal of women.

- Intensify the campaign to "Save the Children of South Africa".

- To mobilise women around issues of the health of their families.

- To increase propaganda regarding health issues.

- To integrate young children in Mazimbu at the boarding into families wherever possible and that they be taken out for excursion and for holidays if possible.

- To urgently train personnel to deal with the special education of children with special needs, e.g. mentally retarded, physically handicapped - blind and deaf.

- To create regional children's committee under the supervision of women's section education, health and youth section.

- To campaign for the expulsion of MASA in all international organisations and the acceptance of NAMDA in its place.

- To establish a national commission to oversee, monitor and stimulate the question of women's emancipation consisting of representatives of the NWEC and various departments and other structures of the organisations.

- To assist in devising ways and means of assisting both men and women to be able to handle both their revolutionary obligations and social responsibilities.

- To play the leading role in development of curriculum and strategies for political education of men and women in ANC regions.

- To examine the ANC code of conduct to ensure that sexism, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and child battering as a mode of behaviour is prohibited and to ensure that measures are taken against those who practise such.

- In conjunction with the department of constitutional and legal affairs to formulate a code of conduct specifically on men, women, marriage and relationships for protection of women's rights and obligations within the ranks of ANC and beyond.

- Give priority to research on women's oppression in South Africa.

- To call on all regions to discuss the question of women and for all democratic organisations within South Africa to intensify and broaden the discussion on the question of women so as to achieve the full emancipation of women.

- To educate our society on lobola.

- To give more challenging responsibilities to more women within the movement.

C. Recognising the significant contribution that the international community has made to our liberation struggle, we call on progressive governments, women's organisations, trade unions, religious groups, non-governmental organisatons and mass organisations to intensify the isolation of apartheid South Africa, by imposing mandatory and comprehensive sanctions.

Women artists should be stimulated to face and expose their problems honestly and bravely. Women writers should be encouraged to engage in historical research and portrayal of our women activists who have fought against apartheid colonialism. We still need to implement the 1981 conference resolution that we

produce a children's book on folklore and tales, and collect short stories by women for publication.

- In conjunction with the Department of Arts and Culture and Education effectively research record and document our diverse culture and their artistic expression especially in regard to women. Women scholars at home and abroad should be encouraged to participate in such to help us assess or know the differences that divide us and ties that bind us so that we be able to develop effective strategies to mobilise women for a post-apartheid South Africa and a united women's movement. Whilst recognising that culture is a slow dynamic process and cannot be superimposed as a pre-planned format, we must still make serious attempts to analyse the negative and positive aspects that should be eliminated or reinforced.

- Pay specific attention to mass media portrayals of women especially advertisements. Women who earn a living through participation in such advertisements should be drawn into the political campaign for women's emancipation. Also the involvement of children in advertising should be closely examined.

- To produce propaganda material in conjunction with the DIP - like posters, cartons, slogans etc. To use in the campaign for women's emancipation and in political education of women and about women.

- To record and document and wherever possible distribute revolutionary culture in its diverse forms of poetry, song and dance which the youths in the camps create.

- To encourage women writers to write in any of our national languages.

- To encourage our older generation of women to play a positive role in nurturing and passing on our cultural traditions to our younger generation.

- To encourage teaching and use of our national languages particularly in artistic fields, and that members of the ANC make every effort to speak our languages in the home and courses be established for our members who do not know any of the African languages.

- To reinforce Amandla, our national cultural ensemble, with new women members and that the new ideas, political and artistic be introduced to respond to the dynamic situation at home and the demands of the struggle.

- To mobilise health and education women workers to participate in the progressive movement.

- We call on the international community to condemn the hostile act of the U S Administration to impose sanctions against the People's Republic of Angola and denial of aid to the SADCC countries and restrictions of movement of the ANC.

- Conference called for the intensification of the campaign for the unconditional release of all political prisoners, for the stay of execution of the 30 comrades and for the release of Sheila Moiponi Nyanda (Priscilla) kidnapped in Swaziland by the racists.

- Conference urged ANC leadership to give utmost priority and urgency to the completion of a cultural and academic boycott policy.

D Recognising that the emancipation of women can only come through the success of the national liberation struggle we call on our women to increase their participation in all the campaigns and activities of the mass democratic movement such as:

- Campaign for the unconditional release of all political prisoners.

- Campaign to save the lives of all South African combatants now awaiting execution.

- Campaign against the continuous increases in rent, service, transport fares and all food prices.

- Campaign to expose racist South African aggression against the Frontline States and their support to UNITA, MNR and their infiltration of terrorists in Zambia and Zimbabwe.

- Campaign against continuous and increasing deaths in the cells.

- Campaign against forced removals and evictions.

Campaign for a living wage, better working conditions and the mobilisation of the unemployed.

- Campaign to render the country ungovernable and apartheid unworkable.

E. Realising that the emancipation of women is not only the duty of women but of both men and women alike - comrades in arms.

We call upon the mass democratic movement to incorporate and integrate the emancipation of women into their programmes of action. No society will be free unless its women are emancipated.

Amandla!!! Matlaa!!!

- Every woman a combatant.

- For the all round organisation and greater unity of women for the Seizure of Power.