

NM0/214/0012/1

FINAL DRAFT

16/12/90

AS ADOPTED

RESOLUTION ON VIOLENCE

Noting that:

1. The current violence sweeping our country is aimed at
 - a. Undermining and destabilizing the growth and consolidation of the ANC and all other democratic forces
 - b. Ensuring that the government dictates the pace of transition in terms of its own agenda
 - c. Creating a state of confusion and demoralisation in our own ranks and among our people in an attempt to alienate them from our movement
2. The violence is multifaceted and orchestrated through various agencies of the government viz. security forces, councillors, warlords, vigilantes, death squads, askaris and certain bantustan and white right wing elements
3. This violence is part of a counter-revolutionary strategy to maintain white rule in new forms

And believing that:

1. The ending of the violence should be at the top of the agenda of the ANC and the entire democratic movement
2. There is no contradiction between the Pretoria Minute and our right to self-defence

This Conference therefore resolves that:

1. Mass campaigns be embarked upon to pressurise the apartheid regime to bring an end to this carnage
2. Such mass action be waged within the context of our demands for
 - a. the removal of all obstacles to negotiations as embodied in the Harare declaration
 - b. the dismantling of the bantustans and all other apartheid structures
 - c. an interim government and a constituent assembly
3. The NEC, Regional Executive Committees, and branches to initiate, as a matter of urgency, the building of tight and disciplined defence committees and to ensure that the necessary resources are made available to these structures
4. The MK must play a facilitative role in the defence of our people

We therefore resolve:

- 1 To mandate the NEC to proceed with talks abouts talks and invest them with discretionary powers, within the stated policies of the organisation, and without any secrecy and confidentiality, in the execution of their tasks with a view to creating a climate conducive to peaceful negotiations.

Further resolve that:

- 2 In the execution of these tasks the NEC should regularly consult with ANC membership in all regions, on all major issues.
- 3 That appropriate mechanisms be set up for such consultations and communication with the membership, by the end of February 1991.
- 4 The NEC involves in the negotiation its revolutionary allies
- 5 That a comprehensive negotiating team composed of chief negotiators, working groups, researchers, be created as a matter of extreme urgency and that such teams include a fair representation of women.

And further resolve that:

- 6 The NEC serve notice on the regime that unless all the obstacles are removed on or before the 30th of April 1991, the ANC shall consider the suspension of the whole negotiation process. Prior to this date the ANC shall engage in a programme of mass action and all other actions, to achieve our objectives as quickly as possible.

In the light of the endemic violence and the slaughter of innocent people by the regime and its allies we:

- 1 Reaffirm our right and duty as a people to defend ourselves with any means at our disposal.
- 2 We hereby serve notice on the regime that unless it ends this carnage, the ANC will find it difficult, if not impossible to adhere to the agreements entered into with the government, especially paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute pertaining to armed action and related activities.

Lastly conference resolves;

- 1 To mandate the NEC to take active steps to create peoples defence units as a matter of extreme urgency for the defence of our people.

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RESOLUTION ON NEGOTIATIONS AND SUSPENSION OF ARMED ACTIONS.

PREAMBLE

Noting that:

- 1 Negotiations is only one form of struggle towards the transfer of power to the people for the creation of a non-racial, unitary and non-sexist South Africa.
- 2 Conference supports and endorses the negotiations strategy outlined in the Harare Declaration.
- 3 That the international community has committed itself to supporting the broad principles, procedures and processes laid down in the Harare Declaration, through the relevant resolutions of the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations.

Further noting that:

- 4 That the regime has not yet removed obstacles contained in the Harare Declaration; - namely
 - unconditional release of all political prisoners
 - unconditional return of exiles
 - repeal of all security and repressive legislation
 - termination of all political trials
- 5 That consequently the regime has failed and/or neglected to create a climate conducive to peaceful negotiation for a new constitution
- 6 That the current endemic violence creates further obstacles to the creation of a climate conducive to peaceful negotiation
- 7 That this violence is part of a deliberate attempt by the state and its allies to destabilise the ANC and to sow terror and chaos amongst our people and believing that whilst the Harare Declaration remains our lodestar, it is not a dogma.

FINAL DRAFT
AS ADOPTED
1990 ANC NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

DECLARATION:

1. The 1990 National Consultative of the African National Congress has been convened on the soil of our country for the first time in thirty years. Our conference has brought together our freedom fighters and patriots from all over the world - from our camps, branches, from the underground, from overseas missions - to chart the course for our vanguard movement.
2. We, 1603 delegates, have been inspired to pursue our strategic objective of transfer of power to all South Africans and to the construction of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist, united South Africa as envisaged in the Freedom Charter.
3. We unanimously and unequivocally rededicate ourselves to the four pillars of our revolutionary strategy, believing that there have been no fundamental changes in the political situation which would require a departure from our strategy.
4. At the same time we are aware that we have, through the struggles of our people, succeeded in forcing the apartheid regime to accept that it can no longer rule in the old way. This has certainly introduced a new element to our strategic perspective.
5. While we remain committed to exploring every possibility for a peaceful transition to a democratic South Africa, the apartheid regime has in recent months demonstrated that it is not committed to our objective of a democratic South Africa. The regime has its own agenda, that of retaining white domination in a new form. It is violating and distorting all its undertakings to the ANC and the people, as contained in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

6. Our patience with this regime is running out. We demand that the regime removes all obstacles in the way of genuine negotiations forthwith. We say to the international community and the regime that should real progress in this regard not be evident, we shall not hesitate to direct the NEC to suspend talks.

7. We take this opportunity to remember all our fallen heroes and heroines. We salute our cadres in the camps, those in exile, those in underground structures, in MK, those in hiding, and those in apartheid prisons and on death row for their sacrifices and undiminished dedication.

We call on the regime to stop hunting Comrade Ronnie Kasrils and other comrades in hiding. We commit ourselves to defending our comrades.

8. A special tribute is extended to our people in the rural areas, whose spirit of resistance in the most difficult conditions has inspired us over the years. We are painfully aware of our continued failure to give due attention and resources to the organising of our rural people and their struggles. This we will rectify.

9. Our courageous people in all parts of South Africa, men and women, have been the main architects for the crumbling of apartheid. As we stand on the threshold of the most challenging period of our struggle, we declare that 1991 will be a year of MASS ACTION FOR THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

We believe that only our organised and militant people can write the final chapter of our struggle. We, dedicated cadres of the ANC, commit ourselves to tirelessly mobilising and organising our people for the prosecution of their historical task of finally

bringing about a democratic, united, non-racial, non-sexist South Africa.

Resolution on International Isolation: Commission 5.

We resolve that:

1. The existing sanctions campaign should be maintained.
2. That the academic and cultural boycott should be reviewed with the aim of ensuring that it becomes inclusive of the many more institutions that genuinely promote principles of non-racialism, democracy and unity.
3. In the sporting arena, all efforts be made to promote the positions of the democratic sports organisations in regard to the moratorium on international competition; and on sports development programmes.
4. The socio-economic problems facing black people in housing, education and health be urgently addressed by the government. The provision of these services is the responsibility of the government.
5. The ANC's political task is to mobilise the public in mass campaigns to pressure the authorities to fulfill their tasks.
6. A viable non-governmental organisation should be created to generate necessary economic resources inside the country, including those from the public sector to create projects in housing, education and health.
7. With regard to investment, we should direct potential investors to such efforts as the "Viva Project" which have the specific objectives of "black empowerment" and redistribution of wealth.
8. We should oppose the lifting of financial sanctions, especially by the IMF, on the grounds that the country is still governed by a white minority regime.
9. We should offer to discuss the issue of trade sanctions with all affected interest groups in the country, including the trade unions, business organisations and the government with a view to addressing apartheid practices within the export sector and tying the easing of trade sanctions to specific commitments to abandon such practices.
10. For the obvious reason that the country is still ruled by a white minority regime, the arms embargo should remain.
11. Equally, the oil embargo should remain. We could relate this to another matter which has now been raised publicly, namely the sale of existing oil reserves, and the use of the money generated to address the socio-economic needs of the majority, under the direction of a properly representative interim government structure. This structure would then have the possibility to negotiate an agreement with foreign suppliers for the replenishment of the stock in a post-apartheid South Africa.

12. Urgent consultations be held with MDM organisations on the question of sanctions.
13. The ANC urgently organise and call an international summit as a follow-up to the Arusha Sanctions Conference to devise and consult on new strategies on sanctions.
14. The Commission considers the formulation of a contingency position on sanctions as tantamount to anticipating defeat on the issue.
15. A campaign against recruitment of imported labour from Eastern European countries and Asia be immediately undertaken and be included in talks with the South African government.

- DOCUMENT ON SANCTIONS

Cognisant of the necessity to counteract the growing perception that De Klerk and his government should be rewarded for recent reforms,

aware that the basic institutions of apartheid are still firmly in place,

that the South African government continues to use violence and police repression to suppress legitimate political and civic actions,

alarmed over the orchestrated violence against defenceless citizens, especially in African residential areas, in which elements of the SA security establishment are deeply implicated noting that many of the obstacles to genuine negotiations such as the Internal Security Act and others, remain in the statute book and are still vigorously enforced.

We resolve that the existing sanctions package be maintained.

As such the ANC appeals to the EC, US Congress, EFTA and all other international bodies to postpone any consideration of the issue of sanctions against apartheid SA until the ANC and all other democratic formations inside our country including Trade Unions and Religious bodies initiate discussion with them on these issues.

15/12/90.

1200 hrs.

16/12/90

RESOLUTION ON THE UNDERGROUND AND UMKHONTO WE ISIZWE

We remain committed to the strengthening and growth of our people's army MK and the underground.

We therefore stand to resolved:

- a) to continue with the process of recruitment and training our forces for the purpose of defending our people against enemy orchestrated violence and to prepare ourselves for a central role in a new army whose tasks will be to defend and uphold democratic values.
- b) that the NEC is directed to ensure that the welfare and future of MK cadres is carefully and fully discussed and catered for.
- c) to build the underground to guarantee that our movement does not suffer any serious setbacks.
- d) that it is a necessity for our movement to maintain and develop a network to carry out appropriate underground work.
- e) that the NEC must demand that the police must explain the disappearances and deaths of a number of our cadres throughout the country in particular the recent disappearances of Comrade Charles Ndaba and Comrade Mvuso Tshabalala and the cold blooded murder of Comrade Welile Saalman and Comrade Vukile Gondiwe.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION
Consultative Conference. 1990

We, the African National Congress dedicate ourselves to making the year 1991 a year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people through following programme of action.

We propose:

1. The launching of a campaign to culminate on Solomon Mahlangu Day (6 April) for the release of our prisoners, (including those on death row) the return of our exiles, the cessation of political trials and the detention of our people.
 2. The launching of mass action around the opening of parliament to highlight our demands for an interim government and constituent assembly and to demand the abolition of the tricameral and bantustan systems. This to be followed by a mass door-to-door signature campaign to popularise and mobilise our people around the objectives of an interim government and constituent assembly.
 3.
 - 3.1 The convening of workshops with our allies to develop a joint programme of action against violence in our country.
 - 3.2 The NEC set up a National Defence Committee to take charge of the speedy implementation of self-defence units in our structures.
 - 3.3 That our structures be encouraged to actively participate in the campaigns of our allies in our communities and in our factories. To this effect, we propose the setting up of local alliance structures.
 4. The convening of a patriotic conference on Sharpville Day, 21 March, to mobilise all anti-apartheid forces against this regime.
 5. That we consolidate our organisation by synchronising our mass recruitment campaigns with our campaigns of mass action, by improving the communication efficiency and effectivity of our structures, by deepening democratic practices and by correcting rural-urban imbalances.
 6. That conference reaffirms its policy on affirmative action for women and directs all structures of the ANC to implement it, and calls on the Women's League to spearhead this process.
 7. That the Land Commission of the ANC be given a specific mandate to consult widely on drawing up a programme of action to rally and mobilise our people for the return of the land to its rightful owners.
 8. Conference resolves to embark on a campaign for the reorientation of the community and students towards a culture of learning, and therefore undertakes to campaign for mass education, a common education system for all, and a demand that the regime provides adequate resources for education.
- All ANC branches and regions in liason with other education structures establish task forces for the implementation of campaigns.

FINAL DRAFT
AS ADOPTED.

DRAFT RESOLUTION

Conference extends profound thanks to Comrade President David Kaunda, the Government and people of Zambia for the selfless solidarity and friendship they have extended over the years to Comrade President Oliver Tambo. We thank them especially for all the assistance they extended to us to ensure the safe return of our President, after absence of more than 30 years and his participation in our historic Consultative Conference.

On behalf of the majority of the people of our country, we extend warm greetings to President Kaunda, the Government and the sister people of Zambia and wish them success in all their endeavours.