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ANC NATIONAL POLICY CONFERENCE

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT N. MANDELA - MAY 28, 1992

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

DELEGATES AND OBSERVERS,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

COMRADES AND FRIENDS,

IT IS WITH GREAT PRIDE THAT I GREET YOU AND WELCOME YOU

TO THIS CONFERENCE. THIS GATHERING IS YET ANOTHER

IMPORTANT MILESTONE IN THE HISTORY OF OUR ORGANISATION

AND, INDEED, IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY. OUR COMING

TOGETHER HERE IS THE CULMINATION OF A VERY IMPORTANT

PROCESS OF THE FORMATION OF POLICY, INVOLVING THE

MEMBERSHIP OF THE ORGANIZATION AS A WHOLE. TODAY, WE

CAN JUSTIFIABLY BE PROUD TO SAY THAT WE HAVE COME SOME

WAY IN REALISING THIS.

WE KNOW FULL WELL THE DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS HAVE TO FUNCTION. SINCE OUR NATIONAL CONGRESS, THE LEVELS OF VIOLENCE HAVE ESCALATED DRAMATICALLY. MANY LOCAL LEADERS HAVE BEEN ASSASSINATED. IN MANY PARTS OF OUR COUNTRY IT HAS BECOME EXTREMELY HAZARDOUS TO MEET, SO THAT MUCH OF THE DISCUSSION WHICH WILL INFORM OUR DELIBERATIONS HERE, HAS TAKEN PLACE WHILE TOWNSHIPS WERE UNDER VICIOUS ATTACK. WE HAVE WITNESSED AN INTENSIFICATION OF ATTEMPTS TO DESTABILISE THE ANC, TO LIMIT OUR CAPACITY TO ORGANISE AND TO PROJECT OUR VISION. THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF STATE COVERT OPERATIONS WITH THEIR SINISTER AGENDAS, INCLUDES FORMAL ASSASSINATION PLANS, ARE REMINDERS OF THE ODDS AGAINST US.

YET ALL OF OUR REGIONS HAVE HELD VERY SUCCESSFUL

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REGIONAL PREPARATORY CONFERENCES. THIS IN ITSELF IS A REMARKABLE VICTORY.

WE ARE PROUD OF THE FACT THAT MOST OF OUR SUBMISSIONS TO THIS CONFERENCE WILL BE INFORMED BY OPINIONS AND

VIEWS OF SOUTH AFRICANS BOTH IN THE ANC AND OUTSIDE OF IT. WE HAVE GONE OUT OF OUR WAY TO ENSURE THAT THE SUBMISSIONS TO THIS CONFERENCE ARE OF SUCH A NATURE THAT WE WILL EMERGE FROM HERE WITH A VISION WHICH WILL ENABLE US TO FULFIL THE HISTORIC ROLE OF THE ANC - THE LIBERATION OF OUR COUNTRY ACCOMPANIED BY A PROGRAMME, BY POLICIES WHICH WILL MEAN AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICANS.

OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS THERE HAS BEEN INTENSE DISCUSSION WITHIN OUR ORGANISATION IN PREPARATION FOR THIS CONFERENCE. IN ALL PARTS OF OUR COUNTRY, FROM SOME OF THE REMOTEST RURAL VILLAGES TO THE PLUSHEST URBAN SUBURBS, BRANCHES OF THE ANC HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING THE MYRIAD OF DRAFT POLICY DOCUMENTS PREPARED BY THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS. IT IS FROM THESE GATHERINGS AND THE REGIONAL PREPARATORY CONFERENCES THAT DELEGATES HAVE BEEN SENT TO THIS CONFERENCE AS THE BEARERS OF THE HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE THOUSANDS OF OUR MEMBERS FOR

WHOM A WHOLE NEW WORLD HAS BEEN OPENED IN DISCUSSING  
POLICY QUESTIONS WHICH THEY HAD PREVIOUSLY CONSIDERED  
TO BE THE SOLE PRESERVE OF HIGHLY SKILLED ACADEMICS. IT  
IS THIS REMARKABLE FEAT THAT MAKES THIS POLICY  
CONFERENCE SUCH A SINGULARLY IMPORTANT EVEN T - IT TRULY  
MARKS A HIGH POINT IN THE EARNEST ENDEAVOUR OF THE ANC  
TO DEMOCRATISE POLICY FORMULATION.

IN ADDITION, WE WERE ALL ENGAGED IN MANDATING OUR  
DELEGATES TO CODESA II, AN EVENT IN WHICH THE AGENDA OF  
THE NATIONAL PARTY REGIME WAS UNMASKED FOR THE WHOLE  
WORLD TO SEE. HOWEVER MUCH SOME OBSERVERS MAY HAVE  
WANTED TO REDUCE THE DEADLOCK TO A QUESTION OF 5  
PERCENTAGE POINTS, THE INESCAPABLE REALITY IS THAT THE  
REGIME LAID BARE ITS FUNDAMENTAL CONTEMPT OF  
DEMOCRACY AND ITS UNMITIGATED DESIRE TO HAN G ONTO THE  
LEVERS OF POWER.

NOTWITHSTANDING THEIR EARLIER ESPOUSAL OF SUPPORT FOR  
AN ELECTED CONSTITUTION-MAKING BODY, THEY BLOCKED A  
COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT WHEN CODESA WAS PRESENTED

WITH OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE OUR COUNTRY ALONG THAT PATH. THEY DID SO EVEN AFTER THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ALLIES HAD BENT OVER BACKWARDS TO DRAW THEM INTO STRIKING AN ACCORD.

THEIR INSISTENCE THAT A CODESA-DRAFTED INTERIM CONSTITUTION SHOULD IN FACT BE THE NEW CONSTITUTION, BEARS TESTIMONY TO THEIR PREFERENCE FOR UNDEMOCRATIC PRACTICES.

THE ANC IS PARTICIPATING IN CODESA AND WILL USE THAT PLATFORM TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR SETTING OUR COUNTRY ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY. FOR US, THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE FROM THE NEED TO ENGENDER PARTICIPATION IN THE PROCESS OF FORMULATING A CONSTITUTION WHICH, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN SOUTH AFRICA, WILL BE RESPECTED BY THE MAJORITY OF OUR PEOPLE.

CODESA II REALLY EXPOSED THE DUPLICITY OF THE NATIONAL PARTY REGIME. CODESA II CONVENED AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF A VARIETY OF EXPOSURES OF THE NP AGENDA WHICH

INCLUDE:

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SECRET BASES FROM WHICH  
ATTACKS WERE LAUNCHED ON THE LIVES OF SOME OF OUR  
MOST RESPECTED ACTIVISTS. THE FLIMSY GROUNDS ON  
WHICH THE COURTS CHOSE TO PREVENT THE PUBLICATION  
OF FURTHER DETAILS MERELY STRENGTHENS OUR VIEW  
THAT, IN SPITE OF THE COURAGE OF A FEW NOTABLE  
JUDGES WHO TAKE DECISIONS WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOUR,  
THE COURTS ARE NOT NEUTRAL. WE REMAIN CONVINCED  
THAT THE POLICE AND ARMY ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR  
FOMENTING THE VIOLENCE IN OUR COUNTRY. THE POLICE  
ADMITTED IN COURT THAT THESE WERE INDEED THEIR  
BASES, YET WE HAVE NOT BEEN INFORMED THAT THESE  
DEATH CAMPS HAVE BEEN SHUT DOWN.

THERE IS UNDENIABLE PROOF THAT THE SADF HAD  
ORDERED THE ASSASSINATION OF SOME OF OUR FINEST  
LEADERS IN THE EASTERN CAPE. THOSE RESPONSIBLE HAVE  
SINCE BEEN PROMOTED AND THERE IS AS YET NOT EVEN  
THE HINT THAT THEY WILL BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL FOR

THESE TERRIBLE DEEDS. INSTEAD, THE REGIME HAS RAISED  
THE PROSPECT OF AMNESTY FOR THESE CRIMINALS

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WITHOUT THEM HAVING TO FACE CHARGES.

THE RELEASE OF POLICEMEN BY THE FORMER MINISTER OF  
LAW AND ORDER IN A MANNER WHICH SHOWS COMPLETE  
DISREGARD FOR THE FINDINGS OF THE COURTS. COULD IT  
BE THAT THEY WERE ACTING UNDER HIS INSTRUCTION OR  
WITH HIS KNOWLEDGE IN EXECUTING THESE MONSTROUS  
CRIMES?

IN ADDITION THE WORST AND MOST UNASHAMED  
CORRUPTION WAS EXPOSED WITH THE THEFT OF BILLIONS  
OF RAND WHICH WERE DESTINED FOR THE POOREST AND  
MOST DISADVANTAGED. BEFORE THE PICKARD REPORT WAS  
RELEASED, THE CIVIL SERVANTS RESPONSIBLE HAD  
RECEIVED GOLDEN HANDSHAKES OR PROMOTION IN OTHER  
DEPARTMENTS. THESE ARE THE JOBS WHICH PRESIDENT DE  
KLERK HAS UNDERTAKEN TO PROTECT AT ALL COSTS  
DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE SUCCESSIVE POLITICAL  
HEADS OF THE NOW-DISBANDED DEPARTMENT OF

DEVELOPMENT AID HAVE ESCAPED UNSCATHED.  
IN THE FACE OF ALL OF THIS, SO MANY OF OUR CADRES REMAIN  
IN PRISON FOR DEEDS WHICH FALL WELL WITHIN THE SCOPE OF  
WHAT HAS BEEN DEFINED AS A POLITICAL OFFENCE. THIS  
MATTER MUST BE TAKEN OUT OF THE REALM OF BILATERAL  
TALKS BETWEEN THE ANC AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN  
GOVERNMENT AND PLACED WITHIN THE AMBIT OF CODESA SO  
THAT IT CAN BE RESOLVED SPEEDILY AND SATISFACTORILY.  
IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT THE STATEMENT MADE BY JUSTICE  
GOLSTONE MUST BE VIEWED. THE STATEMENT PREEMPTS THE  
ONGOING WORK OF HIS OWN COMMISSION. IN PARTICULAR, THAT  
COMMISSION IS SEIZED WITH INVESTIGATING MILITARY  
TRAINING BY THE SADF, OF AT LEAST 200 IFP MEMBERS WHO  
ARE STILL LOOSE IN THE COMMUNITY AND AGAINST WHOM  
THERE IS GROWING EVIDENCE THAT THEY ARE DIRECTLY  
INVOLVED IN CONDUCTING A REIGN OF TERROR IN THE AFRICAN  
TOWNSHIPS. IT IS ALSO INVESTIGATING SECRET FUNDING BY THE  
REGIME OF THE IFP OVER A PERIOD OF AT LEAST FOUR YEARS;  
THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE KWAZULU POLICE AND THE SAP IN



WESSELTON. THE JUDGEMENT IN THE TRUST-FEED MASSACRE CASE IS UNMISTAKABLE PROOF THAT NONE OF THIS CAN BE DISMISSED AS IRRELEVANT OR IMAGINED. THE STATEMENT IS SUPERFICIAL IN TWO FUNDAMENTAL RESPECTS. FIRSTLY WITH REGARD TO THE CAUSES OF THE VIOLENCE. TO ATTRIBUTE THE VIOLENCE TO POLITICAL RIVALRY BETWEEN THE ANC AND IFP IS TO IGNORE THAT THE RIVALRY HAS BEEN FOSTERED AND MANIPULATED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND ITS SECURITY FORCES. SECONDLY, WITH REGARD TO WHO HOLDS THE KEY RESPONSIBILITY FOR BRINGING THE VIOLENCE TO AN END - TO PLACE THIS RESPONSIBILITY ON THE ANC AND IFP IS TO IGNORE THE REALITY THAT IT IS THE NATIONAL PARTY REGIME WHO WIELDS STATE POWER. SOME MAY ASK WHY, WHEN THE AGENDA AND CORRUPTION OF THE REGIME STAND SO EXPOSED, DO WE REMAIN IN CODESA? THE ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION IS QUITE EASY. WE ARE IN CODESA BECAUSE WE HAVE NEVER HARBOURED ANY ILLUSIONS ABOUT

THE AGENDA OF THE REGIME. WE ARE IN CODESA BECAUSE WE HAVE DEFINED NEGOTIATIONS AS A SITE OF STRUGGLE. WE ARE IN CODESA BECAUSE THE MINORITY REGIME MUST BE DENIED THE RIGHT TO RULE OUR COUNTRY. WE ARE IN CODESA IN FULFILMENT OF OUR HISTORIC MISSION, NAMELY, THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

SOME HAVE ASKED WHETHER CODESA HAS FAILED. THE ANSWER IS THAT IT IS NOT CODESA WHICH HAS FAILED. THE ANSWER IS THAT IT IS THE NATIONAL PARTY WHICH HAS FAILED. THE NATIONAL PARTY HAS FAILED TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE CRY FOR DEMOCRACY WHICH IS ECHOING THROUGH OUR LAND. WE CANNOT ALLOW, THE FAILURES OF A MINORITY PARTY TO DICTATE SUCCESS OR FAILURE FOR US.

WE SHOULD NOT FEEL DEFEATED AFTER THE FAILURE OF CODESA II TO DELIVER, IN TERMS OF THE TIMETABLE WHICH WE HAVE PROPOSED, IF ANYTHING THAT REALITY SHOULD SPUR US ON TO STRIVE FOR THE DEADLINES WHICH WE OURSELVES HAVE DEFINED. WE REMAIN CONVINCED THAT TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE. WE REMAIN CONVINCED THAT WE NEED CHANGE

SOONER RATHER THAN LATER. WE REMAIN CONVINCED THAT THE TIMETABLES WHICH WE HAVE SUBMITTED ARE REALISTIC AND ATTAINABLE. WE STAND BY OUR PROPOSALS.

IT IS BECAUSE OF THESE NEW OBSTACLES THAT THIS CONFERENCE ASSUMES EVEN GREATER SIGNIFICANCE.

THIS CONFERENCE IS ESSENTIALLY ABOUT PREPARING TO GOVERN. WE ARE HERE TO SAY TO OURSELVES AND TO THE WORLD THAT WE UNDERSTAND AND THAT WE ARE READY AND CAPABLE OF TAKING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROCESS OF RECONSTRUCTION IN OUR LAND.

WE ARE HERE BECAUSE WE ARE MINDFUL OF THE FACT THAT WE HAVE YET TO WIN OUR FREEDOM. WE ARE HERE BECAUSE WE UNDERSTAND THE LINK BETWEEN CLEAR POLICIES AND VICTORY. THE ANC MUST EMERGE FROM THIS CONFERENCE WITH CLEAR POLICY PROPOSALS FOR A FUTURE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. SO LET US BE SPURRED ON TO EVEN GREATER LEVELS OF SERIOUSNESS AT THIS CONFERENCE.

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THE POLICIES WITH WHICH WE EMERGE, MUST INSPIRE THE  
BROADEST POSSIBLE CROSS SECTION OF SOUTH AFRICANS. MOST  
IMPORTANTLY, OUR POLICIES MUST PROVIDE HOPE FOR THE  
MOST POOR, THE MOST DOWNTRODDEN, THOSE WHO HAVE  
BORNE THE BRUNT OF APARTHEID OPPRESSION AND  
EXPLOITATION.

OUR CONFERENCE NEEDS TO ADDRESS THE DEMANDS WHICH ARE  
MADE BY THE ORGANISATIONS OF OUR PEOPLE. LET US LISTEN  
TO THE CRIES OF OUR PEOPLE IN THE CIVICS, THE TRADE UNION  
MOVEMENT, THE SPORTS ORGANISATIONS, THE RELIGIOUS  
BODIES AND THE MANY OTHER BODIES WHICH HAVE BEEN  
FORMED BY OUR PEOPLE.

LET OUR CONFERENCE SPEAK TO EVEN THOSE WHO HAVE  
BENEFITTED FROM APARTHEID. LET US PROVIDE THEM WITH A  
VISION OF THE FUTURE - A VISION OF A SINGLE NATION, A  
VISION OF AN ANC GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL BE ABLE TO  
GOVERN COMPETENTLY AND INCLUSIVELY.

LET US INSPIRE ALL SOUTH AFRICANS WITH A BELIEF IN OUR

CAPACITY TO CREATE STABILITY AND TO GENERATE WEALTH FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL IN OUR COUNTRY. LET US ALSO BE MINDFUL OF THE FACT THAT THE PROCESSES AND THE OUTCOME OF THIS CONFERENCE IS EAGERLY AWAITED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. ON THE ONE HAND, OUR STRUGGLE, AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ANC WITHIN IT, REPRESENTS HOPE TO DEMOCRATS AND STRUGGLING PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHO ARE PERTURBED BY THE SO - CALLED NEW WORLD ORDER; THIS NEW APPROACH WHICH SEEMS TO BE SO OPPOSED TO DEVELOPMENT AND WHICH WILL RESULT IN AN EVER WIDENING GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR. THERE ARE GREAT EXPECTATIONS THAT OUR CONFERENCE WILL REASSERT THAT THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IS TO PROTECT AND ADVANCE THE INTERESTS OF THE MOST VULNERABLE. THERE ARE ALSO THOSE WHO ARE KEEN TO SEE THE ANC ABANDONING PRECISELY THIS DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVE WHICH WE HOLD SO DEAR. THEY WILL BE DISAPPOINTED. THERE ARE ALSO INVESTORS WHO ARE WAITING TO GET THE FIRST TENTATIVE SIGNALS ABOUT THE CAPACITY OF THE ANC TO CREATE A STABLE ECONOMIC CLIMATE WHERE THEY CAN INVEST

WITH CONFIDENCE. OUR POLICIES WILL ESTABLISH SOCIAL JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY. DEMOCRACY IS OUR BEST INVESTMENT FOR STABILITY.

SOME HAVE ASKED WHETHER THE APPROACH OF THE ANC IS IDEOLOGICAL. THERE IS A MEASURE OF CURIOSITY IN CERTAIN QUARTERS ABOUT WHETHER WE ARE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, MARXIST - LENINIST, LIBERAL OR WHAT EVER. WE ARE UNCONCERNED ABOUT LABELS. WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT DEVELOPING A PROGRAMME WHICH WILL SYSTEMATICALLY ERADICATE THE RAVAGES OF APARTHEID. OBVIOUSLY THIS TILTS OUR POLICIES IN FAVOUR OF THE MOST DISADVANTAGED. WE ARE ALSO COMMITTED TO PUTTING INTO PLACE POLICIES WHICH ARE SUSTAINABLE, POLICIES WHICH WILL ENSURE SYSTEMATIC GROWTH. TO MEET THESE IMPORTANT GOALS. THE FACT THAT WE ARE A NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT WHICH BRINGS TOGETHER PEOPLE ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM IS A STRENGTH WHICH WE CANNOT ABANDON. THE VERY FACT THAT WE MANAGE TO BRING TOGETHER SUCH A

DIVERSE GROUP OF SOUTH AFRICANS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO THEIR COUNTRY HAS LAID AN INVALUABLE BASIS FOR A NEW PATRIOTISM.

THE FACT THAT WE CAN DEFEND THE RIGHT OF EVERY PERSON TO ARTICULATE THEIR VIEWS, IS A LESSON IN POLITICAL TOLERANCE WHICH IS RARELY FOUND IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS. THE FACT THAT SUCH A WIDE RANGE OF SOUTH AFRICANS SEE THE ANC IN ITS CURRENT FORM AS THE MOST VIABLE VEHICLE TO REALISE THEIR HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS, IS A TRIBUTE TO OUR ORGANISATION AND TO THOSE WHO HAVE CONSTANTLY SOUGHT TO MAKE THE ANC EVEN MORE BROADLY BASED OUR CONFERENCE MUST CONTRIBUTE MORE TO THIS.

THE BASIC OBJECTIVES OF ANC POLICY ARE:

)K TO STRIVE FOR THE RIGHT OF ALL SOUTH AFRICANS, AS A WHOLE, TO POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SELF-DETERMINATION IN A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA.

)k TO OVERCOME THE LEGACY OF INEQUALITY AND INJUSTICE

CREATED BY COLONIALISM AND APARTHEID, IN A SWIFT,  
PROGRESSIVE AND PRINCIPLED WAY.

TO DEVELOP AN ECONOMY AND STATE INFRASTRUCTURE  
THAT WILL PROGRESSIVELY IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE  
OF ALL SOUTH AFRICANS ; AND

TO ENCOURAGE THE FLOURISHING OF THE FEELING THAT  
SOUTH AFRICA BELONGS TO ALL WHO LIVE IN IT, TO  
PROMOTE A COMMON LOYALTY TO AND PRIDE IN THE  
COUNTRY AND TO CREATE A UNIVERSAL SENSE OF  
FREEDOM AND SECURITY WITHIN ITS BORDERS.

THE MISSION OF THE ANC, AS SET OUT IN THE FREEDOM  
CHARTER, IS ABOUT CREATING THE CONDITIONS WHICH WILL  
IMPROVE ON THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF ALL SOUTH AFRICANS.  
IN RESPECT OF THE MAJORITY OF PEOPLE, THOSE LIVING IN THE  
SQUALOR OF THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS WITHOUT ACCESS TO  
SANITATION, WATER AND ELECTRICITY, WHO HAVE BEEN DENIED  
FORMAL EDUCATION AND WHO NOW FIND THEMSELVES



VIRTUALLY UNEMPLOYABLE IN A FAILED ECONOMY, THE IMPORT OF A MAJOR IMPROVEMENT IN THE QUALITY OF LIFE IS BEYOND QUESTION.

EVEN THOSE WHO HAVE BENEFITED FROM APARTHEID, LIVE IN GREAT FEAR AND INSECURITY. UNDOUBTEDLY, THEY TOO ARE IN NEED OF A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN LIFE QUALITY AND ALSO STAND TO BENEFIT FROM THE POLICIES OF A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONFERENCE, THEREFORE, IS THAT THE POLICY GUIDELINES WHICH WE WILL ADOPT AT THIS CONFERENCE ARE FOR THE ENTIRE NATION AND NOT ONLY FOR THE ANC.

WE MUST EMPHASISE THE FACT THAT WE WILL NOT BE ADOPTING A RIGID BLUEPRINT FOR THE FUTURE SOUTH AFRICA.

THESE GUIDELINES WILL DESCRIBE THE FRAMEWORK WHICH WILL LATER BE FILLED BY DETAILED POLICIES IN RESPECT OF EACH SECTOR. THIS CONFERENCE BRINGS TOGETHER THE VIEWS OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE ANC, MANY OF WHOM HAVE ONLY JUST BEEN EXPOSED TO THE TECHNICAL DETAIL OF POLICY

FORMULATION.

OUR METHOD OF POLICY FORMULATION IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT CREATES CLARITY IN THE POLICY ENVIRONMENT. A MUCH GREATER PERCENTAGE OF OUR MEMBERSHIP NOW UNDERSTAND THE RESOURCE CONSTRAINTS THAT AN ANC GOVERNMENT WILL FACE AND THAT THERE WILL THEREFORE BE NO QUICK-FIX TO DECADES OF APARTHEID DESTRUCTION.

IMPORTANT AS THIS PART OF THE PROCESS IS, IT DOES NOT SUBSTITUTE FOR THE TECHNICAL DETAIL WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE WORKED AT AFTER THIS CONFERENCE. WE CAN SAY WITH PRIDE THAT THE ANC HAS THE CAPACITY WITHIN EACH DEPARTMENT TO DEVELOP THE NECESSARY DETAIL TO SUPPORT THE MANDATE WHICH THE POLICY DEPARTMENTS WILL BE ASSIGNED BY THIS CONFERENCE. WE ARE ALSO INSPIRED BY THE MANY OFFERS FROM OUTSIDE OUR RANKS FROM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, TO PROVIDE WHATEVER BACKUP WE MAY REQUEST. THE GUIDELINES WHICH WE WILL ADOPT WILL DESCRIBE THE

LEGISLATIVE, ECONOMIC AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK  
NECESSARY TO TRANSFORM SOCIETY INTO ONE WHICH WILL  
SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE MAJORITY. THE INSTITUTIONS  
THUS CREATED WILL HAVE TO BE STAFFED BY PERSONS WHO ARE  
TRAINED AND COMPETENT, BY CIVIL SERVANTS COMMITTED TO  
DEMOCRACY, ACCOUNTABILITY AND A PEOPLE-CENTRED  
APPROACH, AND BY STAFF COMMITTED TO CLEAN AND EFFICIENT  
ADMINISTRATION.

THIS PART OF OUR PREPARATIONS TO GOVERN CANNOT BE PUT  
CANNOT BE LEFT UNTIL WE ARE ALREADY IN GOVERNMENT. THE  
CREATION OF A DILIGENT AND PROFESSIONAL CIVIL SERVICE IS  
A TASK WHICH IS ALREADY LONG OVERDUE.

THERE WILL HAVE TO BE CHANGES IN THE EXISTING CIVIL  
SERVICE IN LINE WITH OUR COMMITMENT TO AFFIRMATIVE  
ACTION AND OUR COMMITMENT TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A  
SLIM STATE. WE ACCEPT THAT THERE ARE FEARS AMONGST  
THOSE CURRENTLY WITHIN THE CIVIL SERVICE. CHANGES IN THE  
CIVIL SERVICE ARE UNAVOIDABLE AND THOSE WHO ARE  
QUALIFIED, COMPETENT AND DILIGENT OBVIOUSLY HAVE FAR

LESS TO FEAR. WE REPEAT THAT CHANGES WILL BE MADE IN THE MOST HUMANE FASHION POSSIBLE.

AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF OUR DEMOCRATIC POLICIES MUST BE GEARED TOWARDS TRANSFORMING SOCIETY, WITH A SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON TRANSFORMING THE POWER RELATIONS IN POLICY-MAKING STRUCTURES, IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THOSE POLICIES, IN THE WORKPLACE AND IN THE RESIDENTIAL AREAS. THE POLICY GUIDELINES WHICH WE ADOPT MUST BE ABLE TO WITHSTAND THE RIGOUR OF SCIENTIFIC TEST AND THEY MUST BE ABLE TO BE DEFENDED BY EVERY ANC MEMBER. ABOVE ALL, THE GUIDELINES WE ADOPT MUST BE SUSTAINABLE.

THE THIRD WORLD IS LITTERED WITH THE RELICS OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WHICH HAVE SUCCESSFULLY LIBERATED THEIR COUNTRIES FROM THE YOKE OF COLONIAL OPPRESSION, ONLY TO BE DEFEATED AT THE POLLS IN THE FIRST POST-COLONIAL ELECTIONS .

THESE UNFORTUNATE DEFEATS ARE NOT A CONSEQUENCE OF THE PERSONALITIES IN THOSE MOVEMENTS. THE DEFEATS HAVE

MORE OFTEN THAN NOT BEEN A CONSEQUENCE OF UNFULFILLED PROMISES, A LACK OF OPENNESS IN POLICY MAKING, AND THE DIRECT CONSEQUENCE OF THE ADOPTION OF POLICIES WHICH COULD NOT BE SUSTAINED BY THE ECONOMIES OF THOSE COUNTRIES. THESE EXPERIENCES HAVE MANY VALUABLE LESSONS FOR US IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THERE ARE UNDERSTANDABLY HIGH EXPECTATIONS THAT DEMOCRACY WILL PUT THE CHANGES IN PLACE RAPIDLY. THESE EXPECTATIONS ARE NOT ABOUT LUXURY. OUR PEOPLES EXPECTATIONS ARE ABOUT ACQUIRING BASIC ESSENTIALS LIKE HOUSING, ELECTRIFICATION, WATER, SANITATION, DECENT EDUCATION AND JOBS. THESE ARE THE VERY ISSUES WHICH ARE SET OUT IN OUR BILL OF RIGHTS, AND IN THE FREEDOM CHARTER. ONE OF THE THREADS THAT RUNS THROUGH ALL OF OUR POLICY DOCUMENTS IS THE UNSHAKABLE COMMITMENT OF THE ANC TO DIRECT RESOURCES TOWARDS PRECISELY THOSE ENDS.

WE REMAIN TOTALLY CONVINCED THAT THESE OBJECTIVES ARE

ATTAINABLE, WHAT WE WILL NEED TO CLARIFY IS THE TIME-FRAMES WITHIN WHICH WE SHALL BE ABLE TO DELIVER THESE BASIC GOODS AND SERVICES TO THOSE MOST IN NEED THEREOF. WE ARE CHALLENGED TO AVOID UNREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS AND TO DEFINE A SOBER SET OF PRIORITIES. MOREOVER, WE ARE CHALLENGED TO INVOLVE OUR PEOPLE IN DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES TO BE PART OF THE PROCESS TO SET PRIORITIES. THIS IS FUNDAMENTALLY WHAT OUR GATHERING OVER THE NEXT FOUR DAYS IS CHARGED WITH.

WE MUST LEAVE THIS CONFERENCE WITH A CLEAR IDEA OF THE NEEDS, THE PROSPECTS, AND THE CONSTRAINTS. THIS UNDERSTANDING CANNOT HOWEVER BE THE EXCLUSIVE PROPERTY OF THOSE DELEGATES WHO WOULD HAVE HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF ATTENDING THIS CONFERENCE. IT MUST BE REPORTED BACK IN DETAIL TO THE STRUCTURES WHICH MANDATED THE DELEGATES. THIS CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE BEEN WASTED IF THE INFORMATION REMAINS IN THE CONFINES OF ANC STRUCTURES. THE TASK OF EVERY BRANCH IS TO DEVELOP CREATIVE OUTREACH PROGRAMMES, AND TO REDEFINE THE ROLES, DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF EACH

MEMBER.

WE MUST LEAVE THIS CONFERENCE WITH AN UNAMBIGUOUS COMMITMENT TO PROUDLY SPREAD THE DECISIONS TAKEN HERE TO ALL SOUTH AFRICANS -BLACK OR WHITE, RICH OR POOR, URBAN OR RURAL, YOUNG OR OLD.

IT IS IN THIS ASSIGNMENT THAT WE BEGIN TO SEE THE DIRECT INTERCONNECTION BETWEEN THE FUTURE AND THE PRESENT.

THE GUIDELINES WHICH WE WILL ADOPT RELATE PRIMARILY TO A FUTURE DEMOCRACY, SIMULTANEOUSLY IT IS ON THE STRENGTH OF THESE GUIDELINES THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO WIN THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN OUR COUNTRY.

THE ANC REMAINS UNEQUIVOCALLY COMMITTED TO BOTH GROWTH AND REDISTRIBUTION. A FAILURE TO SECURE THESE IN THE SHORTEST SPACE OF TIME WILL RESULT IN THE FURTHER DEGRADATION OF THE SOCIAL FABRIC IN OUR COUNTRY. THE COSTS OF THIS ARE FAR TOO HIGH. THE GROWTH PATH WHICH OUR COUNTRY NEEDS IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE WITHOUT THE

DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNANCE IN PLACE. IT IS IMPERATIVE, THEREFORE, THAT CODESA DELIVERS SOONEST - WITHIN THE DEADLINES WHICH WE SET OUT ON 8th JANUARY THIS YEAR.

OUR COUNTRY CANNOT BE HELD TO RANSOM BY THE NATIONAL PARTYS STUBBORNNESS, SELFISHNESS AND GREED FOR POWER. THESE HAVE, IN FACT, BEEN THE HALLMARKS OF THE NATIONAL PARTY SINCE 1948. EVEN TODAY, THEIR DETERMINATION TO HANG ONTO MINORITY RULE IS PROVEN THROUGH THE INTRODUCTION OF THE DEFENCE AMENDMENT BILL IN ORDER TO ENTRENCH A RACIST SYSTEM OF CONSCRIPTION.

THE ANC HAS NEVER ALLOWED ITSELF TO BE INTIMIDATED BY THIS REGIME, WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF DOING SO NOW! THE PROCESS NOW UNDERWAY IS ONE THAT WE INITIATED, THE REGIME DOES NOT OWN CODESA. WE MUST FORGE AHEAD TO SECURE AGREEMENTS ON CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES, ON A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED CONSTITUTION-MAKING BODY AND ON TIME-FRAMES.



IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY AND OF STRUGGLING PEOPLE ACROSS THE WORLD WHO ARE LOOKING TO THE ANC TO REDEFINE THE PRACTICE OF DEMOCRACY, WE MUST BREAK THE DEADLOCK. WE KNOW THAT THE MASSES OF OUR PEOPLE IS ONE MOST RELIABLE DEADLOCK BREAKING MECHANISM.

WE HAVE SAID THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE A SITE OF STRUGGLE. CONSEQUENTLY, THE NEGOTIATIONS UNDERWAY AT CODESA MUST BE SUPPORTED BY OTHER MEANS OF STRUGGLE. A DRAFT ALLIANCE PROGRAMME OF ACTION WILL BE DISCUSSED IN THIS CONFERENCE.

A SPECIAL COMMISSION WILL SEEK TO LINK THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS WITH THE POLICIES OF THIS CONFERENCE. THIS CONFERENCE WILL CONSIDER ACTIVITIES TO BREAK THE INTRANSIGENCE OF THE REGIME. THE DRAFT PROPOSAL HAS EARMARKED JULY AS THE DEADLINE.

THE POLICIES WHICH WE WILL ADOPT WILL ONLY ASSUME LIFE IF WE SECURE DEMOCRACY SOONEST. WE MAY NOT FAIL THE

MANY PATRIOTS WHO HAVE SACRIFICED SO MUCH TO BRING OUR  
COUNTRY TO THIS POINT. N OR MAY WE EVER FAIL OUR PEOPLE.  
WE BEAR THEIR HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS.  
WE ARE THE FUTURE!  
AMANDLA! NGAWETHU!  
MAATLA!  
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