

, .o W

L L! H ff 0 g '6. 5/: (h xi (/2 /G (i - qZ/Opo 862 .  
9 m /0?/ I?

ADDRESS OF NELSON MANDELA, PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL  
CONGRESS/TO THE FINANCE WEEK BREAKFAST CLUB, 19 JULY 1991  
HR CHAIRPERSON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

THANK YOU FOR OFFERING ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THIS  
DISTINGUISHED GATHERING. I HAVE BEEN ASKED TO SPEAK ON THE  
PRIORITIES OF THE ANC AND IT IS ADVANTAGEOUS TO DO THIS SOON  
AFTER WE HAVE COMPLETED THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE WITHIN THE  
COUNTRY FOR MORE THAN 30 YEARS.

THE CONFERENCE ITSELF HAS PRECEDED BY EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF ALL  
THE RELEVANT ISSUES IN BRANCHES AND IN REGIONS. WHEN DELEGATES  
ARRIVED AT THE CONFERENCE THEY WERE ALREADY FAIRLY CONVERSANT  
WITH THE ISSUES INVOLVED. WHAT EMERGED AS DECISIONS WERE  
THEREFORE NOT A RESULT OF SOME SUDDEN CAPRICE NOR DICTATED FROM  
THE TOP DOWNWARDS.

FROM THIS CONFERENCE ONE CAN, HOWEVER, SAY THAT THE PRIORITIES OF  
THE ANC REMAIN SUBSTANTIALLY WHAT THEY WERE BEFORE JULY 2. THE  
ONLY DIFFERENCE IS THAT THE ORGANISATION IS NOW UNITED AND  
COHESIVE BEHIND THESE AND THERE IS A NEWLY ELECTED LEADERSHIP TO  
IMPLEMENT THEM. THE NEW LEADERSHIP IS A REMARKABLE COLLECTION OF  
INDIVIDUALS REPRESENTING THE VARIOUS STRANDS OF OUR  
ORGANISATIONzEXPERIENCED MEMBERS OF THE PREVIOUS EXECUTIVE.  
LEADERS OF THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, FORMER EXILES WHO WERE  
NOT PREVIOUSLY ON THE EXECUTIVE AND EX-PRISONERS WHO HAVE SPENT  
A LONG TIME IN PRISON

LIBRARY c canal;1

51 P IN ST. CHAN ESBURG 2001 v

DJ

MANY DECADES IN PRISON.

/'

THIS IS A GROUP IN WHICH I HAVE GREAT CONFIDENCE AND I BELIEVE THE COUNTRY SHOULD BE PLEASED THAT THEY HAVE BEEN CHOSEN OUR PRIORITY REMAINS THE SEARCH FOR PEACE, WHICH HE BELIEVE IS NOT POSSIBLE UNLESS THERE IS FREEDOM. FURTHERHORE, AND THIS IS WHERE YOUR MAIN INTEREST PRESUHABLY ARISES, LASTING PEACE CAN ONLY BE SECURED WHEN SOCIAL JUSTICE, INCLUDING THE VAST DISPARITY OF HEALTH IS ADDRESSED

THE ANC IS UNEQUIVOCALLY COMMITTED TO PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE APARTHEID CONFLICT. TOO MANY PEOPLE HAVE DIED AND BEEN HAIHED BY APARTHEID BULLETS. TOO MANY PEOPLE STILL STAND TO DIE UNLESS THE CURRENT WAVE OF TERROR BEING HAGED AGAINST AFRICAN COMMUNITIES COMES TO AN END. FAR FROM IT COMING TO AN END, INDICATIONS ARE THAT IT MAY BE SPREADING TO OTHER AREAS

IT IS VITAL THAT THOSE WHO HAY SEE SOME SHORT-TERH ADVANTAGE IN THIS VIOLENCE, IN THAT IT MAY HEAKEN THE ANC,UNDERSTAND THE DEVASTATING LONG-TERH CONSEQUENCES FOR OUR COUNTRY. A CULTURE OF VIOLENCE IS BEING FIRHLY ENGRAINED WITHIN THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF OUR PEOPLE. SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY HAS TAUGHT BLACKS THAT IN THIS COUNTRY MATTERS ARE NOT USUALLY SOLVED THROUGH DISCUSSION BUT THROUGH VIOLENCE. THAT IS HHY PEOPLE SUPPORTED THE ARMED STRUGGLE AS A MEANS OF DEFENCE AGAINST THE AGGRESSION INHERENT IN

APARTHEID.

NOH THAT WE HAVE SUSPENDED ARHED ACTION, PEOPLE AGAIN SEE THAT POLITICAL ADVANTAGE IS BEING SOUGHT THROUGH A REIGN OF TERROR. THIS IS NOT HEARINGLESS TERROR. HE BELIEVE THAT IT IS AIHED AT HEAKENING THE ANC AND BUILDING AN ANTI-ANC ALLIANCE. IT IS HOPED THAT ACTS OF TERROR BY REDBANDED ATTACKERS HILL INCREASE THE SUPPORT FOR ORGANISATIONS HHOSE POLITICAL BACKING IS LIMITED- BUSINESSPEOPLE MUST UNDERSTAND THAT THIS HAS VERY DANGEROUS IMPLICATIONS HHICH WILL NOT LEAVE THE ECONOMY UNAFFECTED. WE ARE NOT GOING TO STAND BY AND HATCH OUR PEOPLE BEING HASSACRED. HE HILL USE ALL NECESSARY HEARS, INCLUDING STRIKE ACTION TO TRY TO IMPRESS UPON THE GOVERNMENT THAT THIS VIOLENCE MUST COME TO AN END.

WE NEED BUSINESS TO SUPPORT OUR CALL FOR A BINDING SET OF AGREEHENTS AIHED AT ENDING THE VIOLENCE,HHICH HILL PROVIDE A CODE OF CONDUCT FOR POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE SECURITY FORCES WE WANT PEACE BUT THIS DEMANDS A DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL ORDER. WE ARE COMMITTED T0 ESTABLISHING A CONSTITUTION THAT IS NOT HERELY AN ANC ONE, BUT A CONSTITUTION THAT ENJOYS THE LOYALTY AND RESPECT OF ALL PATRIOTIC SOUTH AFRICANS. WE BELIEVE THAT SUCH A CONSTITUTION SHOULD BE BACKED UP BY A JUSTICIABLE BILL OF RIGHTS

AND AN DNDEPENDENT JUDICIARY

WE KNOW THAT MANY HHITES FEAR THE DAHN OF FUNDAMENTAL DEHOCRATIC RIGHTS SUCH AS UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE. THEY FEAR THAT THEY HAY NON BE SUBJECTED TO APARTHEID IN REVERSE. BUT THERE IS NO REASON T0 FEAR THIS. THE ANC IS COHHITTED TO NONRACIALISH. THE VERY FIRST WORDS OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER DECLARE THAT SOUTH AFRICA BELONGS TO ALL WHO LIVE IN IT, BLACK AND HHITE. WE HAVE NO DESIRE TO PRACTISE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST HHITES.

WHAT IS MORE THERE IS NO REASON FOR HHITES T0 FEAR FOR THE PROTECTION OF THEIR CULTURE OR LANGUAGES. THESE HILL ALL BE GUARANTEED IN THE CONSTITUTION AND BILL OF RIGHTS. HE HAVE NO INTENTION OF ATTACKING LEGITIHATE RIGHTS. WHAT HE HILL ATTACK ARE THE PRIVILEGES ACCUHULATED THROUGH APARTHEID DOHINATION. WE WILL TRY TO CREATE A SOUTH AFRICA "HERE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS ARE GUARANTEED AND BASIC SOCIAL NEEDS ARE NET

WE ARE LOOKING FOR A CONSTITUTION THAT CONFORHS TO UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.

HOW DO HE GET THERE? IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THIS NEH CONSTITUTION MUST BE MADE IN THE MOST DEMOCRATIC HANNER POSSIBLE AND THIS HE BELIEVE IS THROUGH ELECTION TO A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY HOULD MAKE THE CONSTITUTION. THE COMPOSITION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEHBLY HOULD CONFORM TO THE

/

AMOUNT OF SUPPORT THAT THE VARIOUS ORGANISATIONS ENJOY  
THIS APPROACH IS BOTH DEMOCRATIC AND INCLUSIVE. THE DEMOCRATIC  
PRINCIPLE IS GIVEN EFFECT THROUGH ORGANISATIONS OR PARTIES HAVING  
AN INFLUENCE IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DIRECTLY RELATED TO  
THEIR ELECTORAL SUPPORT. AT THE SAME TIME, HE FAVOUR  
PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION WHICH ENSURES THAT MINORITY PARTIES  
DO HAVE SOME SAY.

THE ENTIRE PROCESS OF TRANSITION IS ONE WHERE HE HAVE TO ENSURE  
THAT FREEDOM OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS ALLOWED AND MAINTAINED.  
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DAY SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO USE ITS POWERS  
AS A MEANS OF ADVANCING ITS OWN POLITICAL GOALS AT THE EXPENSE OF  
OTHER ORGANISATIONS. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE PRESENT  
GOVERNMENT IS PARTISAN AND USES ITS POWERS TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF  
CERTAIN POLITICAL FORCES AND TO ADVANCE THE AIMS OF OTHERS. HE  
BELIEVE THAT GOVERNMENT DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION.  
INCLUDING SUPERVISION OF ELECTIONS FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY  
SHOULD BE THROUGH AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

THIS INTERIM GOVERNMENT SHOULD OVERSEE THE PROCESS THROUGH TO  
ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION.

BUT AS MENTIONED EARLIER. HE BELIEVE THAT LASTING PEACE REQUIRES  
THAT HE ALSO ADDRESS QUESTIONS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE, INCLUDING  
ECONOMIC POLICY. WHILE SOME SOCIAL QUESTIONS MUST AWAIT A

CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT BEFORE THEY CAN BE PROPERLY TACKLED, MANY QUESTIONS OF ECONOMIC POLICY NEED TO BE TACKLED NOW. HE IS WELL AWARE OF THE NEED TO ADDRESS ECONOMIC QUESTIONS IN A MANNER THAT DOES NOT PUT THE NEED TO ADDRESS SOCIAL DISPARITIES AGAINST ENSURING ECONOMIC GROWTH.

IF HE DEFINE ECONOMIC GROWTH NARROWLY, AS INCREASING GDP OUTPUT, THIS APPROACH WILL NOT IN ITSELF BE USEFUL UNLESS IT IS LOCATED WITHIN A NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY. SUCH A STRATEGY, HE BELIEVE, SHOULD ADDRESS BOTH SOCIO- ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY. IT SHOULD AID AT ENHANCING COMMUNITIES, WHILE IMPROVING MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF LIFE WITHIN A NEW GROWTH PATH. POVERTY AND BASIC NEEDS MUST BE SERIOUSLY ADDRESSED. EVEN THE CURRENT BUDGET WHICH THE GOVERNMENT CLAIM IS 'REDISTRIBUTIVE' HAS BEEN SHOWN BY SAHPIE TERREBLANCHE OF STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY TO STILL ALLOCATE R2500 PER CAPITA TO EVERY WHITE PERSON FOR SOCIAL EXPENDITURE WHILE ALLOCATING R 500 FOR EVERY AFRICAN. THIS NEEDS TO BE REVERSED URGENTLY.

DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES SUCH AS THE DEVELOPMENT BANK OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE LAND BANK, SOUTH AFRICAN HOUSING TRUST AND SO ON, WHICH ARE ALL PARASTATALS, ARE MAKING LITTLE SOCIAL IMPACT BECAUSE THEY LACK LEGITIMACY AND ARE FOLLOWING OLD IDEAS OF

DEVELOPMENT. THIS APPROACH CONSISTED OF DELIVERING A PRODUCT WITH LITTLE CONCERN FOR CONSULTATION OR INVOLVING THE COMMUNITIES AFFECTED. IT IS A PRIORITY TO DEMOCRATISE THESE OPERATIONS OR TO CREATE NEH DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTIONS THAT CAN MEET THE CHALLENGES OF A NEH SOUTH AFRICA. THE SAME TASK CONFRONTS PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES, LIKE THE URBAN FOUNDATION.

RETRENCHMENTS AND JOB CREATION ARE ALSO URGENT ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED IN THE COMING PERIOD. THESE ISSUES NEED \_TO BE CONSIDERED SIMULTANEOUSLY. WHICH CAN ONLY BE DONE IN THE CONTEXT OF A NEW GROWTH STRATEGY THAT ENCOURAGES INVESTMENT, WHICH IS CURRENTLY LOCKED INTO SPECULATIVE ACTIVITY.

HE SUGGEST A STRATEGY WHICH FOCUSES IN THE FIRST INSTANCE ON BASIC GOODS, SUCH AS HOUSING -BROADLY INCLUDING SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES AND PROPERLY PLANNED URBANISATION- AND LINKED NOT ONLY TO \_ PROVIDING SHELTER BUT ALSO TO REVIVING THE ECONOMY.

THE FOUR ISSUES HE PRIORITISE ARE HOUSING, EDUCATION, LAND REFORM AND PROVIDING A BASIC WELFARE FOR THE VERY POOR- ALL THESE CAN BE ADDRESSED NOW. IF HE TAKE THE LAND QUESTION, THERE IS A NEED FOR RESTITUTION. THE LAND BANK HAS ACCESS TO LAND. THERE ARE OVER 1000 WHITE FARMERS WHO ARE IN DEBT BEYOND THE VALUE OF THEIR ASSETS. SHOULD THIS NOT BE TAKEN FOR REDISTRIBUTION?

THIS FOCUS ON REDISTRIBUTION AND BASIC GOODS MIGHT NOT BE A SUFFICIENT CONDITION FOR GENERATING GROHTH, BUT IT IS CERTAINLY A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR GROWTH.

TOGETHER WITH YOU, HE RECOGNISE THAT GROWTH IS CRUCIAL. HE ENVISAGE A DEMOCRATIC STATE PURSUING AN INDUSTRIAL POLICY AIHED, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, AT MEETING BASIC NEEDS AND INCREASING EMPLOYMENT. IN THE WORDS OF OUR DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC POLICY., INDUSTRIAL POLICY HILL ALSO AAIH TO ENSURE THAT SOUTH AFRICA EHERGES AS A MORE SIGNIFICANT MANUFACTURING EXPORTER. A DEMOCRATIC INDUSTRIAL RESTRUCTURING PROCESS SHOULD INVOLVE THE STATE, BUSINESS AND THE TRADE UNIONS AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS OF CIVIL SOCIETY. IT SHOULD ALSO AIH TO PROMOTE A MORE BALANCED PATTERN OF INDUSTRIALISATION, CAPABLE OF OVERCOHING THE CURRENT ACUTE OVERCONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN CERTAIN URBAN AREAS.'

WITH REGARD TO THE MINING INDUSTRY, HE HILL HAVE TO DEVELOP A PLAN FOR THE OPTIMAL EXTRACTION OF GOLD IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST. THIS WOULD AIM AT PROHOTING A PLAN IN FULL CONSULTATION WITH THE LEADING PRODUCERS AND TRADE UNIONS.

IN CONJUNCTION WITH THIS, A NEW SYSTEM OF TAXATION, LEASING AND FINANCING WILL NEED TO BE DEVELOPED WITH MEASURES OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP WHERE APPROPRIATE. THIS IS AN URGENT QUESTION IN THE LIGHT OF THE CHANGING STRUCTURE OF THE INDUSTRY AT A HORLD LEVEL.

UNCERTAINTY IN PRICES AND CURRENT THREATS OF RETRENCHMENT. BASICALLY THEN, WE BELIEVE THERE MUST BE A REWORKED INDUSTRIAL, HIRING AND AGRICULTURAL STRATEGY. THESE SHOULD FIRST OF ALL MEET BASIC NEEDS AND CREATING JOBS. BUT THE AIMS SHOULD ALSO BE TO IMPROVE EXPORTER PERFORMANCE AND OUR TECHNOLOGICAL CAPACITY. DETAILS NEED TO BE DEVELOPED THROUGH COOPERATION BETWEEN THE KEY PLAYERS, THAT IS, THE STATE, BUSINESS AND ORGANISED LABOUR.

THERE IS A NEED FOR MACROECONOMIC STABILISATION. SUCH MATTERS AS REDUCING INFLATION ARE CRUCIAL IF THE ECONOMY IS TO GROW AND ATTRACT INVESTMENT IN THE FUTURE, BUT THIS WILL BEST BE ACHIEVED THROUGH PLACING SOUTH AFRICA ON A NEW GROWTH PATH AND NOT BY MERELY TINKERING WITH MONETARY POLICY IN A PERIOD OF RECESSION. BUT FOR THERE TO BE ANY REAL PROGRESS IN THE ECONOMIC DOMAIN WE ALL KNOW THAT THERE HAS TO BE POLITICAL STABILITY. THE VIOLENCE MUST END. I CONCLUDE BY URGING YOU TO JOIN US IN DEMANDING THAT THE GOVERNMENT USE THE POWERS AT ITS DISPOSAL TO BRING THE REIGN OF TERROR TO AN END. PLEASE USE YOUR VOICES TO CALL FOR A GENUINE PROCESS OF TRANSITION WHOSE OUTCOME MUST SATISFY THE MAJORITY OF SOUTH AFRICANS. THAT MEANS THAT THE OBJECT OF THE PROCESS MUST BE TO ACHIEVE A DEMOCRATIC RESULT- ONLY WHEN WE ARE FREE, THAT IS WHEN, FOR THE FIRST TIME WE ALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS IN THE LAND OF OUR BIRTH, ONLY THEN WILL WE HAVE PEACE. LET US

MAKE THAI DAY DAWN SOONER RATHER THAN LATER.  
THANK YOU