

- 7.0 We reaffirm our recognition of the right of all peoples, including those of South Africa, to determine their own destiny, and to work out for themselves the institutions and the system of government under which they will, by general consent, live and work together to build a harmonious society. The Organisation of African Unity remains committed to do everything possible and necessary, to assist the people of South Africa, in such ways as the representatives of the oppressed may determine, to achieve this objective. We are certain that, arising from its duty to help end the criminal apartheid system, the rest of the world community is ready to extend similar assistance to the people of South Africa.
- 8.0 We make these commitments because we believe that all people are equal and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, sex or creed. We believe that all men and women have the right and duty to participate in their own government, as equal members of society. No individual or group of individuals has any right to govern others without their consent. The apartheid system violates all these fundamental and universal principles. Correctly characterised as a crime against humanity, it is responsible for the death of countless numbers of people in South Africa. It has sought to dehumanise entire peoples. It has imposed a brutal war on the whole region of Southern Africa, resulting in untold loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent men, women and children. This scourge and affront to humanity must be fought and eradicated in its totality.
- 9.0 We have therefore supported and continue to support all those in South Africa who pursue this noble objective through political, armed and other forms of struggle. We believe this to be our duty, carried out in the interest of all humanity.
- 10.0 While extending this support to those who strive for a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa, a point on which no compromise is possible, we have repeatedly expressed our preference for a solution arrived at by peaceful means. We know that the majority of the people of South Africa and their liberation movement, who have been compelled to take up arms, have also upheld this position for many decades and continue to do so.
- 11.0 The positions contained in this Declaration are consistent with and are a continuation of those elaborated in the Lusaka Manifesto two decades ago. They take into account the changes that have taken place in Southern Africa since that Manifesto was adopted by the OAU and the rest of the international community. They constitute a new challenge to the Pretoria regime to join in the noble effort to end the apartheid system, an objective to which the OAU has been committed from its very birth.

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12.0 Consequently, we shall continue to do everything in our power to help intensify the liberation struggle and international pressure against the system of apartheid until this system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens.

13.0 In keeping with this solemn resolve, and responding directly to the wishes of the representatives of the majority of the people of South Africa, we publicly pledge ourselves to the positions contained hereunder. We are convinced that their implementation will lead to a speedy end of the apartheid system and therefore the opening of a new dawn of peace for all the peoples of Africa, in which racism, colonial domination and white minority rule on our continent would be abolished for ever.

II. STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

14.0 We believe that a conjuncture of circumstances exists which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the Pretoria regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations. Such an eventuality would be an expression of the long-standing preference of the majority of the people of South Africa to arrive at a political settlement.

15.0 We would therefore encourage the people of South Africa, as part of their overall struggle, to get together to negotiate an end to the apartheid system and agree on all the measures that are necessary to transform their country into a non-racial democracy. We support the position held by the majority of the people of South Africa that these objectives, and not the amendment or reform of the apartheid system, should be the aims of the negotiations.

16.0 We are at one with them that the outcome of such a process should be a new constitutional order based on the following principles, among others:-

16.1 South Africa shall become a united, democratic and non-racial state.

16.2 All its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed.

16.3 All its people shall have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of a universal suffrage, exercised through one person one vote, under a common voters' roll.

16.4 All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism.

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- Page No. 4
- 16.5 All shall enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched Bill of Rights.
 - 16.6 South Africa shall have a new legal system which shall guarantee equality of all before the law.
 - 16.7 South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary.
 - 16.8 There shall be created an economic order which shall promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans.
 - 16.9 A democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship, and mutually beneficial cooperation with all peoples.
 - 17.0 We believe that agreement on the above principles shall constitute the foundation for an internationally acceptable solution which shall enable South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner among the African and world community of nations.

III. CLIMATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS

- 18.0 Together with the rest of the world, we believe that it is essential, before any negotiations can take place, that the necessary climate for negotiations be created. The apartheid regime has the urgent responsibility to respond positively to this universally acclaimed demand and thus create this climate.
- 19.0 Accordingly, the present regime should, at the very least:-
 - 19.1 Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them;
 - 19.2 Lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons;
 - 19.3 Remove all troops from the townships;
 - 19.4 End the state of emergency and repeal all legislation, such as, and including the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity; and,
 - 19.5 Cease all political trials and political executions.
- 20.0 These measures are necessary to produce the conditions in which free political discussion can take place - an essential condition to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of remaking their country. The measures listed above should therefore precede negotiations.

.../continued

free political discussion

IV. GUIDELINES TO THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION

- 21.0 We support the view of the South African liberation movement that upon the creation of this climate, the process of negotiations should commence along the following lines:-
- 21.1 Discussions should take place between the liberation movement and the South African regime to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire.
- 21.2 Negotiations should then proceed to establish the basis for the adoption of a new Constitution by agreeing on, among others, the Principles enunciated above.
- 21.3 Having agreed on these principles, the parties should then negotiate the necessary mechanism for drawing up the new Constitution.
- 21.4 The parties shall define and agree on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order.
- 21.5 The parties shall agree on the formation of an interim government to supervise the process of the drawing up and adoption of a new constitution; govern and administer the country, as well as effect the transition to a democratic order including the holding of elections.
- 21.6 After the adoption of the new Constitution, all armed hostilities will be deemed to have formally terminated.
- 21.7 For its part, the international community would lift the sanctions that have been imposed against apartheid South Africa.
- 22.0 The new South Africa shall qualify for membership of the Organisation of African Unity.

V. PROGRAMME OF ACTION

- 23.0 In pursuance of the objectives stated in this document, the Organisation of African Unity hereby commits itself to:-
- 23.1 Inform governments and inter-governmental organisations throughout the world, including the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations General Assembly, the Security Council, the Commonwealth and others of these perspectives, and solicit their support.
- 23.2 Mandate the OAU Ad-Hoc Committee on Southern Africa acting as the representative of the OAU and assisted by the Frontline States to remain seized of the issue of a political resolution of the South African question;
- .../continued

- 23.3 Step up all-round support for the South African liberation movement and campaign in the rest of the world in pursuance of this objective;
- 23.4 Intensify the campaign for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa: in this regard, immediately mobilise against the rescheduling of Pretoria's foreign debts; work for the imposition of a mandatory oil embargo and the full observance by all countries of the same embargo;
- 23.5 Ensure that the African continent does not relax existing measures for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa;
- 23.6 Continue to monitor the situation in Namibia and extend all necessary support to SWAPO in its struggle for a genuinely independent Namibia;
- 23.7 Extend such assistance as the Governments of Angola and Mozambique may request in order to secure peace for their peoples; and
- 23.8 Render all possible assistance to the Frontline States to enable them to withstand Pretoria's campaign of aggression and destabilisation and enable them to continue to give their all-round support to the people of Namibia and South Africa.
- 24.0 We appeal to all people of goodwill throughout the world to support this Programme of Action as a necessary measure to secure the earliest liquidation of the apartheid system and the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.
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The simple guide to Codesa

The Weekly Mail
December 19, 1991

Distributed by: The Washington Office On Africa

	FUTURE OF HOMELANDS	INTERIM GOVERNMENT	CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
ANC, SACP, TIC-NIC, TRANSKEI MILITARY COUNCIL, INYANDZA	Support the immediate reincorporation of the four "independent homelands" and the removal of the authority of the "self-governing territories". They favour a unitary state with a strong central government and limited devolution of power to the regions, to be decided according to the distribution of populations.	All strongly believe that Codesa should have the function of setting up an interim government to govern during the transition period prior to the first general election. This should replace the authority of the present government, though it is not clear whether they believe it should assume all its roles. They believe that Codesa should not itself be transformed into an interim government and should have a short lifespan. They reject the idea of these members being incorporated into the current government for the transition period.	All support the idea of an elected constituent assembly being the body which negotiates the details of a new constitution. They accept that the broad principles can be negotiated through Codesa and have not rejected the idea of a referendum on these. But this should replace constituent assembly elections held on a party political basis. Once the new constitution is negotiated through the elected constituent assembly, a general election should be held for the new parliament, after which the interim government should be replaced by the new government.
INTANDO YESIZWE PARTY, TSHIMOKO PROGRESSIVE, VENDA MILITARY COUNCIL, LABOUR PARTY	Also favour reincorporation of all homelands, but tend to favour a more federally based constitution.	Most of these parties have come out in favour of an interim government or are tending in that direction.	All tend to favour the idea of an elected constituent assembly, but appear to be flexible on the issue.
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	Supports the reincorporation of all homelands and a federal constitution with strong powers for the regions, as well as regional representation within the upper house of parliament.	Supports the idea of a Transitional Government of National Reconciliation, which should be the product of Codesa. Among its functions should be controlling key government functions such as expenditure, the broadcast media and the security forces. This should be headed by a Council of Leaders appointed by Codesa, representing the major political parties. The state president should continue to exercise all executive functions provided for in the constitution on the advice of the Council of Leaders, instead of the cabinet. Multi-party cabinet committees should be set up.	Favours a solution similar to that of an elected constituent assembly. A constitutional conference, elected on a one-person, one-vote basis, with a one-per-cent cut-off, should negotiate the new constitution. Its decisions should be made by a two-thirds majority and must have the agreement of both the majority party in the constitutional conference and the majority party in parliament — effectively giving both veto powers. Once a new constitution is agreed upon, it should be put to the electorate through a referendum.
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY	Supports the idea of a reunified state including the independent homelands and self-governing territories, with the conditions of the "reaccession" of the TBVC states to be subject to negotiation. Stresses strong state powers, with each state being represented in the senate, having a state legislature, state premier and a governor, and the constitutional recognition of traditional rulers.	Accepts the sovereignty of the current government and believes it should continue to govern until a new constitution is negotiated. It therefore strongly rejects the idea of an interim government or any other solution which detracts from the authority of present government, though it has not ruled out transitional provisions to expand its base.	Rejects the idea of an elected constituent assembly being the forum which negotiates the new constitution. Instead believes the constitution should be negotiated by Codesa and put to the electorate through a referendum.
CISKEI GOVERNMENT, NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY, SOLIDARITY, DIKWANKWETLA PARTY	All say they favour the reincorporation of the TBVC states, with the retention of strong powers for the regions. Ciskei has shown some ambiguity in this regard but tends to accept the inevitability of returning to the South African fold.	Have not all expressed strong opinions on this issue, but are likely to oppose the idea of an interim government replacing the current government.	Those who have expressed opinions on this issue have tended to oppose the idea of an elected constituent assembly.
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, NATIONAL PARTY	Have still not made their position on the reincorporation of the TBVC states clear, saying this is subject to negotiation and that the TBVC states are independent and therefore can't be compelled to return. Privately, NP officials say they accept the notion of full reincorporation. Support strong federal powers for the proposed nine regions, each being governed by an executive committee and equally represented in the Senate.	Have clearly rejected the idea of an interim government or any other form of transitional authority which interfere with the sovereignty of the South African government. Believe the government should continue to govern until such time as the first elections based on a new constitution are held. However, they are open to the idea of transitional arrangements which broaden the legitimacy of the current government, such as the expansion of the cabinet, and increasing aspects of the authority of Codesa.	Reject the idea of an elected constituent assembly, which they feel will lead to "majoritarianism". They believe that once there has been agreement on the major facets of the new constitution, these should be put to the electorate through a referendum among all the "population groups" — which makes separate provision for counting the votes of each group. President FW de Klerk has promised they will only go ahead with the new constitution if it is accepted by the white electorate. The present government should continue to govern until the first general election is held on the basis of the new constitution.
BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT	Still opposes its own reincorporation and believes that Bophuthatswana should continue to exist as a separate state, possibly as part of a confederation of states.	Does not wish to be governed by an interim government or any government other than itself.	At the moment it does not want to be part of a future South Africa and therefore rejects any solution — including constituent assembly elections — through which it would be bound.



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Observer Mission to the United Nations

ADDRESS BY ANC PRESIDENT, NELSON MANDELA TO THE INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN POLICY 20 MAY, 1992 - SWEDEN

Ladies and Gentlemen.

At the outset let me thank you for the opportunity to meet the distinguished members of the Institute of Foreign Policy. This moment in our history is of critical importance to our nation. Our deliberations have an added urgency because of the events at CODESA II. What we, as South African politicians, do or fail to do will have very serious consequences for South Africa, for the region, for the whole of Africa and can have implications for many parts of the world.

It is my firm conviction that we must all quickly and decisively to defeat all attempts to stall, subvert or derail the negotiation process under way in South Africa.

As early as 1987, the ANC's analysis of the situation indicated that the crisis of apartheid was of such magnitude that unless decisive measures were taken an apocalyptic future faced the entire sub-region.

The regime had failed to destroy the democratic movement despite an unprecedented reign of terror but we were not able to defeat the regime through a combination of armed and mass struggle. We concluded that steps should be taken to find political solutions through negotiations.

After consultations with the ANC leadership in exile I, while still in prison, initiated discussions with representatives of the government. At the same time the ANC leadership in exile began talks with a number of South Africa organisations, as well as the Frontline States, to develop a strategy for a negotiated solutions to the South African questions.

This resulted in the OAU's Harare Declaration of 1989, which was subsequently endorsed by the Non-Aligned Movement. It also served as the basis for the unprecedented UN Consensus Resolution on South Africa taken in 1989. These document constitute an internationally accepted framework for the negotiation process in South Africa.

The two years since our release and the unbanning of the ANC have been difficult and demanding. Violence of an unprecedented ferocity and scale has been unleashed against the democratic forces. This has been coupled with secret funding of political organisations willing to serve the interests of the regime. The result has ben a serious destabilisation of the whole process.

Because of this, and in recognition of the fact that it was in fact the government itself that was the major obstacle to progress. April 1991 the ANC suspended all constitutional talks. We concluded that the only solution lay with the installation of an interim government of national unity.

This is what we concentrated on trying to achieve, holding extensive consultations and discussions with the government and all other political organisations in our country.

Despite the government's initial rejection of our call for an All Party Congress, an interim government and a democratically elected constitution making body, these proposals have now been agreed upon in principle. This was largely due to extensive mass campaigns and thorough-going public debate on these issues, which found expression in fora such as the Patriotic Front Conference of October 1991.

The process culminated in the historic Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), which was held on the 20th and 21st of December 1991.

Codesa established five working groups, each of which had representation from the 19 organisations participating in Codesa, their task was to deal with:

1. The creation of a climate for free political activity and the role of the international community.
2. General constitutional principles and the constitution making body.
3. Interim government or transitional arrangements.
4. The future of the Transkei, Bophuthastwana, Venda and Ciskei - those bantustans that became "independent" from South Africa.
5. Time frames and implementation of the whole process.

These working groups have been in regular session from February 1992 until their report back to Codesa II on 15th and May. Broad agreement was reached by all parties on many issues. But the central question was the need for an Interim Government of National Unity to oversee the transition. This would be done in two phases.

The first phase would see the appointment of a Transitional Executive Council to oversee the process leading to free and fair elections to a national assembly which would be charged with the task of drawing up a new constitution.

The second phase would come into being after such democratic elections, the first in the history of our country. The elected national assembly would have two functions: to sit as a constitution making body, where decisions would be taken by a two thirds majority, and to serve as a legislature for the purpose of government, where matters would be decided by a simple majority. And this is where difficulties arose, as there are serious differences between the democratic forces and those of the regime on the constitution making body.

Despite all our efforts, and extensive compromise on our part in an effort to reach an

understanding on the way forward, Codesa II stalled. The Pretoria government remains intransigent, acting in narrow self-interest as opposed to the national interest of our country. We are deeply disappointed that Codesa II has failed to deliver the breakthrough so many worked so tirelessly to achieve.

The government has placed four major obstacles in the way of forward movement, namely:

1. Unacceptably high percentages to draft a constitution, in essence a veto through the back door.
2. Entrenched regional and local boundaries and powers to be determined in the interim and to be binding on the future democratic constitution.
3. An undemocratic and unelected Senate with veto powers, and
4. A determination that the interim constitute a mechanism to ensure continuity during the transition, has wide veto powers and so becomes a permanent feature remaining in force indefinitely.

It is our view that agreements reached at Codesa can only be treated as a whole package, therefore breakdown over the constitution making body affects the entire process. The essence of the problem is not one of percentages or arithmetic. It is that the National Party is trying to hold on to power at all costs, introducing minority veto powers in a variety of ways that can only result in a paralysis of decision making, strife and great instability.

The National Party is creating obstacles in an effort to prevent it suffering any loss of power. This is what lies at the heart of the problem, and fundamentally affects the very process of democratisation of the country.

Such intransigence and lack of will to comprise from a government wrecked by scandals of such magnitude that should bring any government down is not surprising, but is nevertheless most disturbing. The question is not which minister is responsible for the death squads, the instructions to kill activists, the running of covert police operations or the squandering of millions of tax-payers money. Rather it is that the whole government is part of this corruption and abuse of power. The only solution lies with the installation of an interim government of national unity immediately.

We reject the arguments of those who claim that the process is moving too fast and must be slowed down.

Our people cannot postpone their hunger. Seven million people almost the equivalent of the entire population of Sweden - live as squatters in abject poverty. We cannot say to them: postpone your hunger, your need for water and sewerage, your right to education and a secure family life.

Our people can no longer endure the legacy of apartheid, including the intolerable violence that has cost 700 lives in the last two months alone. This is on par with the losses suffered in the tragic conflict that is tearing Yugoslavia apart. But that is recognised as a war, while in South Africa it is called "black on black violence".

The violence, and how to bring it to an end, is one of the principle challenges facing us. The regime is singularly failing to tackle the problem, primarily because the police, the army, the National Party and the government are themselves a creation of apartheid. Inexcusable things are happening in our country. While the structures created through the Peace Accord play an invaluable role, mediating in areas of genuine conflict, this process does not work when dealing with dealing with hired killers and elements of the security forces who bear the primary responsibility for fuelling the conflict.

It is only an interim government, through multi-party commissions which would be established to control the army, police and security forces, that can tackle this problem effectively.

To us, the way forward is very clear, and requires firm and decisive action. In addition to finding ways to implement the excellent recommendations and agreements of the National Peace Accord, we are asking the international community to discuss with us sending monitoring teams to South Africa to investigate the violence. This will help place the perpetrators under the spotlight for all the world to see. It would also assist in creating a climate of free political activity so that free and fair elections are possible.

These impending elections place an enormous responsibility on the shoulders of the ANC and the broad democratic movement. Our people have never voted. In fact, we come from a tradition of resistance and boycott. Unlike the white South Africa, we have no voters rolls or electoral lists. Our people, irrespective of political affiliation, need to understand not only why to vote, but how to vote. To do this we need to embark on massive public voter education campaign which should be coupled with efforts to enhance the democratisation of society and the peace process.

It is only the ANC and the democratic forces that have the credibility and confidence of the people to do this. Even if they were willing to play a role, any such attempts by the government will be dismissed as manipulation and propaganda.

This is a reflection of the particular responsibilities the ANC has towards the whole country, irrespective of party political affiliation. It has been our constant persuasion that has kept the process on track, and indeed prevented complete breakdown at Codesa.

We are the architects of the whole process, and have made enormous compromises to try to ensure its success. We cannot, however, compromise on matters of principle. We express our grave concern about President de Klerk's recent statement that he is against majority rule. Given all these uncertainties, we can only consider the process irreversible when the oppressed are themselves part of the structures in a meaningful way.

How does all of this affect our relations with a staunch supporter like Sweden?

Despite the obvious setbacks, we are very optimistic about the future. Knowing our past and where we have come from, developments over the past two years have been rapid, even if they have not achieved as much as we would have liked. We are convinced that an interim government is merely months away. And we are counting on friends like you to make that interim government successful, ensuring it marks a real turning point in the life of our

people.

Sanctions are clearly a burning issue. We certainly do not want a situation where our friends, because they support our positions, are disadvantaged in the future. We are convinced this will not happen if sanctions are maintained until the installation of an interim government. Let all the groundwork be done now: send exploratory teams out, do all the surveys and investigations that are necessary for investment and trade in the near future. Signing agreements and contracts with this white minority government that cannot last much longer is not a solution. Sustaining economic pressure, however, is a sure way to guarantee the establishment of an interim government.

Furthermore, we look to extending all-round ties well into the future. South Africans have benefited greatly from the developmental assistance Sweden has provided while we were in exile. We want the democratic perspectives you brought to us throughout these years to be part of what renewed links with the international community brings to our country and our people.

We hope that the ending of people to people's sanctions has already resulted in a flourishing of links between our countries. Tourism, air links, sporting and cultural contacts should be expanded rapidly. This would help create the climate and contact necessary for future trade and investment, to the benefit of both our people.

We know you are impatient, but we ask you to exercise restraint for just a little longer. Installation of an Interim Government is essential for a secure and stable base from which to proceed. Our victory will be your victory too.

Thank you once again for your attention and the opportunity to speak to you today.

CAPITAL DISTRICT COALITION
AGAINST APARTHEID & RACISM
P.O. BOX 3002
ALBANY, N.Y. 12203

/* ----- "ANC JANUARY 8 STATEMENT" ----- */

Statement of the National Executive Committee on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the African National Congress - January 8, 1992

Fellow South Africans, Comrades and compatriots, Today, January 8, we celebrate the 80th anniversary of the formation of the African National Congress.

Through the length and breadth of South Africa and in many parts of the world, anti-apartheid fighters and democrats - young and old, black and white - join hands to reflect on the history of struggle against racial oppression and tyranny and to take stock of the tasks that lie ahead. This is the case because the African National Congress has been and remains the torch-bearer of the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of South Africans.

We take this opportunity to congratulate the people of our country who successfully implemented the programme outlined in our statement on the occasion of January 8 last year, registering new advances in our struggle to attain democracy.

The commemoration of our anniversary this year bears a quality and content different from all previous years. A new spirit is abroad in our land. The successful convocation of the first sitting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) is a great achievement for all South Africans.

However, we are under no illusion that the transition to democracy will be plain sailing. The more serious business of this Convention has just started; and the historic duty of ridding our country of the criminal system of apartheid still awaits accomplishment.

Road to Democracy

It is a reflection of the advances we have made that South Africa is now firmly on the road to democracy. Properly organised, no force can stop our people from achieving democracy in the shortest possible time.

Those on the extreme right of the political spectrum who cling to the past with threats against negotiations might possibly delay transition to democracy. But they cannot stop it. Attempts to block the march of history and use violence to perpetuate discredited apartheid policies or even modified apartheid will only lead to a replay of conflict which will cause greater devastation on our whole society.

In the last instance, those who seek to subvert democracy will lose because democracy will surely triumph. Our destiny as a people - black and white - is intertwined. We owe it to future generations to rebuild our country afresh as our common heritage.

The formation of the ANC was in large measure a response to the 1910 Act of Union. This act represented an illegitimate agreement at an earlier convention between British imperialism and the colonial settlers to unite South Africa on the basis of the racial exclusion of the majority of its people.

Today we celebrate our 80th anniversary after the adoption of a Declaration of Intent containing constitutional principles which unequivocally reject the policies and practices of apartheid and racial domination. For the first time ever, as a result of struggle, representatives of the oppressed people and the apartheid regime have together committed themselves to jointly explore the creation of democratic institutions in South Africa.

Founding Conference

It is not with a spirit of self-congratulation and undue optimism that we assert that the policies of the founders of the African National Congress are being further vindicated before our very eyes. The 80 years of uninterrupted struggle led by the ANC are about to bear fruit.

The founding conference in Mangaung, Bloemfontein on January 8, 1912 brought together great patriots such as John Langalibalele Dube, Pixley ka Izaka Seme, Sol Plaatje, Sam Makgatho, Walter Rubusana, Charlotte Maxeke, Thomas Maphikela and Edward Tsewu. In recognition of the role of their forefathers in the wars of resistance and the contribution they could make in forging the future, Solomon ka Dinizulu of the Zulu, Montsioa of the Barolong, Lewanika of the Lozi, Letsie II of the Sotho, Lobatsibeni of the Swazi, Dalindyabo of the Thembu, Sekhukhuni of the Pedi, Khama of the Tswana and other traditional leaders participated on that historic day to help establish the African National Congress.

We pay special tribute to one of the first honorary presidents of the ANC, that patriotic leader of our people, King Dinizulu ka Cetshwayo who, in his absence, was given this accolade in recognition of his commitment to the struggle against white domination in general, and his role in the armed anti-Poll Tax revolt of 1906, in particular. We salute these and other great leaders and organisers of the ANC who saw to its development in the early years. We pay tribute to the

workers, civics, women, youth, religious leaders, traditional leaders, business-people, the rural masses and others, for their relentless struggle which has brought us to this phase where we can with confidence say that the future is more than ever before within our grasp.

The imperative of national unity through struggle was pinned to the mast of the African National Congress from its very inception. In the long years of the wars of resistance, the African people in particular were defeated as different ethnic units. Their heroic spirit was weakened by their disunity. The formation of the ANC constituted an important break with the past: the adoption of new forms of struggle as a united people. It signalled the beginning of a process to remove a key obstacle to freedom which our founders correctly described in 1912, as "the demon of tribalism".

It is a matter of great pride for us that at the founding conference of the ANC were leaders of the people of the sub-continent. This underlined then, as it does today, that the people of our region and Africa as a whole share a common destiny. As we enter the transition to democracy, we are well aware that we are fulfilling the dream of hundreds of millions on our continent to rid Africa once and for all of the scourge of racism and colonialism.

Relentless Struggle

The African National Congress and the oppressed and democratic forces of our country look at the future with confidence because we base ourselves on the foundation of eight decades and more of unrelenting struggle. We are determined to learn from our successes and our failures.

In these 80 years, we have become keenly aware that only in active struggle can the democratic movement shift the balance of forces in favour of the oppressed people. The staying power of our movement rests on firm links with the mass of the people. This is the only guarantee of victory.

From the early years - in the campaigns against passes for women, the Land Acts and Hertzog Bills, in the passive resistance campaign of the Indian Congresses, the Great Miners' Strike of 1946 and other actions - the ANC and its allies asserted the rights of the people in actual struggle.

Although there were militant demonstrations on several occasions before, it was with the adoption of the Programme of Action in 1949 that the ANC set itself firmly on a course of active mass resistance to the system of white domination. This found expression in the

Defiance Campaign, organisation and mobilisation for the Congress of the People where the Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955, uprisings of the landless rural masses, women's actions against passes, stays-at-home, bus boycotts and other actions.

In the decade of the 50s, the ANC, hand-in-hand with its allies - the South African Congress of Trade Unions, South African Indian Congress, Coloured People's Congress, Congress of Democrats and the then underground South African Communist Party - grew to become the single-most powerful voice against the system of racial tyranny. It was during this decade that non-racial unity was consolidated in struggle, laying the foundation for the development of the ANC into the truly non-racial national organisation that it is today.

Umkhonto we Sizwe

When the time came to resist arms in hand, the ANC did not shirk its responsibility. Despite the fact that the odds were weighted against the democratic forces and the setbacks suffered in the early years of underground operation, efforts were made to build the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and root it among the people. Over the years Umkhonto developed to become a reliable cutting edge of the people's struggle for freedom and justice. It therefore occupies a place of honour among the forces which have brought South Africa to this dawn of a new era - as an army of the voteless and democratic majority.

At this historical juncture, it is incumbent upon cadres of the people's army, MK, to take active part in the life of their communities. They should seek all the time to be true examples of a people's security force, that respects the communities and imparts the necessary skills to ensure that the people can protect themselves. They should continually improve their own skills and prepare for the central role they will play in the defence and police forces of a democratic South Africa and in the transition.

The bedrock of the development of Umkhonto was the mass actions of the people in defiance of apartheid repression. From the late 1960s and especially in the two decades that followed, popular actions made it impossible for the apartheid regime to continue ruling in the old way. The call by the ANC and its allies to make the country ungovernable was answered with vigour. As mass and armed actions dovetailed into a generalised popular offensive, the crisis of apartheid deepened and the regime's retreat routes narrowed.

On this day, we pay tribute to the heroes of the people's army, whose selfless contribution to the overall struggle made it possible for us to reach the decisive phase we are at today. We lower our banners in memory of our martyrs, some of whose remains lie buried in faraway

lands. We salute the fighters of the mass democratic movement who lost their lives in the line of duty.

We owe it to all these heroes to ensure that the process we have now embarked upon is neither derailed nor delayed. We owe it to their memory to move with deliberate speed to the democratic South Africa for which they made the supreme sacrifice.

Mass Action for Transfer of Power

We have just emerged from yet another eventful year in the calendar of our struggle. 1991, the Year of Mass Action for the Transfer of Power, was so designated because of the realisation that mass action has become more crucial than ever before in our struggle. Without mass action we cannot move forward. Without the people in constant political motion, our demands at the negotiations table will sound hollow. Without mass action, the process we have entered into will be relegated to an exchange among leaders. It will lack the decisive input of the people.

Throughout this past year, we have had to fight every inch of the way in the effort to realise free political activity and ensure a fair and just transition to democracy. Central in these actions - from the marches on the opening of parliament, consumer boycotts, rallies and general strikes - is one crucial message: that the apartheid regime does not have the right to rule our country even one day longer.

A special place among these actions belongs to the general strike and other actions against Value Added Tax, led by COSATU which united the widest possible spectrum of social forces. In its unilateral decision to impose this tax, the regime sounded an important warning to the people of our country. This warning is that we cannot focus our attention solely on the constitutional and political issues of transition.

At virtually all levels of the economy, the regime and big business are engaged in a concerted drive to restructure the economy at the expense of the poor. Privatisation, VAT, proposed mineral laws and other plans are among the many measures they hope to use to ensure that a new democratic government will be left without the means to redress the historical socio-economic injustices brought about by apartheid.

The anti-VAT general strike served an important notice that the people will not allow this legalised plunder. In the coming months, it will be necessary to strengthen our intervention in socio-economic matters to stop the regime's programmes and initiate measures that will help lay the basis for a democratic economy.

Vibrant Organisation

1991 saw the development of the ANC into a vibrant organisation, a pace-setter in the streets as well as in negotiations and an example of democratic practice.

The African National Congress has re-established itself as a truly national organisation. From the southern tip of the continent to the Limpopo, in both rural and urban areas, ANC branches are being set up. Black and white democrats: women, youth, workers, religious personalities, traditional leaders, business-people - all these forces and others have swelled the ranks of the ANC because it voices their aspirations.

At our first ever National Conference within South Africa in more than 30 years, we reviewed the state of the nation and our organisation and charted the way forward. It is common cause that this conference was infused with a democratic spirit, unprecedented in the history of this country. We emerged from the 48th National Conference stronger and with a clearer purpose and vision. It is no exaggeration to say that the events unfolding today owe their success to the contributions of the branches and mandated delegates to that historic conference.

Yet we must improve our organisational capacity if we are to meet the new challenging tasks. The environment within which we have to operate is changing all the time. Many weaknesses remain, making it difficult for our structures to fully harness the support that the ANC enjoys among the people. We are still not doing enough to generate among our members and supporters the much needed resources for our operations. Adequate leadership must be exercised not only from national office. All our structures must become the tribune of the people, capable of giving leadership and guiding the search for viable remedies to the people's plight.

The all-round clarity and consistency of our pronouncements, the vitality of our political life in the lowest structures and our links with the masses are the only means to guarantee the growth and development of our organisation. As we enter the new and uncharted terrain of open political contest in the build-up to democratic elections, we need to combine all these qualities with the necessary expertise that these new forms of struggle demand.

Political Violence

But our efforts will be limited if the atmosphere for normal political activity has not been realised. The violence engulfing our country is the major impediment in this regard. During the course of

the past year, thousands of our people were killed and maimed in senseless carnage directed at members of the ANC and its allies and black communities in general.

The sheer scale and brutality of the killings and the seeds of hatred being sown will leave a terrible blot on the soul of the whole nation.

The African National Congress initiated and took an active part in the preparations for the National Peace Convention because we value life and seek harmony among our people. We are not only involved in the structures set up by the Peace Accord; we seek to speed up the process and place all these structures on a sound operational footing in the various regions.

But it is quite clear that these structures and the codes of conduct adopted will be meaningless if the killings continue.

In the communities bearing the brunt of this violence, evidence of police collusion and disregard of the agreed codes abounds. The media continue to uncover facts about the involvement of the apartheid army and police in perpetrating violence. Public funds have been used to support parties implicated in the violence. There is an evident reluctance on the part of the regime to outlaw the carrying of dangerous weapons in public, despite the alarming death toll.

All these developments point to one reality: the white minority regime is talking peace on the one hand while colluding in the war against its opponents on the other. In this way, they hope to exact from the liberation movement compromises that will leave the system of apartheid essentially unchanged. The irresponsible statements and threats of civil war from certain political leaders also attest to this heinous strategy.

Open Letter

When the ANC issued the Open Letter to the government in April of last year, we sought to sensitise the public about the seriousness of this danger and to nudge the regime into taking the necessary measures to deal with this horrendous situation. Their half-hearted measures and refusal to clear other obstacles demonstrate that the apartheid rulers are neither willing nor capable of bringing about free political activity. The racist regime is the major obstacle to the process of fundamental change. It must make way for an Interim Government of National Unity.

Therefore, while we intensify the implementation of the agreements contained in the Peace Accord and take all necessary measures to

bring peace to our communities, we must redouble our efforts to put in place an Interim Government which enjoys the confidence of the people as a whole.

Broad Patriotic Front

The phase of struggle we have entered requires the widest possible unity of all forces opposed to apartheid. No single organisation, no matter how powerful, can shoulder the burden of the challenges facing the country alone. The urgent task confronting all the people of South Africa today is the transfer of power from the white minority regime to the people.

The ANC's approach to the Broad Patriotic Front initiative is guided by this perspective. When the patriotic front conference was finally held in October, it signified the culmination of efforts by the ANC and other organisations to empower the overwhelming majority of the people for the task of transfer of power. This historic achievement should be consolidated in actual struggle.

Basing itself on the decisions of this conference, the ANC took the initiative in calling for the immediate convening of an All-Party Congress which was realised in the holding of CODESA. We placed before this forum the demands of the patriotic forces for a Constituent Assembly and impartial transitional mechanisms. In this endeavour, the ANC enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of the organisations which took part in that conference: political parties and organisations, trade unions, youth and students' structures, women's organisations, professional associations, business organisations and others.

The solemn pledge from the patriotic front conference was to pursue the objective of transfer of power with all deliberate speed. Those who approach the front with the seriousness it deserves cannot therefore be embarrassed, as some seem to be, by the advances South Africa is making in this direction. It is the duty of the ANC and all other forces who subscribe to that historic declaration of the patriotic front conference to ensure that we act together to achieve the demands contained in it. It is also our duty to win over as many forces as possible into this front.

Freedom will be won nowhere else but in struggle, including, as the patriotic front conference resolved, in the theatre of negotiations. All efforts need to be directed at consolidating unity against the primary enemy of all South Africans: the apartheid system. The ANC's purpose in entering negotiations also remains unchanged: the transfer of power from the racist minority to the people as a whole.

International Community

As 1991 drew to a close, the Commonwealth of Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the United Nations General Assembly all unanimously took far-reaching decisions regarding their support for the struggle against apartheid. These decisions reflected in part the leadership role of African states and the Organisation of African Unity, whose commitment to our cause we shall always cherish. It is a measure of the stature of our movement and the correctness of its approach that the resolutions taken by these august bodies correspond with our own policy positions as reflected in the decisions of our 48th National Conference.

Basically, the international community is saying that the system of apartheid and its perpetrators should continue to be isolated as has been the case before. However, the new organs of the transition that are being born in struggle should be given maximum support. This should include relevant measures against those who violate agreements of the National Peace Convention and CODESA.

The concrete programmes emerging from this process seek to relate the lifting of isolation to specific steps in the direction of a democratic South Africa.

The presence of eminent representatives of the OAU, the Commonwealth, NAM, UN, European Community and the International Committee of the Red Cross at the first sitting of CODESA is one example of the moral and political support these forces can give to the process now under way. Certainly, as the process unfolds, their involvement will have to be increased in accordance with concrete needs and agreements reached among various parties within South Africa.

Their expertise in transitional processes, the moral power of their supervision and monitoring, the strength of their voice in the verification of the outcome of various stages of the transition will not only help guarantee fairness in the process. It will also ensure that what finally emerges enjoys international legitimacy. After all, it is in no small measure thanks to the efforts of anti-apartheid forces the world over, responding to the massive build up of internal struggles, that South Africa today is entering the stage of transition to democracy.

We salute the anti-apartheid movement worldwide for its role in advancing the democratic struggle in our country. As we enter this crucial phase, we call on all these forces to intensify their efforts against apartheid in all its manifestations, including that of political violence. Their support for the process now under way will

not only ensure a free and fair transition, but will also help speed up the realisation of a democratic South Africa.

Interdependent World

Precisely because we live in an interdependent world, we are duty-bound to learn from and take advantage of developments in other regions of the world.

In this regard we take heart at the first steps taken in the Middle East towards a peaceful negotiated settlement. The right of the Palestinian people to statehood is not only morally just; it is a necessary prerequisite for peace in that embattled region. Similarly, we are encouraged by developments towards a negotiated settlement in El Salvador, underpinned, among others, by the restructuring of the security forces and the prominent role of the United Nations. In Western Sahara, positive steps are also being taken in this direction.

We reiterate our solidarity with the people of East Timor and elsewhere in their struggle for national self-determination. In Eastern Europe, upheavals of major proportions are afoot. In the final analysis, the prerogative to choose, amend and change a status quo belongs to the people of any given country. We express our gratitude to the peoples and governments of the former Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe who gave us all-round support during the most difficult days of our struggle. We welcome the formation of the commonwealth of former Soviet Republics and hope that relations between them and the struggling people of our country will remain firm, in the common endeavour to rid the world of racism and apartheid.

We pledge our solidarity with the people of Cuba and express our unqualified support for their right to determine their destiny without foreign interference.

We join the people of Africa and the world in welcoming developments on our continent towards a multi-party democratic culture. It is our fervent hope that these events will lead to the improvement of the conditions of the mass of the people. Multi-party democracy can only be meaningful within a culture of political tolerance free of intimidation and unwarranted secular or clerical pressures on the electorate.

The right of nations to determine their destiny without foreign interference and domination is enshrined in our policy documents and forms the bedrock of our practice. We therefore stand opposed to

brinkmanship, the use of arms and financial domination as an instrument of foreign policy by any state, big or small.

Towards Negotiations

As we ring down the curtain on 1991, we can say with confidence that the general crisis of the apartheid system has never been deeper. During the past year, the democratic movement consolidated its hold on the strategic initiative.

With the successful conclusion of the first sitting of CODESA, the people of South Africa have taken an important step towards a negotiated resolution of their problems. The declaration adopted at CODESA signifies an important step into the transition. However, while the Declaration of Intent constitutes an admission of failure on the part of the regime and the moral superiority of our cause, it remains but a declaration. How decisive this break is will be determined in the struggles of the year ahead.

Precisely because the new phase is about the central question of our struggle - the question of transfer of power - resistance by the white ruling bloc will be more intense. We should expect more showmanship, attempts at disruption, counter-revolutionary violence and systematic propaganda against the liberation movement. Though the struggle will take new forms, it is likely to remain difficult.

Interim Government

Transition will begin in earnest with the installation of an Interim Government of National Unity. Such a body should be sovereign, with effective impartial mechanisms to ensure freedom and fairness. It is a measure of the strength of the democratic movement and our international supporters that the regime has conceded that it cannot be referee and player in this process. By acknowledging the need for an Interim Government, the apartheid rulers have objectively accepted that their regime is illegitimate and incapable of supervising the transition. However, as can be expected from such an illegitimate and illegal regime, where it is forced to retreat, it does so to new lines of defence.

This is what the convoluted constitutional process proposed by the De Klerk administration amounts to. To have a referendum in which the only voice that will count is that of whites is to perpetuate the criminal system of apartheid. To hold an election for a transitional parliament and government is to deliberately complicate and delay what should otherwise be a simple and manageable transition.

The democratic movement demands an Interim Government of National Unity because the regime cannot supervise democratic elections and

fairly undertake other tasks of the transition. Therefore, the regime's proposal for a referendum and election before such an Interim Government is in place pitifully begs the question. It is to state the obvious to assert that there cannot be any democratic elections in our country while the apartheid regime is still in power.

Behind the regime's proposals lies a more sinister scheme: an attempt to legitimise an undemocratic constitution, parliament and regime and prolong the transition by ten years and more. It is a device to keep the essential content of the 1983 constitution in place for as long as possible. In this period, power will remain essentially in white hands.

The African National Congress and other democratic forces demand a multi-party Interim Government whose composition should be negotiated in the Convention for a Democratic SA. Its mandate will be to supervise the transition to democracy which should be accomplished in the shortest possible time. Such a government will ensure free political activity, fairness in the treatment of all political organisations and parties and supervise elections for a Constituent Assembly.

It is therefore crucial that the Interim Government be sovereign and have a limited time-span. Such a government would have, among others, the following attributes:

- * sovereign control over at least all the armed forces and police, state media, electoral processes, budget and finance; and
- * forums to take decisions on and supervise the management of socio-economic issues during the transition.

Immediate Implementation

Once agreement has been reached regarding Interim Governmental control over security forces, the electoral process, budget and finance, state media and other areas so identified, these decisions should be immediately implemented and preparations started for elections for a Constituent Assembly. Negotiations over other aspects of government should be facilitated as much as possible, but they should not delay movement towards a Constituent Assembly.

The implementation mechanisms of CODESA are meant to ensure that legislation drafted by its relevant structures is not vetoed by the tri-cameral parliament or the present regime. This includes relevant amendments to the current constitution. In any case the majority of parties in this parliament and regime will be party to these decisions. The ANC rejects attempts by the National Party regime to

grant a minority within broader South African society veto powers over the future of the whole nation, simply because they are white.

We put forward these proposals with the aim of ensuring speedy and balanced movement towards the central objective of negotiations: the drafting of a democratic constitution and the setting up of a democratic government.

Constituent Assembly

The issue of a Constituent Assembly is therefore central to our approach to the transition. This demand derives from the universally accepted principle that sovereignty in any country resides with the people. A new constitution, based on the broad principles adopted by CODESA, should be drafted by mandated representatives of the people on the basis of one-person, one-vote on a common voters' roll.

Nothing less than a democratically-elected constitution-making body will enjoy legitimacy in the eyes of our people and ensure that the overwhelming majority respect the final product. There cannot be any point in setting up an Interim Government if this principle has not been adopted.

Given a commitment on the part of all parties to realise the democratic constitutional principles adopted by CODESA, the process of transition can be accomplished within a reasonably short period. The ANC will strive for the setting up of an Interim Government in the first half of this year, and elections for a Constituent Assembly to be held by December 1992. Therefore, South Africa could for the first time in its history have a democratic government within the immediate future. We urge all South Africans to strive for the accomplishment of this objective.

Inclusive Process

The process of reshaping South Africa should involve all its people without exception. This by definition includes millions of our people residing in the so-called "independent homelands", relegated to patches of arid land by the designs of the apartheid regime.

Therefore, transitional mechanisms and elections into the Constituent Assembly should be inclusive of South Africa as a whole, of which the TBVC territories are part.

The transitional process would be incomplete without the input from sectoral formations. The trade union movement, religious bodies, youth and women's organisations, traditional leaders, civic associations, business bodies and others have an important role to play in shaping the future that we all seek to build. While many of

these bodies align themselves with one or other political party, it is absolutely necessary that they should intervene in their own right especially in matters that affect their sectoral interests.

Democratic Values

Betrayed by the British government and representatives of the white minority in South Africa in 1910, the cause of democracy found a home in the national liberation movement. This movement became and continues to be the custodian of democratic values, principles and practice in our country. The national liberation movement is the upholder of democracy because we recognise its intrinsic value as a basis for good government coupled with justice. The essential premise that has inspired the evolution of the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement is stated unequivocally in the preamble of the Freedom Charter: "... no government can justly claim authority, unless it is based on the will of all the people..."

The ANC, its allies and supporters have fought to preserve these values in the hostile environment of censorship, banning orders, banishment, imprisonment and hangings because of their universally-recognised liberatory substance. These core values such as multi-party democracy, regular elections and protection of citizens' rights are at the centre of our political programme, and they form the basis of the draft constitutional principles, structure of government and bill of rights that we have put forward to society for discussion. We have always embraced the principle of protection of the language and cultural rights of all communities, black and white. There is no basis for any individual or group in our society to fear democracy.

It is these principles which should form the basis of an enabling, all-South African constitution to which all its people will owe allegiance. Consistent with these principles, the ANC espouses many other basic rights which all citizens should enjoy.

Socio-economic Rights

It is our firmly held view that the well-being of a nation should not be something subject to the fickle whims of fortune and personal economic circumstance, but should be the responsibility of the state. In the field of health, this must translate into a national commitment to provide an accessible public health service, focussed on prevention rather than cure. Decisive steps need to be taken against such rampant epidemics as tuberculosis and AIDS. Of equal importance would be an expanding programme to provide decent housing to all citizens.

To the thousands of South Africans who daily trudge the streets in a vain search for employment, the right to work is more than an abstract principle: it is as essential as the right to life. To the millions who struggle every day to make ends meet, the right to a living wage, fair taxation, affordable rents and service charges and low prices are a necessary condition for democracy.

Those who have been the victims of a system designed to perpetuate ignorance and illiteracy know that the right to education requires an equitable, non-racial system of free primary and secondary education and a system of tertiary education with strong backing from the state. Such an educational system should enable all South Africans to fully realise their talents.

The children of our country, in whatever shade of colour they happen to be born, deserve the right to adequate and sensitive care by society. They must develop in an atmosphere free of homelessness, malnutrition, harassment of any kind and violence.

To be meaningful, these and other measures will have to be backed by a programme of affirmative action aimed at empowering those sectors of our society disadvantaged by the system of white domination. Particular attention in this regard would have to be paid to the position of our women compatriots who have been relegated by years of race rule and male-dominated society to the lowest rung of the social ladder. This principle does not have to wait for the distant future for its realisation. It is an absolute necessity now, in the transition and in a democratic society - both within our organisations and in society as a whole.

These are rights which our people will have to struggle for today and even after a democratic government is in office. Their attainment can only uplift the quality of life for the country as a whole. Their realisation will rely on a growing economy in which the wealth of the nation serves the needs of the people as a whole and not a privileged minority.

Mass Involvement

The changes that have been wrought thus far are a result primarily of the actions of the people. Their continued active involvement is not merely politically expedient, but will impact upon the content and legitimacy of the transition.

Openness in the negotiations process is an important prerequisite to the involvement of the people. An informed public is better able to make an informed choice and itself take part in the debates about society's future. The ANC views freedom of the media and its right to

unlimited access to information about negotiations as crucial to a democratic culture. As a contribution to the shaping of future media policy and to the approach that should guide the transition, we have issued a draft media charter for discussion and amendment by the public. The role that state-owned media plays in the transition should also receive urgent attention as part of the process towards a democratic information policy.

We believe that all the parties engaged in negotiations ought to ensure accurate briefings to their constituencies. On its part, the ANC will strive at all times to ensure that our members and the public as a whole are informed about and contribute to this crucial national debate.

The fundamental decisions about Interim Government, Constituent Assembly, time frames and unqualified implementation of CODESA decisions will not depend solely on the strength of our arguments and eloquence of our presentations. All-round pressure, in particular systematic mass action, will be decisive.

Already, some quarters have obstinately rejected the principles that CODESA stands for. Without mass action, tyrants of all hues will try to stop the inevitable and deny people their right to self-determination. This should be challenged.

Urgent Demands

We mark the 80th anniversary of the ANC - two years after the unbanning of the movement - with some of the cadres who contributed immensely to the current changes still languishing in apartheid jails. The voice of all peace-loving South Africans must be heard demanding the freedom of Mthetheleli Mncube, Mzondeleli Nondula and others on Death Row. Robert McBride and other political prisoners must be released.

In the context of an end to the Cold War it is a silly anachronism for the South African government to insist on the continued imprisonment of Commodore Dieter Gerhardt. He should be released from prison without further delay.

Talk of free political activity will remain empty if there are still political prisoners in apartheid jails; while repressive legislation is still in force; when violence continues and state-owned media remain under the control of one party during negotiations.

Despite the formal repeal of some apartheid legislation, this system is still in place. The squalor in black areas, unequal pensions to our senior citizens, undemocratic local government and other ills of

apartheid are some of the grim reminders that apartheid is alive and well. While formally the apartheid land acts have been repealed, millions of Africans remain landless, victims of years of dispossession and forced removals.

Only consistent struggle can change this state of affairs. We call on workers to further strengthen the democratic trade union movement and facilitate the process towards a united trade union federation. Their demands for the rights of farm-workers, a living wage, fair employment practices and comprehensive training programmes form an important part of the struggle for a democratic economy in a democratic society.

The people in the rural areas face the challenge of realising their demand for land and adequate services in action. Traditional leaders have an important role to play in these struggles as part of the people.

It is also necessary for structures involved on the education front to exert pressure for the abolition of all racist measures. Needless to say, however, the overriding aim should be to create better conditions in which intensive learning can take place, rather than to disrupt the educational process. We join democratic students' and teachers' organisations and parents in calling for a massive return to school. If the aim of the racists is to keep us ignorant and under-qualified, as the disastrous matric results have shown, we should challenge this by improving our performance even within this limited environment. At the same time, we must broaden the space for the introduction of democratic, non-racial and equal education for all.

1991 saw greater self-assertiveness on the part of South African women. Within the ANC and in broader society the voice of women is loud and clear. But their aspirations will be realised only at the instance of stronger organisation, deliberate education of society as a whole and greater unity in action around gender issues. We salute the ANC Youth League for its successful relaunch more than 30 years after its banning by the regime. The militancy that the Young Lions so heroically demonstrated in the years of repression is required today as we enter this decisive phase of struggle. They are expected, more than ever before, to master new forms of struggle - with the agility that has earned them a special place in our history - and ensure that democracy is attained in the shortest possible time. As part of this endeavour, it is necessary to unite various youth formations around issues that affect the youth most, including education, recreation, crime and drug abuse.

The challenge to confront the ills of apartheid, secure peace among the people and speed up the realisation of a democratic and prosperous society affects these and all other sectors of our people - religious, business, professional and otherwise.

National Question

It is a challenge which faces all communities in whatever category apartheid sought to place us. It is a challenge that the coloured and Indian communities so ably met in the fight against the tri-cameral constitution, local management structures, gutter education and so on. Today, as we move towards the accomplishment of the dreams of all oppressed South Africans, it is crucial that we redouble our efforts against all manifestations of apartheid. The place of all who cherish peace and democratic rights is in the front ranks of struggle: in the ANC and other democratic mass formations.

On this our 80th anniversary, the ANC once again extends a hand of friendship to those of our white compatriots who have been made to doubt their place and role in the democratic process now unfolding. It is time for them to realise that their interests can only be served by the attainment of lasting peace and stability. We address our call particularly to those sectors of the Afrikaner community such as farmers and workers who historically have been misled only to be dumped by self-seeking politicians for a cause that has no future: the time to take a decisive step into the fold of the broader South African society and insure their future in democracy is now.

The achievements of various sports codes in forging unity and introducing development programmes has deservedly opened the door to acceptance in international sport. This is a victory not only of the anti-apartheid struggle, but for all South Africans. We join all other South Africans in wishing the national teams at the coming world events the best, and demand that public resources should be made available without discrimination for the programmes that non-racial sport-bodies are undertaking. Through such programmes, the sporting fraternity can ensure that, within a short space of time, teams representing South Africa will be truly national - reflecting the best sporting talent of society as a whole.

Along with these developments, the issue of a national flag, anthem and symbols has naturally aroused passionate public debate. At the centre of this debate is the search by all South Africa for an apartheid-free identity, a process which those who profess a rejection of this system should support. Naturally, it is an issue which should be handled with the greatest sensitivity and on the basis of the widest possible consultation. But, like the broader

transitional process, it is an issue that can no longer be avoided. The initiative taken by NOCSA in this regard needs to be commended.

National Liberation Contest

The most eloquent expression of mass involvement in the transition will be the exercise of people's sovereignty in elections for a Constituent Assembly. Contrary to what representatives of the regime want us to believe, this will be a contest not simply among individual political organisations for political office. In the final analysis, the issues such an election will address will make it a decisive contest between apartheid and democracy, between white domination and national liberation.

Victory for the liberation movement in such elections cannot be taken for granted. It depends on what we do to transform support and sympathy for the democratic cause into organisational strength and a vote for democracy.

In gearing ourselves for this decisive contest, we need to further transform the ANC into a well-oiled machine in constant touch with the mass of the people. An ANC branch which educates its members in the policies of the movement and recruits in large numbers is fulfilling only part of the overall purpose. The quality of our structures should also be felt in their concern for and involvement in the day-to-day problems of our people. It should be seen in their leadership of the people in struggle.

The alliance of the ANC with the SACP and COSATU must be a living reality on the ground. Our links with mass democratic structures should find expression in joint actions around agreed programmes. The vibrancy of the broad patriotic front should come not only through pronouncements in the media, but in day-to-day struggle. ANC members should be seen to promote peace and political tolerance in the communities.

Security Forces

As we enter the transition, the issue of effective security for this process and the future democratic order stands out in even bolder relief. On this question hinges the very survival of the whole negotiations process. The African National Congress calls for effective control of all security forces by an Interim Government of National Unity precisely because we want the negotiations to succeed. Ultimately, the forces which will secure democracy will themselves have to be representative of all South Africans from the lowest to the highest rank. The new defence and police forces of a democratic South Africa should be professional bodies paying unquestioned allegiance to the constitution that elected representatives of the

people will have drawn up. They will emerge in earnest under the new democratic government, and they will include the contingents found in Umkhonto we Sizwe, APLA, AZANLA, the SADF, the SAP, bantustan armies and police units and other forces in existence today.

This process should naturally begin under an Interim Government, and should include the placing of all personnel and armaments under the control of competent structures of this government.

The ANC once more calls on our compatriots in the SADF and South African Police to make a break with the past of confrontation and conflict. Our country has entered a period of reconciliation and it requires the contribution of all of them to reach the goal of lasting peace and prosperity. They have an important role to play in defending and promoting the peace process. We call on them to: Expose the murderers! Defend the people! Join the march to democracy! They have nothing to fear in the future as long as they play their role today to realise this democratic future.

Year of Democratic Elections

We enter the ninth decade of the ANC full of confidence that the ideals which inspired its formation are about to be realised. On this day, the words of one of the founders of the ANC, that illustrious leader of the South African people, Pixkley ka Izaka Seme, ring truer than ever before. Enjoining people to struggle, in 1906, Seme said: "The brighter day is rising upon Africa..."

It is neither the goodwill of the apartheid government nor the magnanimity of its leadership - but the people in active struggle - who will indeed usher in this brighter day to our land. In recognition of the urgency and centrality of the people's demand for the vote, the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress declares 1992 the Year of Democratic Elections for a Constituent Assembly.

We call on all our people and anti-apartheid forces the world over to act together to make this demand a reality.

The time is now!

Peace, Freedom and the Vote!

Amandla!

Matla!

NETT

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
Department of Economic Policy



Discussion Document:
ECONOMIC POLICY

INTRODUCTION

This document has been prepared for debate within the ranks of the ANC. It does not represent an agreed policy, but rather seeks to contribute to a democratic process of formulating our movement's economic policy. The movement believes that economic policy should address itself to the demands and needs of the majority of the people, and active discussion and debate is essential if they are to have a more prominent place.

The ANC has long recognised the necessity for political liberation and constitutional changes to be accompanied by socio-economic transformation. The Freedom Charter proclaimed the necessity for the people to share in the country's wealth, for the land to be shared among those who work it, for there to be housing, security and comfort for all, and for the doors of learning and culture to be opened. The Constitutional Guidelines also recognise the need for economic restructuring to be part of the process of constitutional change.

The proposals put forward for discussion in this document flow out of two workshops held in Harare in April/May and in September 1990.

This document is divided into 8 sections:

1. *The Heritage of Poverty, Inequality and Stagnation;*
2. *The Necessity for a New Growth Path;*
3. *The Overall Goals of Economic Policy;*
4. *Key Elements of a National Development Strategy;*
5. *Financing the Reconstruction;*
6. *The Tasks of Government in Reconstructing the Mixed Economy;*
7. *The Role of Civil Society;*
8. *External Economic Relations.*

1. The Heritage of Poverty, Inequality and Stagnation

Our country's economy is in need of fundamental re-structuring. For decades various forces within the white minority have used their exclusive access to political and economic power to promote their own sectional interests at the expense of black people. Black people have been systematically excluded and disadvantaged economically with the result that South Africa now has one of the most unequal patterns of distribution of income and wealth in the world.

The vast bulk of productive resources are concentrated in the hands of a tiny minority within the minority white community. Four large corporations (Anglo American, Rembrandt, SA Mutual and Sanlam) control the vast bulk of all production, distribution and exchange. Land ownership outside of the 13% of the country designated as "reserves" is still reserved by law exclusively for people classified as white.

Until comparatively recent times, apartheid laws prevented black people from taking up managerial and skilled employment and lack of access to educational and training opportunities continues to severely restrict the number able to enter such positions today. Many workers, particularly black women who have been the most disadvantaged section of the population, receive wages insufficient to maintain a decent standard of living and a large and increasing number of our people are unable to find any employment at all. As a result a minority of white people are extremely wealthy, while many black people live in conditions of abject poverty.

1.1 The Extent of Poverty and Inequality

According to recently published statistics:

- *The richest 5% of the population own 88% of all personally owned wealth;*
- *South Africa has a more unequal pattern of income distribution (as measured on the Gini co-efficient) than any other member of a group of 57 countries for which such calculations exist.*
- *The income received by over 50% of the total population is insufficient for families to maintain themselves at a minimal subsistence standard of living. For the African population as a whole the proportion in this category was 60,5%, while 81% of households in reserves, the majority of which are female-headed, are living in dire poverty.*
- *Over 30% of the working age population is unemployed.*
- *Some 40% of rural African and 15% of urban black children were found to be stunted due to malnutrition in 1985.*
- *7,4% million urban African residents lived in 466.000 "small housing units" in 1986 with an average density of 16 inhabitants per unit. The current estimated shortage of housing is between 800.000 and 1 million units.*
- *33% of Africans over the age of 15 years, a disproportionate number of whom were female, described themselves as illiterate at the time of the 1980 census.*

Such features of our current economic reality are wholly incompatible with the democratic, non-racial, non-sexist principles to which the vast majority of our people aspire. We cannot build a stable, let alone a viable democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society unless we give serious attention to the problems of poverty and inequality confronting the majority of our people.

1.2 Economic Stagnation and Decline

Poverty and inequality are only one aspect of the economic reality we have to confront. Since the mid-1970s, the South African economy has stagnated. In the decade 1960-1970, the economy grew by an average of 5,8% each year. By contrast, between 1970 and 1979 it grew by only 3,1% each year. Between 1975 and 1982 the growth rate fell to 1,9% a year and between 1983 and 1989 the economy grew by an average of only 1,4% a year. These rates of growth are below those of the country's population which is estimated to be growing at between 2,4% and 2,8% each year. This means that in recent years the average income per person has actually been falling.

Sanctions and popular resistance to apartheid have resulted in a withdrawal of confidence by many potential foreign and domestic investors. This is one of the major factors leading the more far sighted elements within the state and business community to see the necessity to move beyond apartheid. External factors, like the rising oil price, the low gold price and the downturn in the world economy in the period since the mid-1970s, have also had negative effects on the South African economy.

Sanctions and adverse external factors have not, however, been the only causes of the current crisis of the apartheid economy. The path along which the economy grew in the period since the end of the Second World War has now run its course. For over forty years, the strategy followed by government and business sought to expand the economy by substituting locally produced manufactured goods for wealthier consumers for imported articles of the same type. This path of growth led to the emergence of a significant manufacturing sector in our country, but it was one orientated towards producing consumer goods for the wealthy minority. The manufacturing sector is also uncompetitive internationally. It has a high cost structure although wages are often low. It makes little contribution to foreign exchange earnings, but depends to a very great extent on imported machinery and equipment paid for out of foreign exchange earned by exports of our wasting mineral assets. The agricultural sector of the economy is also in deep crisis. Many white-owned farms are in debt and vast tracts of land designated for occupation by whites are inefficiently cultivated or used for speculative purposes. Many thousands of black rural households are, meanwhile, crammed into tiny plots of the least fertile land while the country as a whole desperately needs more affordable foodstuffs.

The policies promoted by government and business in the face of stagnation evident since the mid-1970s have conspicuously failed to have any significant impact even on growth, let alone on poverty and inequality. The result is that South Africa is lurching into the 1990s with the essential crisis of the economy unresolved. If current trends continue, the problems confronting the majority of our people will become worse. Economists are predicting, for example, that we could enter the next century with half the workforce or even 7 out of every 10 potential workers unemployed.

2. The Necessity for a New Growth Path

The ANC believes that it is absolutely imperative to reverse the present trend towards stagnation and to promote economic growth. Without significant growth in our economy we will not be able to address the pressing problems of poverty and inequality confronting our people. At the same time, we are convinced that no solutions will be found to these problems if we simply promote growth along the same path as that followed in the past. Even at times when the apartheid economy grew, for example in the decade 1960-1970, precious little benefit "trickled down" to the mass of the people, who continued to live lives of poverty and squalor.

The engine of growth in the economy of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa cannot be rising demand for luxury goods by a minority of wealthy consumers. Neither can we develop as a modern industrial society unless our manufacturing industries can become less dependent on imported inputs paid for by mineral exports. Indeed our industries need to become earners of foreign exchange in their own right. Nor can we any longer afford to see vast tracts of land used inefficiently or for speculative purposes, while our people are hungry - for both food and land.

2.1 Satisfying Basic Needs by Growth through Redistribution

The ANC is convinced that it is essential that we promote a new path of growth and development in the economy. The engine of growth in the economy of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa should be the growing satisfaction of the basic needs of the impoverished and deprived majority of our people. Programmes and policies that increase output, - particularly of social infra-structure and basic consumer products - will increase employment and produce new incentives to growth which will benefit all sectors of our economy. We thus call for a programme of Growth through Redistribution in which redistribution acts as a spur of growth and in which the fruits of growth are redistributed to satisfy basic needs.

2.2 A National Development Strategy based on the perspective of a Mixed Economy

Bringing about a shift towards such a path will require the formulation and implementation of a comprehensive national development strategy. We need to turn the economy in a fundamentally different direction. In addition to redistributive policies, we need to implement other policies which will ensure sustainable growth. The productivity of investments need to be raised. This will require strategies to reintegrate South Africa into the world economy on a competitive basis and in a manner beneficial to the overall development goals.

The ANC's basic perspective is that of a mixed economy in which all sectors contribute towards defining and achieving broad national goals and objectives for the benefit of all. The task confronting us requires action not only by central and local government, but also by the trade union movement, cooperative and community organisations, women's and youth organisations, civic associations and business - all of which have an important role to play.

3. The Overall Goal of Economic Policy

The current plight of our country's economy demands an economic policy prioritising as a matter of extreme urgency the achievement of the following broad objectives:

- *Creating new jobs and progressively eliminating unemployment;*
- *Raising real incomes, particularly for those who are most impoverished and deprived;*
- *Increasing output and productivity, particularly but not only in those sectors producing goods and services to meet the basic needs of the majority of the people;*

- *Correcting racial and gender imbalances in the economy through Affirmative Action policies;*
- *Implementing a land reform programme capable of simultaneously addressing a major national grievance, responding to the acute land hunger and increasing food production;*
- *Developing major new housing, education, health and welfare programmes capable of addressing the pressing needs in these areas;*
- *Improving the provision of infrastructure to deprived areas;*
- *Promoting greater democratic participation in economic life and a more equitable pattern of economic ownership;*
- *Creating a more democratic industrial relations framework based on full rights of workers to organise and growing participation by unions in policy formulation;*
- *Guaranteeing high standards of administration in economic affairs and ensuring that destabilising financial imbalances (e.g. unmanageable budget and balance of payments deficits) do not occur;*
- *Ensuring that growth takes place in ways which harness the environment in a constructive and responsible manner;*
- *Promoting new forms of involvement in beneficial international economic relations and cooperating with the OAU and SADCC in creating new patterns of mutually beneficial economic inter-action in the southern African region and African continent.*

4. Key Elements of a National Development Strategy

It will clearly not be possible to achieve all of the above objectives in full at once. It is nevertheless essential that we develop a national strategy which will progressively address all of these issues. Placing the economy on a path of *Growth through Redistribution* will require the development of new policies for each sector. The criterion for adoption of any policy option should be its effectiveness and efficiency in achieving the goals of national policy. The ANC believes that among the elements essential to the formulation of a national development strategy are the following:

4.1 Using Redistribution to satisfy Basic Needs and create New Patterns of Demand.

A massive injection of finance will be required to meet basic social needs in such areas as welfare, housing, health and education. This will be essential to:

- (i) provide some immediate relief of poverty;
- (ii) reduce existing social conflict over unequal distribution of material resources;
- (iii) respond to the expressed expectations and demands of people and communities;
- (iv) correct existing biases and inequalities in resource allocation relating to (a) race and gender (b) socio-economic divisions within black urban communities (c) between urban and rural communities;
- (v) promote employment and training opportunities.

At the same time it will be necessary to avoid inflationary spending policies. Reconciling these potentially conflicting objectives requires redistributing resources in such a way that new patterns of demand are created to which our productive sectors can respond. A future non-racial democratic state would need to actively foster community participation in the determination of priorities. It would also need to inject public finance in a way which mobilises private capital.

4.1.2 Welfare and Pensions

The future democratic state would bear ultimate responsibility for the provision of welfare and pensions. This would be exercised in a context in which welfare benefits continued to be the subject of collective bargaining between capital and labour and in which those groups able to provide for themselves continued to make their own arrangements. A national retirement scheme, underwritten by the state, and a compulsory unemployment scheme involving contributions by employers and employees as well as the state would be enacted by an ANC government. All forms of gender discrimination in provision of benefits would be abolished. Benefit funds would be deployed in support of national development projects in a way which ensured that workers' money was not placed at risk.

Community involvement in the provision of welfare services is essential and the current urban bias needs to be redressed.

4.1.3 Housing and Social Services

The provision of sufficient affordable housing would be a national priority. A future democratic, non-racial government would need to take steps to ensure that release of sufficient affordable urban and rural land to meet the need for housing within reasonable proximity to people's work places. It would also need to commit itself to providing sufficient infrastructural services (such as electricity and transport) to ensure decent living standards at an affordable cost.

Construction of fully serviced stands could be part of a public works programme aimed at job creation. It could also be part of a process of creating conditions for variety of community and private ventures orientated towards meeting basic needs. A public housing sector, providing low cost rented accommodation has an essential contribution to make and there is a need to encourage the construction of many more low cost housing units. Serviced stands need to be made available to community-controlled housing development projects which would also be assisted with financial support. A future democratic government would also need to investigate the possibility of using prescribed asset regulations to encourage financial institutions to make a portion of their funds available to finance low cost housing projects.

4.2 Turning the Industrial Sector into an Engine of Growth through Redistribution.

Despite the poor performance over the past two decades, the future development of the country's economy depends to a large extent on the performance of the manufacturing sector. A future democratic, non-racial government would need to

give serious attention to the implementation of policies which aim to restructure industry and develop a more dynamic path of industrial development. Industrial planning would be based on strategies targeted at specific sectors. This would be complemented by strategic planning which would set objectives for the whole economy and provide guidelines for sector planning.

The first priority of industrial planning would be to ensure that new productive capacity emerges to meet the new demands for basic needs in food, housing, welfare etc created by redistribution.

Industrial policies should, secondly, aim at transforming imbalances between blacks and whites, men and women, between urban and rural areas and between regions. The failure of the present regime's industrial deconcentration policies should not detract from the need for a more balanced pattern of industrialisation.

An alternative industrial strategy would, thirdly, need to overcome the current extreme dependence of the manufacturing sector on imported inputs. Attention should be paid to promoting industrial exports, particularly but not only to our neighbours on the African continent. The potential to reduce import intensity also needs to be investigated.

Restructuring industry will require new policies on technology, skills training and the reorganisation of labour processes. Consideration will be given to establishing a national science and technology policy council to rationalise and coordinate research and development policies. Such a council should seek to involve industrialists, trade unions, scientists and academics and indeed all those who have a significant contribution to make. More resources need to be devoted to research and development if we are to achieve the goal of placing the industrial sector on a new footing.

The scope for the development of small scale enterprises needs to be recognised and a future democratic state would need to establish an agency to support and direct such ventures. In a future democratic, non-racial South Africa armaments production should be converted to meet civilian needs.

4.3 Husbanding our Mineral Resources to Maximise Benefits.

The mineral wealth of our country needs to be husbanded in such a way that it benefits all of the people through the contribution it makes to national development. The policy of a democratic, non-racial government should aim to enhance the role of the sector as a job creator, foreign exchange earner and supplier of raw materials to local industry. A future democratic government would consider the option of using fiscal policy to encourage venture capital in new mines and also the possibility of itself making strategic investments in mines. Given the volatile nature of mineral prices, a policy of stabilising prices through the formation of cartels should be seriously considered. The formation of State Minerals Marketing Authority would also need to be investigated. Such an agency would control all minerals marketing and enter into marketing