



Resolutions

On strategy and tactics

THIS NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE ANC

NOTING:

1. That the fundamental elements of apartheid colonialism remain in place;
2. That the repeal of some apartheid laws has left the basic political, social, gender and economic relations of oppression and exploitation intact;
3. That in many respects the conditions of the oppressed people have deteriorated, with violent attacks on our communities, lowering of living standards, increasing homelessness, unemployment, retrenchment, a deepening of the educational crisis to disastrous proportions and other social evils.

NOTING FURTHER:

1. That the struggles of the people and the support of the international community have created the possibility of a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country;
2. That the regime has been obliged to accept the fact that it does not have the strength to sustain apartheid in the old way and has therefore had to enter into talks with the ANC;
3. That despite the advances made by the liberation movement, the De Klerk regime still retains the capacity to implement counter-measures on a whole range of fronts, and that its objective is to retain the essentials of white domination under a new guise;
4. That the regime seeks to discredit and weaken the ANC and other democratic forces, claim legitimacy for itself as the main agent of change, divide the forces of liberation while broadening its own base, pacify the masses and thus become the supreme manager of the current period.

AND BELIEVING THAT:

1. The struggle for the elimination of apartheid colonialism should intensify until a democratic constitution and government are in place;
2. It is in the interest of the people of South Africa that the negotiating process should seek to

place political power in their hands in the shortest possible time;

3. The negotiating process should involve the widest spectrum of the people and their various democratic formations ensuring that they determine the final outcome through mass action;

4. Negotiations must be conducted on the basis of consultation and accountability between the leadership and ANC structures;

5. Negotiations can only succeed in the context of intensified struggle on all fronts and in combination with other forms of struggle.

REAFFIRMS:

That the ANC remains committed to the elimination of apartheid in all its manifestations and the creation of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state;

BELIEVING THAT such a transformation can only be achieved through the all round intensification of struggle against the regime;

COMMITTS itself to strengthen and direct all four pillars of our struggle, to strengthen the ANC in negotiations, while simultaneously remaining prepared for any attempts by reactionary forces to defeat the process.

WITH REGARD TO THE FOUR PILLARS, CONFERENCE BELIEVES THAT:

1.1 **Mass organisation** and mobilisation is at the centre of our struggle;

1.2 This entails ANC involvement, including actions through organs of people's power, in day-to-day activities of the people on all fronts. Such action would also entail demands related to transition, particularly for a sovereign Interim Government and sovereign Constituent Assembly, and the question of the transfer of power;

1.3 That the ANC is a national liberation movement providing leadership to its members and the oppressed and democratic forces of South Africa generally, over a wide range of issues. The ANC is not a political party. In formulating our policies for a democratic South Africa these should relate to mass struggles and provide opportunities for the masses to assert their just demands;



Delegates keeping Conference lively with song

2. The underground remains essential and needs to be strengthened since the process of change is not irreversible and violent acts of counter-revolution against the forces of liberation and the oppressed people in general continue to be perpetrated;

3.1 **Armed struggle:** Armed action has been suspended, but the armed struggle remains a pillar of our struggle.

In a situation where the regime pursues or allows violence against us as part of its negotiations strategy it is essential for us to strengthen our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, contribute decisively to building the defensive capacity of communities who are victims or potential victims of the current reign of terror;

3.2 We also need to undertake various measures to prepare to build an army of a democratic South Africa;

4. The international pillar of our struggle has to be strengthened. Governments and international solidarity groups need to be given a clear understanding of the current situation and the perspectives of the ANC.

The international community needs to continue their work against apartheid until a new democratic constitution is in place. At the same time the ANC

needs to actively seek support of and pressure from the international community for an end to the violence against our people, the demand for a sovereign Interim Government, sovereign Constituent Assembly and a democratic constitution. In all its international work the ANC needs to ensure that it retains the initiative.

CONFERENCE FURTHER RESOLVES:

1. To continue pursuing negotiations as a means towards achieving our strategic objective of transfer of power to the people;

2. To strengthen the ANC as a mass-based, democratic organisation, rooted amongst the people, through systematic organisation and mobilisation;

3. To increase the capacity of the ANC to creatively lead the people in mass action, and for the masses to participate actively and take initiatives at various levels.

BELIEVING:

That this process can be facilitated by the strengthening of the tripartite alliance of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu, as a fighting force at national, regional and local levels;



RECOGNISING:

That the goals of the ANC can best be achieved by uniting the broadest range of people behind its democratic goals;

COMMITTS ITSELF:

1. To move speedily towards the building of a broad patriotic front to further the achievement of common democratic goals;

2. And to go beyond this and draw in as many categories of people and organisations behind the broad goals of non-racialism, non-sexism and democracy;

3. To devise and implement a programme of action aimed at keeping the initiative in the hands of the democratic forces and compelling the government to meet our just demands.

EXPRESSES ITS DETERMINATION:

1. That our strategies and tactics will be informed by the experience of all our people, including those sections of our population which are not sufficiently involved in the ANC;

2. Our strategy and tactics will also be informed by the experience of women, especially African women who are the most oppressed section of our population;

3. That the organisation will increase its emphasis on rural areas and bantustans and all other areas being given insufficient attention;

4. To marshal the necessary personnel and resources to implement an effective negotiations programme;

5. That the period ahead will be one of intensified struggle that will see decisive steps towards achievement of our basic demands leading towards the transfer of power to the people and peace under a democratic constitution.

On negotiations

1. Conference reaffirms that the possibility exists of achieving the transfer of power to the people and the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa by peaceful means.

2. This possibility has come about as a result of the heroic struggles of our people which have included mass action, armed struggle and underground work, supported by anti-apartheid actions of the international community.

3. To achieve the strategic objective of our struggle, it is vital that we continue to combine all forms

of struggle, drawing in the widest spectrum of the people.

4. Accordingly, the speedy realisation of a democratic settlement requires that negotiations which constitute an additional terrain of the struggle should be linked to a continuing mass struggle and international pressure. This is because the gains made in the mass struggle will be reflected at the negotiations table. Negotiations do not win our freedom, but represent the recognition of the victories we win on the ground.

5. Conference supports and endorses the strategy for negotiations outlined in the Harare and UN Declarations adopted in 1989. Conference instructs the NEC in consultation with other members of the tripartite alliance to elaborate a comprehensive approach to negotiations.

6. In this context, Conference notes that the Pretoria regime has not yet removed all the obstacles to negotiations identified in these Declarations and has thereby blocked progress towards the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations.

7. Furthermore, the campaign of terror carried out against the people intended to destabilise society, intimidate the people, undermine and weaken the ANC, its allies and the rest of the democratic movement is an obstacle to the objective of creating a climate conducive to negotiations and to free political activity and association.

8. Conference therefore demands that the Pretoria regime acts immediately to unblock the path leading to the creation of the necessary climate by removing the obstacles to negotiations.

9. Conference denounces and condemns the Pretoria regime which, by delaying the process of negotiation, seeks to strengthen itself, weaken the democratic movement and discredit genuine negotiations.

10. Conference directs the NEC in consultation with the RECs and our allies to ensure the implementation of a programme of action to ensure the defeat of this strategy. Such action should aim to draw in the broad democratic movement and the masses of our people and the world anti-apartheid movement.

11. In the light of the fact that for the foreseeable future there will continue to exist counter-revolutionary elements opposed to the democratic trans-



formation of South Africa, and recognising that there is a strategic relationship between the maintenance of peace and the possibility of a negotiated settlement, Conference resolves that the ANC should at all times act decisively to defend the people while it conducts an uninterrupted offensive to defeat the apartheid system.

12. Conference therefore resolves that all necessary measures be taken to mobilise the people of South Africa as a whole to engage in action in defence of peace. Conference further resolves that the ANC should assist all communities to build the capacity to defend themselves against counter-revolutionary violence.

13. MK should maintain its combat readiness and vigilance to enable it to intervene decisively should the anti-democratic forces block the path to a peaceful settlement.

14. Conference endorses and supports the initiative already taken by church and business organisations to convene a peace conference.

15. Conference further resolves that all necessary measures be taken to activate the international community to join the offensive against counter-revolutionary violence.

16. In keeping with the provisions contained in the Harare and UN Declarations, Conference reaffirms the crucial importance of the following steps, which must be taken consequent to the removal of ALL obstacles:

- a. The convening of the All-Party Congress;
- b. The installation of an Interim Government;
- c. The election of a democratic Constituent Assembly; and
- d. The adoption of a democratic constitution and the election of a parliament representative of all the people of South Africa.

17. Conference further resolves that these objectives should be achieved within a definite time frame, to ensure that the process of negotiations is not drawn out.

18. Conference reaffirms the positions of the ANC that all the people of our country should be involved in the process of negotiating their future. Accordingly, it reiterates our standpoint that negotiations shall not be secret.

19. Conference further directs the NEC to take immediate steps to ensure that a comprehensive

and representative team comprising all chief negotiators, working groups and researchers, which shall function under the supervision and direction of the NEC, is established. The NEC shall ensure that in all such organs and structures there is adequate and fair participation of women.

20. Conference directs the NEC as a matter of extreme urgency, to take steps to ensure the creation of appropriate and effective mechanisms for consultation and communication with the membership. To realise this objective the NEC shall ensure that the necessary resources are made available.

21. Furthermore, Conference directs the NEC to take immediate steps to ensure the creation of appropriate and effective mechanisms for the involvement of the allies of the ANC in the process of negotiations.

22. In the mean time, and subject to this resolution, Conference mandates the NEC to continue with the process of talks about talks and invests it with discretionary powers, within the policies of the ANC.

23. Conference resolves that everything should be done to build maximum unity among the forces committed to the perspective of a non-racial, non-sexist democracy and to ensure that such forces act in unity throughout the process of negotiations. In this regard it resolves that determined efforts are made to establish a front of patriotic forces as soon as possible. All participants in this Patriotic Front shall retain their organisational independence and sovereignty.

On violence

NOTING THAT:

1. Many thousands of our people have been attacked and killed and continue to be killed, especially in the recent period, by apartheid-sponsored violence carried out by Inkatha, askaris, bantustan death forces and others whose aim is to weaken and destroy the ANC and other democratic forces.

2. This violence is taking place in a counter-revolutionary context directed by agencies of the state, and its surrogate forces in the form of councillors, warlords, vigilantes, death squads and certain white rightwing elements.

3. The ANC, together with other democratic forces such as Cosatu, UDF and churches, has attempted to find peaceful solutions to violence by:



High spirits among delegates at the ANC conference

- a) entering into peace talks with Inkatha;
- b) making submissions, representations and demands to the South African government to end the violence.

4. Despite the past peace initiatives with Inkatha, violence still persists and despite the machinery at the disposal of the regime, it is refusing to take the necessary steps to end the violence.

5. The response of the democratic forces in dealing with this counter-revolutionary violence has not been adequate and that the December 1990 National Consultative Conference took a resolution to build defence committees and that the organisation has made insufficient progress in the setting up of defence committees.

6. The recent peace initiative by church and business leaders is aimed at involving all organisations in South Africa in strategies to end the violence.

BELIEVING:

- 1. That the violence aims to:
 - a) destabilise the ANC and other democratic forces.
 - b) ensure that the government dictates the pace

of transition in terms of its own agenda.

c) create a state of confusion and demoralisation in our ranks and among our people in an attempt to alienate them from our movement.

2. That violence is part of a counter-revolutionary strategy to maintain white domination in new forms.

3. The ending or containing of the violence should be at the top of the agenda of the ANC and the democratic movement.

4. That our right to self defence is not limited by any agreement entered into by the movement.

WE THEREFORE RESOLVE:

1. To support the current peace initiative of the church and business leaders in:

- a) developing a code of conduct for the security forces.
- b) developing a code of conduct for political organisations.
- c) developing an enforcement mechanism to monitor the codes that will involve a wide range of groupings.
- d) developing a programme of reconstruction.



2. To mandate the incoming NEC to give a deadline to the appropriate structures by which time it must have completed its task of forming self defence units in all areas, and to take definite steps to provide all possible resources and assistance required.

3. To embark on a programme of national and international mass action within the context of our demands for:

- a) the removal of all obstacles to creating a climate for negotiations.
- b) the dismantling of all apartheid structures.
- c) an interim government and a constituent assembly.

4. To embark on a publicity campaign both locally and internationally to expose the true nature of the violence.

5. To reaffirm our demands contained in the NEC letter of 5 April 1991 addressed to de Klerk.

6. To establish structures on a branch, regional and national level with our partners within the tripartite alliance and other democratic formations to coordinate our strategies in responding to the violence.

On building the ANC

Having examined in depth and critically the strengths and weaknesses of the Movement; having identified the opportunities and threats to the ANC, the Commission, therefore,

RESOLVES THAT:

1. On the Youth League membership

1.1. A special commission should be set up to investigate our inability to draw in all the Youth League membership over 18 years of age into the ANC

1.2. The DAC should initiate sports and cultural activities in consultation with the Department of Sports and Culture, to generate excitement that will attract the youth

1.3. Clarity must be given by this Conference on the implications and meaning of the concepts "autonomous and independence" with regard to the ANC Leagues.

2. On the Tripartite Alliance

2.1. A joint commission with the two other members of the Tripartite Alliance should be set up to in-

vestigate the reasons for the inability of the Alliance to function effectively at the grassroots level, and make recommendations for the redressal of the situation. The investigation should include reasons for our inability to attract Cosatu membership into the ANC.

3. On the Civics and Local Government

3.1. The ANC should develop a clear policy on local government with special reference to the roles of Civics and branches in this regard, bearing in mind that the Civics have been the formations occupying this terrain of struggle

3.2. The Department of Local Government should establish clear structural and functional relations with the Civics to obviate tensions and resultant confusion

4. On strategic campaigns

4.1. The ANC should conduct door-to-door campaigns and house visits, especially in the middle classes in all communities – preferably by the highly disciplined and politically clear leadership in the latter sector – to explain the history and policies of the ANC

4.2. That the ANC should develop a coherent strategic programme of action with clear goals that engender in action despite the obstacles that may be encountered (eg violence)

4.3. That the ANC should draw on the experience of the UDF in reaching the masses of our people

4.4. That the ANC should put over the message in accessible languages to all the oppressed and exploited masses

4.5. Noting that: there is a need to link our campaigns for an Interim Government, a Constituent Assembly and against violence to the concrete issues affecting the lives of the people; Conference resolves therefore that the incoming NEC should start a national campaign on the following three crisis areas that affect our people:

- housing
- unemployment
- education

4.6. That the ANC should, in preparation for a Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government embark on a massive Literacy Campaign, jointly with the NECC, and this should be linked to massive Intensive Learning Campaign

5. On political education

5.1. The Department of Political Education should develop a comprehensive national political education programme, with special focus on the gender question and the history and policies of the



ANC, in the languages understood and spoken by the people

5.2. Where commissars, whether from abroad or internally based, are present, they should be deployed to do political education work amongst the oppressed

5.3. An extensive political educational campaign/programme should be started to explain the need for, and the nature of a liberation front with other organisations like PAC, Azapo

5.4. The Department of Political Education should draw up a national calendar which will serve as a guide for all regions and branches on timeframes according to which issues like current state of political developments, policies of the ANC, should be discussed.

6. On the public image of the ANC

6.1. A mechanism, constitutional if needs be, should be established to ensure that inter-departmental co-ordination, particularly at national level, takes place to obviate individualism and incoherence in public pronouncements on policy matters.

6.2. A strong disciplinary code should be formulated and be strictly enforced on all members and employees of the ANC, at all levels, to obviate conduct that could tarnish the image of the ANC

6.3. The incoming NEC should order all ANC marshalls to wear a standard uniform and carry appropriately designed identity cards at all functions of the ANC

6.4. All marshalls should receive a standard training that must incorporate lessons on the expected conduct of a marshall

7. On the diverse strands within the Movement

Conference should order the incoming NEC to develop a national programme to integrate the rich, but diverse, political and cultural experiences of our membership, to obviate the formation of a "them and us" syndrome which might have adverse political consequences on the image and unity of the ANC

8. On the International Contacts

8.1. The ANC should utilise its extensive international contacts to access skills and resources for educational and developmental purposes.

8.2. As interest and support for the anti-apartheid cause diminishes, due to the De Klerk regime's initiatives, the ANC has to examine ways and means of becoming self-reliant as quickly as possible

9. On Employment/Administrative practices

9.1. The incoming NEC should evolve a staff

code to ensure professionalism in the regulation and co-ordination of staff conduct in all offices of the ANC, at all levels.

9.2. The Secretary General's Office should develop a comprehensive basic administrative skills training programme to enhance the skills-quality of our office operatives

9.3. The Organising Department should establish simple procedures to deal with lost membership cards and the renewal of membership, with special reference to what the ANC's membership year is.

9.4. To tackle the gross administrative inefficiency (especially in regard to the telephone service at national and regional levels)

9.5. The NEC should work against the concentration of leadership at the Head Office, and should ensure that delegated responsibilities to the regional formations is implemented.

10. On relations with supportive professionals and businesspeople

Proper canvassing and consultations must precede mass actions, where these will affect supportive professional and businesspersons, for both logistical and political reasons provided that no relationship is built with these businesspeople at the expense of the employees and the implementation of mass actions.

11. On the rural areas

11.1. The incoming NEC should start a development programme on rural areas based on strong democratic organs of people's power and accountable leadership.

11.2. Conference recommends that henceforth, the ANC NEC make it a practice that whenever leadership meet bantustan leaders, local leadership be part of such talks/meetings/consultations

11.3. Further, that Conference instruct the incoming NEC to convene a consultative inter-regional workshop to discuss the many issues affecting mobilisation, relationship, demarcations in the rural areas.

11.4. Conference instructs the incoming ANC NEC to avail maximum resources for rural mobilisation, organisation and campaigns.

11.5. Conference empowers the incoming NEC to appoint a special commission to urgently investigate the extent and the effects of the glaring lack of resources in rural areas - report back to the NEC within three months and advise on practical and significant steps to be undertaken in order to redress the appalling situation which obviously is the major factor contributing to the weakness of the movement in such areas.

11.6. Noting that the structures of the ANC are



weak in the rural areas and noting further that practical steps need to be taken to redress the situation, conference therefore recommends that the incoming NEC should set up a commission to investigate the causes of this weakness, and report back not later than three months after the commencement of the investigation.

11.7. In the light of problems in recruiting membership in the hostile bantustans, the negotiating task force should include in the process of talks about talks the removal of obstacles as posed by repressive bantustans as well as commitment to the dissolution of these structures.

These efforts will reassure ANC members and encourage non-members to join the organisation in these bantustans.

11.8. Noting that there are serious problems in membership recruitment in the hostile bantustans and noting further that there is a dire need to reassure ANC members and to encourage non-members to join the movement in these bantustans Conference therefore resolves that the incoming NEC should order its negotiating task force to include the repression of ANC members in these bantustans as an obstacle to negotiations and that the incoming NEC should demand a total dissolution of these bantustans.

11.9. NEC is directed to convene a meeting of all regions to consider inter alia a strategic approach to the bantustans and political parties. Such a meeting to take place within 60 days.

11.10. There is urgent need to disseminate a questionnaire to all regions requesting information on:

- organisational difficulties and level of repression locally and regionally - what political parties have been established? what role do they play/or relationship with the ANC branches in the region
- to what extent are youth wings being established and for what purpose? (unemployed youth appear to be the target for recruitment into bantustan para-military forces)

12. On consultation and communication

12.1. Noting that at the National Consultative Conference in December it was resolved that mechanisms be established for purposes of consultation between the leadership and membership, particularly with regard to negotiations and noting further that such mechanisms have not been established conference therefore resolves that the incoming NEC should order that the Organising Committee to develop such a consultation mechanism, in co-

operation with regions and branches, as a matter of urgency for implementation during the next three years.

That progress thereof should be evaluated on an on-going basis, and that the Secretary General should include this evaluation in his report to the next National Conference.

12.2. NEC is to improve two-way communication between HQ and RECs and RECs and branches.

13. On organisational restructuring

13.1. Noting the changed circumstances in which the ANC operates today and having received and accepted the reports of the work of the ANC in exile and over the past 18 months within the country and recognising the necessity of ensuring a minimum of bureaucracy, clear lines of communications and accountability nationally, regionally and at branch level now therefore instructs the NEC to immediately appoint a commission to examine the organisational structure.

Further that the commission should assess and redefine the authority, responsibility and accountability of the inter-relationship between and amongst the ANC's restructured departments. This commission should be required to report not later than 30th October 1991.

14. On Women

The incoming NEC should establish a mechanism that will specifically :

- concentrate on the recruitment of all women from all sectors and levels in our society both urban and rural
- consolidate and strengthen the participation of women within the organisation
- assist to strengthen the ANC Women's League

15. On minority groups

Conference instructs the NEC to convene a National Consultative Conference of persons drawn from the different minority groups who are not ANC members to consider ways and means of drawing these communities closer to the ANC.

16. On countering state propaganda

The DPE in conjunction with the Department of Information and Publicity should look into the viability of establishing a weekly newsletter which the ANC can use to counter the state and commercial media's propaganda aimed at undermining the ANC in the minds of the masses of our people.



ANC leaders Ronnie Kasrils (back), Sphiwe Nyanda, Trevor Manuel and Joe Modise at a press briefing during the conference.

On Umkhonto we Sizwe

PREAMBLE

Noting that MK has played an important role in the last 30 years in bringing about the immense political victories we have scored and the political situation to its present level;

Noting that while we have suspended armed activities we however have not abandoned armed struggle;

And further noting that the agenda of the regime is to hold on to power by among other things destabilising the NLM by engineering or conniving at violence against the people;

And further noting that the regime deliberately misinterprets the clause on related activities in a manner that attempts to render the ANC impotent and our people defenceless;

THEREFORE RESOLVES:

1. That the ANC shall maintain and develop MK until the adoption of a democratic constitution and the creation of a new defence force into which cadres of MK will be integrated. Until such a point is reached the equipment of the movement shall NOT be surrendered to the regime;

2. MK shall remain in constant combat readiness;

3. The ANC accepts full responsibility for cadres arrested and/or detained by police and security organs in the course of the execution of their duties in

defence of the people;

4. The ANC shall establish structures of MK throughout the country at all levels including the establishment of offices and the provision of resources for such activities;

5. The ANC shall be entrusted with the task to popularise the demand for a single military force that will uphold and defend the values of democracy in our country.

FURTHER RESOLVES:

that the role of MK in the present period shall be:

1. To act in defence of peace and stability to guarantee the people's political victories by imparting the necessary skills;

2. To participate in the rebuilding and organisation of the ANC;

3. To act in defence of the personnel and property of the ANC;

4. To encourage MK cadres to join and to channel their political concerns through the established branches.

FINALLY RESOLVES:

That the NEC take full responsibility for the transferring of funds to regions for the maintenance, development and general welfare of all MK cadres, both inside and outside the country and that proper and appropriate binding mechanisms be established to ensure this

and

that the NEC shall take steps to ensure the marking of the 30th anniversary of MK throughout the country.



On foreign policy

The 48th National Conference of the ANC, meeting in Durban, South Africa from 2-6 July, 1991:

Reaffirming that the Freedom Charter, the basic policy document of the ANC, constitutes the firm foundation for the conduct of the ANC's international relations;

Recalling the foreign policy guidelines elaborated at and adopted by the ANC National Consultative Conferences at Kabwe, 1985 and Johannesburg, 1990;

Further recalling the decisions of the ANC-sponsored World Conference against Apartheid, for a Democratic South Africa held in Arusha, Tanzania, in 1987;

Further reaffirming that both the Harare Declaration of the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa define the basis of an internationally acceptable solution of the South African conflict, and therefore outline the parameters within which the relations between South Africa and the rest of the world can be normalised;

Recognising that the conduct of the ANC's foreign policy must take into account the realities of contemporary international relations, characterised in part by:

a) A general universal tendency towards the establishment of political systems whose features include multi-party democracy, respect for individual human rights and movement away from centrally-planned economies;

b) a tendency towards the disappearance of the cold war and a departure from the conduct of international relations on the basis of a bi-polar world order, dominated by the conflicting interests of the super-powers and the two military blocs, Nato and the Warsaw Pact, which latter is being phased out;

Cognisant that the resolute struggles waged in South Africa by our people, under the leadership of the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement, supported by the international community, have resulted in a shift in the balance of forces inside South Africa, a circumstance which is leading to the redefinition of the relations between South Africa and the rest of the world;

Aware that our foreign policy must be informed by the understanding that South Africa has entered a critical period in the struggle to end the apartheid system and establish a non-racial and non-sexist democracy and that the white minority regime has been obliged to accept the demand for genuine ne-



International campaign for sanctions

gotiations, as outlined in the Harare and UN Declarations, which, among others, envisage the following stages:

- a) The removal of obstacles to negotiations;
- b) The acceptance of interim mechanisms to oversee the period of transition from apartheid to a new democratic order;
- c) The adoption of a democratic constitution, the democratic election of a representative parliament and the establishment of a new government;

Also aware that the victories scored by the democratic forces, including the fact that the regime has been obliged to repeal the so-called legislative pillars of apartheid, have given rise to a tendency among a growing number of countries towards the premature lifting of sanctions against the apartheid regime as a reward for the measures undertaken by the De Klerk regime;

Cognisant of the fact that ways and means should be found by which to arrest the process of the erosion of sanctions to ensure that the democratic movement does not lose this weapon, which will



be required until a democratic constitution has been adopted;

Reaffirming that the main thrust of our foreign policy must be the attainment of the objectives contained in the Harare and UN Declarations, namely, mobilising the world community to assist towards the speedy eradication of apartheid as well as helping to move the process of negotiations forward towards the creation of a non-racial and non-sexist democratic South Africa;

NOW RESOLVES AS FOLLOWS:

1. ON SANCTIONS

The primary objective of sanctions is to end apartheid. Since, despite the measures which the regime has been compelled to take, apartheid is still in place, the international community must continue to utilise this weapon to maintain pressure on the regime to expedite forward movement to the attainment of the objective of a non-racial democracy.

Because it is essential that the sanctions weapon is not lost, the international community should be urged to listen to the view of the democratic forces and not seek to reward the apartheid regime. Sanctions must therefore be used creatively in order to arrest the erosion that has occurred, push the peace process forward and attain the objective of a democratic South Africa as speedily as possible.

Accordingly, sanctions should continue to be used as a necessary form of pressure.

Specified groups of sanctions should be used to achieve the strategic objectives listed below, each one of which is critical to the process of transformation:

- a) The removal by the regime of obstacles to negotiations, as stipulated in the Harare and UN Declarations, as well as the implementation of effective measures by Pretoria to end violence;
- b) The installation of an Interim Government according to agreed transitional arrangements and modalities on the transition to a democratic order;
- c) The adoption of a democratic constitution and the holding of free and fair elections for a non-racial parliament and a representative government.

In this connection, the National Executive Committee as a matter of urgency is called upon in consultation with our allies, to determine the precise formulation of this process, acting in broad consultation internally and in coordination with the anti-apartheid forces worldwide.

These forces include the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations, as well as non-governmental anti-apartheid and solidarity forces.

2. ON THE MOBILISATION OF ANTI-APARTHEID FORCES

The anti-apartheid movement world-wide has greatly assisted in creating an extensive world constituency that has compelled governments to place the issue of apartheid on their political agendas. This constituency has also served as an important source of material assistance.

During the period of transition from apartheid to democracy, the role of the international anti-apartheid movement will continue to be highly critical in strengthening the hand of the democratic forces. In this regard, the anti-apartheid movement has the task to sensitise the international community towards its obligation of assisting the people of South Africa to effect the transformations which will result in the suppression of the crime of apartheid and the institution of a social order which will uphold the objectives contained in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations.

Furthermore, the world anti-apartheid movement should prepare adequately for an important post-apartheid role. Such a role is dictated by the enormous socio-economic inequalities that will remain the legacy of apartheid and that cannot be addressed by a mere removal of apartheid legislation from the statute books.

Conference resolves that, within a year, a conference of the international anti-apartheid movement should be convened in South Africa to address these issues.

3. ON THE MOBILISATION OF FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL ASSISTANCE

The international community should be mobilised to assist the ANC and its allies, the force that constitutes the main agent of political change in South Africa, by providing material and financial resources to help us realise the following objectives:

- a) To empower the anti-apartheid forces to carry out the tasks of transforming South Africa from an apartheid to a democratic society. In this context, the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, needs to be assisted in order to facilitate its future integration into a new national army that will defend the country and the democratic order, while upholding the principles of the sovereignty of nations, regional stability and international peace and security;
- b) To assist in the evolution of development policies that will address the socio-economic imbalances resulting from apartheid, through training and research;



c) To assist post-apartheid South Africa to eliminate these imbalances and meet the expectations of the people. In this regard, the ANC must encourage such initiatives as the establishment of a South African Development Bank along similar lines to the Bank of Reconstruction and Development with regard to Eastern Europe.

4. ON REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The ANC, in pursuance of the objective of a democratic South Africa, must promote regional and international cooperation to meet the following perspectives:

- a) Further to advance the struggle for the liquidation of the apartheid system and the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial and non-sexist democracy;
- b) Actively to promote the objectives of democracy, peace, national independence, stability, development and prosperity, as well as promote Pan-African solidarity and mutually beneficial cooperation among the peoples, committed to the view that South Africa and its people will live with the rest of the world in conditions of peace, friendship and cooperation;
- c) To promote programmes directed at the protection of the environment;
- d) To help create a world free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. In this regard, to seek to promote the objectives of Africa and the Indian Ocean as nuclear-free zones and areas that would also be free of foreign military forces and bases;
- e) To work towards the admission of the democratic South Africa in such organisations as the SADCC, the PTA, the OAU, the ADB, the Lome Convention, the Non-Aligned Movement and the re-establishment of relations with the World Bank, the IMF and the United Nations.

5. ON ORGANISATIONAL MATTERS

Conference resolves that the NEC should reactivate the Commission on International Affairs, bearing in mind the new situation, to ensure wider participation within the movement with regard to discussion of foreign policy questions.

Conference further resolves that all regional committees of the ANC should establish sub-committees on international affairs which would liaise with the Department of International Affairs on foreign policy questions.

On policy development

Conference was not able to debate and take resolutions on a range of policy issues such as education, health and land, because of time constraints. The resolution below was adopted to ensure that the process of policy development is systematically implemented after National Conference.

THIS CONFERENCE, NOTING:

- 1) The urgent need to develop ANC policy on a number of issues;
- 2) That policy development is an ongoing process;
- 3) That this process of policy development has already been started at branch, regional and national levels;

RESOLVES TO:

- 1) Endorse the process of policy development that has already started;
- 2) Endorse the view that policy formulation is an ongoing developmental process;
- 3) Convene a national policy conference of mandated representatives from regions and departments within the next six months to make policy proposals to the NEC for adoption and implementation;
- 4) Mandate the NEC to appoint a national planning committee to convene such a conference and plan regional programmes in preparation for this conference.

Endorsed by the Departments of:
 Economic Policy
 Legal and Constitutional Affairs
 Projects
 Health
 Education
 Social Welfare
 Land Commission
 Local Government
 Science and Technology Group and
 Finance