



**Statement of the National Executive Committee  
of the African National Congress  
on the occasion of the Centenary Celebration  
of the ANC**

**January 8th 2012**



**STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
ON THE OCCASION OF THE 100th ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANC  
8 January 2012, Bloemfontein**

Your Excellencies  
Heads of State and Government  
Members of the NEC  
The Leadership of the SACP, COSATU and SANCO  
The Leadership of the ANCWL, ANCYL and ANCVL  
Comrades and Compatriots,  
Our friends from all over Africa and the world.

This is the message of the African National Congress.

### **Introduction**

Today, we are honoured to be part of the generations that are celebrating the centenary of our movement, the African National Congress. Like with the formation of the South African National Native Congress here in January 1912, we do so not on our own as South Africans, but with the leadership and people of our region, the continent and indeed, as a product of our long struggle, together with the progressive people of the world.

We are privileged to be part of these celebrations, as a testament to the formation of the people's movement in 1912, in response to the concrete situation that faced our people and our country. This movement, went on over the decades to win the confidence of our people in both practice and in theory. It is tradition that today, as we celebrate one hundred years of the ANC, we will reflect on what issues shaped the character of the ANC, the historical events that impacted on the day to day living standards of the people of our country, the ANC's resolve to inculcate a human rights culture, a system of justice and equality and a better life in a land that belongs to all who live in it.

## **PART A: LOOKING BACK – THE HISTORY OF THE ANC**

### **Transition from Secondary Resistance to National Liberation**

A conference of the leading European powers meeting in Berlin in 1884-85 carved up the African continent and shared the pieces out amongst themselves as colonies and dependencies. By the end of that exercise, with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia, every other part of the continent came under foreign rule. Apart from these two countries, Haiti was the only other territory occupied by Africans and their descendants in the New World that was self-governing. As a race, virtually all Africans had been reduced to a subject people, ruled and governed by others, usually Whites from Europe or their descendants naturalized in other climes.

During the course of that same year, 1884, the Supreme Court of the United States of America, ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional, there by dashing the hopes for racial equality that the reconstruction of the former confederacy once held

out. Two years later, the same Supreme Court made its notorious Plessy vs Ferguson ruling, sanctifying the doctrine of “separate but equal”, thus setting the stage for constitutionally approved racial discrimination in the provision of public services in the USA.

In 1885, after successive slave rebellions all of which had been suppressed with sadistic brutality, slavery was finally abolished in Brazil. Formal freedom did not necessarily come with rights. Brazil’s former slaves occupied the lowest rung on the social ladder and were subjected to every form of statutory and non-statutory discrimination.

20th century history was consequently dominated by the struggle of the Africans, in every part of the world where they lived, for the restoration of their human rights, their dignity and their freedom. The forms that struggle assumed were in every instance determined by the institutional framework in which it unfolded and by the manner in which the dominant power responded to resistance from the oppressed.

Today, 8th January, has had since 1912, an international dimension as one of the most significant fronts of a pan- African struggle by the peoples of Africa, and the peoples of African descent, who were dispersed across the Atlantic by the trans-Atlantic slave trade, for freedom and self-determination. When we proclaim that this is one of the great and most moving days in the annals of our struggle, we know for certain that that sentiment is echoed by millions of African breasts around the world.

The eighth day of January is emblazoned in the historical record as marking the inauguration of the pioneer of the African revolutionary movement, created by our forebears to re-claim the sovereignty of the peoples of Africa and to re-assert the freedom the people of our great continent had lost on a thousand battle-fields, spread across Africa’s landscapes. Since its inauguration in this city 100 years ago, the African National Congress has been at the forefront of the liberation struggle that culminated in the overthrow of White minority domination and the suppression of the crime of apartheid.

The vision of our movement’s founders is foreshadowed in the words of an undergraduate from South Africa, named Pixley ka Isaka Seme, in 1906, during a speech day at Columbia University, New York:

*“The brighter day is rising upon Africa... Yes the regeneration of Africa belongs to this new and powerful period... The African people... possess a common fundamental sentiment which is everywhere manifest,... crystallising itself into one common controlling idea... The regeneration of Africa means that a new and unique civilisation is soon to be added to the world.”*

O Africa!

Like some great century plant that shall bloom  
In ages hence, we watch thee; in our dream  
See in thy swamps the Prospero of our stream;  
Thy doors unlocked, where knowledge in her tomb  
Hath lain innumerable years in gloom.  
Then shalt thou, walking with that morning gleam,  
Shine as thy sister lands with equal beam.”

Five years later, in October 1911, Pixley ka Isaka Seme in an historic clarion call articu-

lating a widely felt need for a united struggle against colonial and White domination, invited the peoples of the sub-continent to meet in conference and by burying all past differences and divisions, to discuss and plan together for their common future.

The people of Southern Africa responded by dispatching delegates to Bloemfontein, 70 of whom convened in this very city. Among them could be counted John Langalibalele Dube, an outstanding educationist, Sol Plaatje, author and newspaper editor; Rev. Walter Rubusana, a man of the cloth and important essayist; Samuel Makgatho, Alfred Mangena, one of South Africa's first African barristers; Meshack Pelem, Charlotte Maxeke, an American educated teacher and co-founder of Wilberforce Institute in Evaton; Thomas Mapikela, a builder and property developer; Edward Tsewu, Reverend Ngcayiya and many many others.

In their number there were also royal personages, whose forebears had led the armies that resisted the occupation and seizure of the lands of our continent during the 18th and 19th centuries: Solomon ka Dinizulu, Montsioa of the Barolong, Lewanika of the Lozi of Zambia, Letsie II of Lesotho, Labotsibeni from Swaziland, Dalindyebo of the baThembu, Sekhukhuni of the baPedi and Khama from Botswana to mention but a few.

On an occasion such as this, a special tribute is due to one of their number who could not attend the inaugural conference at Mangaung; one of the first honorary presidents of the ANC, that great patriot, King Dinizulu ka Cetshwayo!

The bards and the poets of the day sang thus of this illustrious leader:

UMamonga woSuthu.  
UMamonga kabulali uyasizila.  
Uqoth' imbokodo nesisekelo;  
Ufana nedlov' emnyama yasOndini.  
USilwa nankunzi mbili.  
Enye ngeyakwaNgenetsheni.  
Enye ngeyaseBhanganomo.  
Umgwazi kadinwa zingqapheli.  
Isikhon' esimazinga.  
Umuzi bawuphum' ehlathini.  
Bawulabalabela.  
Ithole lakokaMsweli.  
Elanyise liguqile.  
Indab' engiyizwe ngimncane.  
Ngaze ngakhula ngayibona ngamehlo.

In his absence, he was given this accolade in recognition of the role he had played in the struggle against White domination. The Natal colonial authorities had banished King Dinizulu to St. Helena in retribution for his alleged participation in the anti-Poll Tax Uprising led by Bambatha in 1906.

That first gathering here in Mangaung brought together representatives of all the peoples of Southern Africa. It was perhaps the first step taken by the peoples of our region, who had been subjugated by three European powers - Britain, Germany and Portugal, -

towards creating the institutions needed to defeat colonialism and racial oppression and to reclaim the freedom the African people had lost on the battlefield.

All the delegates who converged on Bloemfontein that day were drawn from the British-colonised part of the sub-continent. During the twentieth century, the advancing African revolution rendered these boundaries less relevant. The powerful bonds of solidarity that brought this region through three decades of bitterly fought liberation wars are the heritage bequeathed us by those delegates in Bloemfontein, on 8th January 1912. That solidarity remains unshakeable because it was tested in struggle and is sealed with the blood of our fallen, drawn from every country of Southern Africa.

History decreed that the peoples of our region would shoulder the burden of striving for freedom collectively. Southern Africa discharged that solemn responsibility with a determination and a flexibility that defied the worst efforts, overt and covert, devised by the colonial and racist regimes, assisted by powerful supporters in the world community. The ANC developed a strategic working alliance with SWAPO, ZAPU, FRELIMO, MPLA, the PIAGC (The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde) and ZANU.

Before and after the creation of the Union of South Africa, the White powers, the colonialists and racist regimes who controlled our sub-continent, sought to divide our countries and their peoples into racial and ethnic compartments, the better to dominate them. In contrast, the ANC and other liberation movements have upheld the ideal of one country, one people, one democratic state and a non-racial destiny for all who live in it, black and white.

A minority state with police and administrative powers that it enforced with whips, batons and guns, inspired by fanatical racist dogmas could not deter the ANC from proclaiming that our destiny, as South Africans - be we black or white - is inextricably interwoven; and declaring that we owe it to ourselves and to future generations to reconfigure the political institutions of our country so as to create a better society, in a better country, in a better world.

The system of institutionalized racism had assailed the dignity and human worth of every person of African descent for the previous five hundred years of interaction between Europeans and Africans. The Atlantic Slave Trade and the triangular trade cycle of which it was an indispensable component was originally the material under-girding of the White racism that legitimized and sustained it. The colonial conquest of Africa during the latter part of the 19th century confirmed this interdependent relationship at the same time widening the circle of stakeholders in racism. During these two centuries the number of its victims also increased exponentially, to incorporate Asians, South and Latin Americans, Australasians and the peoples of the Pacific.

Colonized peoples were not citizens of the empire, we were all its subjects who had and could claim no rights but were governed in terms of the colonial administration's construal of "customary laws". Even in a country, such as the US, with a Constitution that guarantees full and equal rights to all its citizens, such protections were ignored, undermined or deliberately subverted as inapplicable to Africans, the indigenous people and to Asians who suffered every form of discrimination and reduced to the status of

second class citizens. In Africa, colonial authorities exercised a host of arbitrary powers, which they wielded at their own discretion, over subject African people, or worse yet, at the instance of White settlers or metropolitan vested interests.

Highly varied systems of colonialism had evolved in the Americas, Africa, the Caribbean and Asia. The one feature that they had in common and made our status here in South Africa essentially no different from that of an Algerian, a Trinidadian, a Kenyan, a Burmese, or an Indian, was that we all shared the same fate as colonies - we were governed by others!. From its inception the ANC actively sought out and cultivated networks of mutually supportive liberation movements among colonial and oppressed people, making it possible to coordinate action against the common enemy: racial domination and colonialism.

The South Africa Act, passed by the British parliament in 1909, permitting the two ex-Boer Republics to retain their racist electoral laws was a betrayal not only of principle, but was also the cynical renunciation of a number of undertakings to retain the Cape franchise laws, and to extend them incrementally to the Black citizens in the other three provinces.

The cause of democracy, repudiated in practice by the White colonial state and the White political parties who misgoverned our country for well-nigh a century, found a home in the national liberation movement. For a century our movement became, and continues to be, the custodian of basic democratic values, principles and practice in our country. The national liberation movement championed democracy because we have always recognised its intrinsic value as the basis for good, accountable government coupled with justice. The principle on which the ANC and the rest of democratic movement has consistently stood 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 non-racial future that our founders envisaged is reflected in the mixed delegation, comprising Rev. Walter B. Rubusana, Dr Abdullah Abdurahman, John Tengo Jabavu, D.J. Lenders, Matthew Fredericks and Thomas Mapikela supported by a White democrat, W.P. Schreiner, then joined by M.K. Gandhi, that arrived in London to appeal to the British parliament not to pass the law with its racial exclusions. It is that tradition of cooperation amongst democrats that imparted to our struggle a distinctly non-racial character in a country whose institutions racialised every facet of public and private life. A fundamental premise of the liberation movement was that it was neither possible nor desirable to unscramble the historical omelet. The future of South Africa would be shaped by all those who had made it their home, irrespective of where their ancestors came from, or how they came to be in South Africa. Our movement has always and shall continue to cherish the contribution of a small, but courageous contingent of White democrats who committed themselves completely and selflessly to the realisation of democratic change.

The struggle for freedom unfolded in a developing industrial society in the throes of rapid social and economic change. As the transit point connecting the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, prior to the opening of the Suez Canal, South Africa has historically attracted immigrants from every part of the world. The naturalized White population was reinforced by immigrants in the wake of mining. The mines spurred the laying of the railways

and the growth of industry giving birth to growing class of urban workers at the sinews and arteries of our modernizing economy. Alongside the ANC, in constant inter-action with it and oft-times sharing membership, there grew the movement of the working class in the urban and rural areas, of peasant and small farmers' bodies, as well as ad hoc community organizations to address specific and transient issues.

Consequently, our broad movement for national liberation has, since that first decade, taken in both nationalist and class issues. The national democratic revolution has gender, class and national dimensions that interpenetrate and influence one another. Given the character of White-ruled South Africa, the system of racial oppression and our historical experience, one of the outstanding features of the ANC has been its capacity to encompass all these within its ranks, on the basis of a common acceptance and embrace of the Freedom Charter as a programme encapsulating the aspirations of all our people, however varied their class, gender and ideological positions might otherwise be.

Throughout the twentieth century the forces of division, injustice and intolerance have continuously sought to separate these trends within the ANC, politically and organizationally; or at best, to set them at loggerheads and thus divide and weaken the national liberation movement. The idle and apparently trivial speculations about who is and is not an "Africanist"; about divisions between "marxists" and "nationalists" within our ranks, about tensions between the gender-sensitive and insensitive, historically have served no other purpose.

These issues remain relevant to this day particularly because those who set themselves up in opposition to the democratic movement and its leadership still engage in such speculations.

One year after its formation, the ANC confronted one of its biggest challenges when the Natives Land Act of 1913 finally stripped the African people of their homeland by racist statute. The anguish rings through in Sol Plaatjie's elegy:

*"Awaking on Friday morning, June 20, 1913 the South African native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth".*

The law was an act of blatant aggression, which would be described as ethnic cleansing in the present day vocabulary. Plaatje conveys its terrifying and heart-rending consequences for a small African family he encountered along the road:

*"Kgobadi's goats had been to kid when he trekked from his farm; but the kids, which in halcyon times represented the interest on his capital, were now one by one dying as fast as they were born and left by the roadside for the jackal and vultures to feast upon.*

*This visitation was not confined to Kgobadi's stock. Mrs Kgobadi carried a sick baby when the eviction took place, and she had to transfer her darling from the cottage to the jolting ox-wagon in which they left the farm. Two days out the little one began to sink as a result of the privation and exposure on the road, and the night before we met them its little soul was released from its earthly bonds. The death of the child added fresh perplexity to the stricken parents. They had no right or title to the farmlands through which*

*they trekked, they must keep to the public roads – the only places in the country open to the outcasts if they are possessed of travelling permit. The deceased child had to be buried, but where, when and how?*

*This young wandering family decided to dig a grave under cover of the darkness of that night, when no one was looking, and in that crude manner the dead child was interred – and interred amid fear and trembling, as well as the throbs of a torturing anguish,..”*

Protests at home having fallen on deaf ears, the ANC leadership sent a deputation to London to appeal to the British monarch to withhold the royal assent.

While the deputation was in London a wave of protests against the attempt of the Orange Free State administration to impose passes on African women swept that province.

During the 1930s organizational decline and division had left the ANC unprepared for the offensive of the United Party government of Hertzog and Smuts in 1935. Because the movement had no coherent response, the passage of the Hertzog Bills proceeded relatively smoothly, except for an unimpressive demonstration as they entered negotiations with Hertzog by the deputation of the All African Convention.

That was a lesson taken to heart by the Young Turks who rejuvenated and reoriented the movement in the midst of the Second World War.

### **Building Unity Across Colour, Gender and class**

The Communist Party South African was formed in 1921 and had engaged itself in issues affecting workers and the working class. Already then, the seeds of a unique alliance were germinating when the ANC and the CPSA resolved to work together in 1929. Some of the best cadres of our movement, i.e. Moses Kotane, JB Marks and others were leaders of both the ANC and the Communist Party. In fact, cde Kotane was also a dynamic trade unionist and as such, embodied how one can strike a balance in all his leadership positions and showed understanding and appreciation of what each formation of the Alliance had to do.

The growing urban African, Coloured and Indian communities acquired strategic importance for the liberation movement during the 1940s. In the towns the communities themselves underwent transformation as they established new points of association and they acquired the skills of modern organization. The collapse of the economies of the “Native Reserves” during the 1930’s and the migration of African families from White-owned farms in response to the demand for more workers as industries grew swelled them even further. In the cities and towns they spawned their own community organisations that took up the immediate issues of shelter - such as the Squatter’s Movement - and public transport.

In the cities changing gender roles were also evident. In the rural areas the wives of migrant workers were compelled to take on both gender roles in their households for the greater part of the year. In the urban shanty-towns and in the trade union movement women were less reticent and were often more determined in struggles asserting their right to live and work in the urban areas. During the 1930s and 40s growing numbers of

African women migrated to the cities, where thousands found employment as washer-women, domestic servants and as factory workers, especially in food processing and textiles. Growing urban communities required the services of teachers and nurses, professions into which many moved.

In 1931 the Bantu Women`s League (BWL) was recognised as the women`s branch of the ANC. Its first president was Charlotte Maxeke and the BWL was the forerunner of the ANC Womens` League. The BWL was mostly involved in passive resistance and concentrated on the fight against passes for black women.

In 1943 women were formally admitted as ANC members. The ANCWL was formed in 1948. It engaged in militant struggle, asserting the rights of women and paid very serious attention to opposing passes for African women. This was a tradition carried on throughout the 50s, 60s, 70s and 80s.

Urban struggles, at both the community and factory levels, stimulated the emergence of a corps of militant women leaders and political activists who initiated the creation of the ANC Women`s League to replace the auxiliary body in 1946 they also took full membership in the ANC as a result of the new Constitution adopted in 1943. The Federation of South African Women (FSAW), a multi-racial body, was established on 17 April 1954 - with the ANC Women`s League as its largest component - to organise a united struggle against apartheid.

Women from all walks of life and all races participated in the remarkable march on the Union buildings on 9 August 1956. Once again, the non-racial character of the ANC and the movement was in evidence.

Ruthless repression by the regime prevented FSAW and the Women`s League from functioning after 1960. Women found ways to continue their resistance through new legal organisations or the underground structures. In the external mission, the Women`s Section of the ANC played an active role.

The ANC Youth League was formed in 1944. The young leaders of the Youth League based their ideas on African nationalism and believed Africans would be freed only by their own efforts.

The militant ideas of the Youth League quickly found support among the new population of cities. The Youth League drew up a Programme of Action calling for strikes, boycotts and defiance. It was adopted by the ANC in 1949, the year after the National Party came to power.

The ANCYL has produced outstanding leaders of our movement such as Anton Lembede, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Peter Mokaba and many others who continue to contribute to the ANC to this day.

Black trade unionists were able to constitute the Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) to coordinate workers` struggles as the unionization of workers improved during the war years. Peasants rose in revolt against the impositions of the White government and oppressive chiefs in their pay in the rural areas of the Transvaal and the

eastern Free State, the residents of Alexandra township in an impressive demonstration of community solidarity and commitment staged a five week bus boycott to resist fare increase. The strikes, boycotts and other mass struggles during the war years spoke of a rising self-confidence and mood of militancy that culminated in the strike by African mineworkers in August 1946.

During the Passive Resistance campaign to oppose the Pegging Act, whose aim was to further reduce the land ownership rights of a Black community, the Presidents of the ANC, the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) signed a pact pledging mutual support for one another's campaigns in 1947. This became known as the 3-doctors Pact as it was signed by Doctors Xuma, Dadoo and Naicker; the presidents of their respective organizations. This was the beginning of the Congress Alliance that henceforth dominated the struggle and included SAIC/SACTU, SACPO (CPC) and COD. Though the thrust of ANC, NIC and TIC policy increasingly converged in the post-war period, the leadership of all three bodies thought it tactically wiser to retain their separate identities. The movements had come into existence as distinct organizations, and though the leaderships might have overcome the racial animosities fostered by the White minority government's policies, this did not necessarily apply to the communities they were organizing. United action among the disenfranchised communities in pursuance of shared immediate and intermediate goals resulted in greater effectiveness and more effectively broke down the mutual suspicion.

This strategy's efficacy's first crucial test was the Defiance Campaign of 1952 during which 8000 volunteers courted imprisonment by defying apartheid laws.

Inspired by the vision of the ANCYL's founders and comrades such as Chief Luthuli, Yusuf Dadoo, JB Marx, Moses Kotane and Duma Nokwe, during the 1950s the ANC, was able to create a broad front of pro-liberation forces in the Congress Alliance, and inspire the mobilisation of others committed to change. With the primary aim of isolating the racist regime through ever broader alliances and coalitions among all South Africans opposed to racism the movement's strategy anticipated that the struggle would in turn generate tensions, divisions and splits within the ranks of the regime and amongst its supporters

For the ANC and its allies in what was evolving into the Congress Alliance 1953 began on a depressing note. The Defiance Campaign had to be wound down as draconian legislation made acts of civil disobedience criminal offences just shy of treason, punishable with stiff penalties, including flogging, for 'the crime' of breaking the law in furtherance of a political objective.

White employers in the one centre where the Defiance Campaign had assumed a mass character, Port Elizabeth, emboldened by the apartheid regime's counter measures, took savage reprisals against African workers who had participated in the campaign. ANC militants were sacked in large numbers, placing the stability of the ANC itself in jeopardy because political activism became an economic liability.

1953 was also an election year. The National Party (NP), the architects of apartheid had won the 1948 elections thanks to a formula agreed at the end of the Anglo-Boer War,

weighting rural votes against the urban areas. Though the NP commanded a numerical minority of the White vote, it won the majority of seats thanks to the relative weight of the rural vote. The opposition United Party (UP), constrained by its own racism and trapped by the conservatism of the White constituency it hoped to persuade, mounted a campaign that appealed to the worst racial instincts of the White electorate.

In the face of increased repression, violence and death, the ANC had emerged from the Defiance Campaign a much changed movement. Its membership in the urban areas grew exponentially. From a paid up membership of 7000 at the beginning of 1952, it rose to 100,000 by the end of 1953. In the Eastern Cape, where the Defiance Campaign had drawn in thousands of participants, registered membership shot up to 60,000. In the Transvaal the membership quadrupled from 4000 to 16,000.

The Defiance campaign redefined ANC membership as it took on a new meaning – that of a volunteer for freedom, actively engaged in struggle at the national, community and shop-floor level. The 1950 May Day Strike marked a real turning point in our struggle, when peaceful protests and strikes were met with brute force and many workers were killed. This was a harbinger of things to come.

The response of the apartheid state to the campaign also indicated that it would stop at nothing to repress the struggle for freedom. When the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) was declared illegal in 1950, the state assumed powers to proscribe any person it deemed a Communist. That power was widely used after the convictions the state had secured against the leaders of the Defiance Campaign in 1953.

The African National Congress embraced a number of values, principles and ideals as the key pillars of its political canon that are still recognisable as deriving from a specific political tradition - a culture of Human Rights, rooted in and inextricably linked to the political revolutions of the late 18th century, those of the mid-nineteenth century and the post-war twentieth century.

The movement's hopes of moving forward relied not only on its capacity for united action, but also the resilience with which it could respond to a changing tactical position. Anticipation of repression persuaded President Mandela to turn his attention to organizational design.

### **The M-Plan**

Responding to this new environment the ANC leadership called on Nelson Mandela to prepare a strategy document taking account of the threat of impending repression and that could result in restructuring the movement to enable it to adapt to rapidly changing conditions of struggle.

Named the "M-Plan", the document proposed that the ANC be reconstituted from an organisation based on geographically conceived branches to one built on smaller, more intimate cells, that were vertically structured like a pyramid, thus permitting the rapid transmission of information and directives between higher and subordinate structures. The unit of the envisaged new structure would be a cell, whose responsibilities would include familiarisation with their locality such that its members would be in a position to intervene and offer leadership in any local, ad hoc and immediate struggles that might

arise. It was envisaged that such units would be in a position to give accurate accounts of the sociology of their neighbourhood, down to a breakdown of the number of occupants in each individual house.

The M-Plan was not the blueprint for an underground organisation, but it recognised that at best the legal status of the movement in apartheid South Africa was precarious, and even that could be changed at the stroke of a pen.

Taking advantage of the tactical advances it had made after 1952, the apartheid regime accelerated the pace of implementing its programme. In 1954, in the teeth of vocal opposition from every section of the African community it introduced Bantu Education, an inferior form of education designed to train African pupils for a future in which they would serve Whites. In 1955 the Industrial Conciliation Act, while providing improved conditions for the resolution of industrial disputes for Whites, outlawed racially mixed unions that included African workers. Co-opted by these devices, the majority of White unionists in the South African Trades and Labour Council embraced this racist measure, compelling the majority of unions in which African workers were well represented to organise themselves into a separate federation, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). That same year the regime prepared legislation that would impose passes on African women.

Though the people resisted these new measures as best they could, the regime repeatedly demonstrated its readiness to use brute force to crush any resistance to its laws. Large and small mass struggles were met with repressive measures, ranging from targeted reprisals against individual activists, to baton charges and shootings to break up public manifestations.

In the rural areas African prisoners, arrested for trivial breaches of the racist laws controlling their movements, were placed at the mercy of White farmers who paid the state to avail them convict labour. In the so-called "reserves" the regime rolled out its Bantu Authorities Act, one of the Unjust Laws targeted by the Defiance Campaign, with a zeal that stimulated active resistance. Opposition to this law dovetailed with resistance to the imposition of passes for women in Zeerust, Rustenburg, Northern Zululand and in Sekhukhuni. Successive peasant revolts in these areas provoked the iron fist of racist law. Armed repression was followed by trials, deportations, the deposition of traditional leaders viewed as reluctant to implement government policy and the execution of the most militant resisters.

Events on the African continent and in Asia were pointers to the changes sweeping the world during that decade. The year before the NP assumed office in Pretoria, India won her independence and placed the issue of racial oppression in South Africa on the agenda on the United Nations (UN). The consummation of the Chinese Revolution, when Mao's forces drove Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang from the mainland in 1949, the stalemate in the Korean War, followed by the victory of the Vietnamese at Dien-Bien-phu and the outbreak of the Algerian War of Liberation in 1954 were all signs that power in the world was visibly changing hands.

The rising momentum of the international movement for national self-determination was captured in the Bandung Conference of 1954. As a participant the ANC renewed and

widened its network.

The collapse of the Franco-British intervention in Suez in 1956 marked the end of the gun-boat diplomacy of the past. Ghana's independence in 1957 had an electrifying impact on the entire continent, raising expectations and exciting calls for more militant action from below.

Such developments did not however give the regime pause to think. As resistance mounted, so the regime escalated its repression. In December 1956, 157 people, men and women distributed across all racial groups, were arrested and charged with Treason in the regime's most ambitious effort at repression. Proscription orders debarring persons from attending meetings and/or prohibiting them from holding office in political or industrial organisations were used to harass the regime's opponents and to disrupt the struggle for freedom.

When the long anticipated guillotine of repression descended, with it came the brutality and the massacre at Sharpeville on the 21st of March 1960. The ANC and the PAC were banned on the 31st of March 1960. The movement was not best prepared to respond to that level of violence and oppression. The regime imposed a 5 month state of emergency.

Aspects of the M-Plan remain relevant today as an organisational design that could enable ANC Branchers to embed themselves more fully in the communities where they operate.

### **Leading from Exile and Underground**

The suppression of the 1946 African mineworkers' strike set the tone for the following fourteen years. The strike organizers were arrested and convicted of incitement. More ominously members of the CPISA's Central Committee were charged with Sedition.

Thenceforth, the pre-dawn Special Branch raid became a regular feature of the lives of all opponents of racial oppression. When the ANC and the CPISA called a stay-at-home strike in May 1950, the regime responded by killing six unarmed strikers. A second strike protesting these killings and the Suppression of Communism Bill, then before the all-White parliament, was met with a massive build-up of police in the African townships of Johannesburg. Armed repression of peaceful protests, administrative repression through banishment, proscription and illegalisation became the standard response of the regime to any form of protest or resistance.

The ANC did not disband when the regime declared it illegal. Our membership were instructed to regroup and constitute an underground, illegal movement that would continue the struggle, employing means adequate to the challenges of the day.

The following year, 1961, after the apartheid state responded to a stay-at-home strike with the mobilisation of its police, the defence force and military reservists, the leadership of the ANC took the decision to adopt armed struggle and to create uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), the nucleus of a national liberation army.

Because the system of White domination had systematically denied the African majority any access to modern military skills, creating the nucleus of a people's army had to

commence from scratch. A few veterans from the Second World War formed its first cells but building a serious fighting capacity required professional military training, accessible only outside the country.

The decision to take up arms was made in response to the demonstrated intransigence of the regime which had used its armed might to repress an unarmed people, made all forms of political protest unlawful by banning the ANC and PAC, proscribing the movements and actions of its leaders and members, and by banning the democratic press. An extra-ordinary conference of the now illegal ANC met in Lobatsi, Botswana, during the course of 1962. The recourse to armed struggle was an agonizing decision for the leadership of a movement that had pursued non-violence for more than forty years. It was difficult to endorse the decisions taken by the leadership in the aftermath of Sharpville and the repression of the May 1961 strike. There were a number of imponderables that had to be weighed. The ANC most of the membership had joined was a non-violent body with no involvement in armed activity. In order to protect its members against charges of conspiracy, the conference decided that the ANC and MK would be kept distinct, though MK would take its political direction from the ANC.

MK announced its existence with a number of nationally coordinated attacks on government installations on 16th December 1961. From its inception, in its command structure, personnel and ranks, MK sought to reflect the non-racial ethos of the national liberation movement. Its first commander in chief was Nelson Mandela.

Even at the moment of declaring war on the apartheid regime, the movement held out the olive branch, pronouncing a readiness to desist on condition that the regime demonstrated a willingness to negotiate a new political dispensation in earnest.

The early 1960's was an international environment more conducive to the conduct of armed struggle in South Africa because of the successes scored by other national liberation movements on the African continent and beyond had brought into being a number of governments that supported the struggle for freedom.

The advances of the national liberation movement internationally had created a climate of expectation among the oppressed people of South Africa who became more impatient for change.

### **The crisis produced by the Rivonia Trial and Repression**

MK operatives had to fully understand and appreciate that armed struggle took place within a broader political context and all cadres had to have a full understanding of the movement's policies. At the same time, MK also had to promote the justness of the ANC cause in its choice of targets, attitude to civilians and the treatment of the enemy. This was a delicate and often very challenging balancing act.

The initial tactics of MK were clear that the violence would focus on sabotage of government buildings and installations so as to minimise bloodshed and cause severe tactical damage.

MK carried out many acts of sabotage, but the initial underground organisation was

no match for the might of the regime. They passed laws to make death the penalty for sabotage, allowed 90 days of detention without trial and arrested members of the MK leadership in 1963. Nelson Mandela (the first Commander-in Chief of MK), Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni, Ahmed Kathrada and Denis Goldberg were charged with attempting to cause a violent revolution and tried in what became known as the 'Rivonia Trial.'

The Rivonia Trial and its aftermath led to the virtual destruction of the ANC's internal underground structures. The question was how to bring back trained soldiers to continue the struggle inside South Africa. Colonial governments that supported the South African regime controlled all the surrounding countries, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique and MK cadres would have to pass through these hostile terrains to reach home ground. This geographic remoteness also made it virtually impossible to move large groups of soldiers and/ or supplies and ammunition into the country without considerable cost as illustrated by the Wankie and Sipolilo campaign, where groups of our activists were arrested and killed by government forces.

The growth, development and maturation of a political formation such as ours was not a predictable linear process. Within the ANC we strove to maintain a delicate balance that sustains continuity but which nonetheless offers the political space for new initiatives and for the emergence of novel ideas. We came to terms with the reality that this tension is vitally necessary to keep the movement alive. "Unity in Diversity", captures how ANC has historically managed the inevitable tensions that accompany development and growth in the present.

The ANC leadership had to master the skilful management of the tensions arising from the demands for coherent collective action and the reality that the political environment is not static requiring adaptation, constant adjustment and re-adjustment.

Our people have laid down their lives and made great sacrifices in the struggle for our liberty and in pursuance of the goals for which the ANC has striven. On Robben Island, in Pollsmoor, in Kroonstad, at Standerton and at Pretoria the regime locked away the leaders of our people; the young and the old, men and women, black and white.

In these very dungeons of White domination our comrades continued the struggle through clandestine organisations that had to be built, evolve, grow, develop and mature under the watchful eyes of the regime's warders.

The victories they registered in that unequal battle may be gauged by the slow but steady improvement of the conditions in prison; the incremental changes in the rights prisoners were allowed and by the impact the political prisoners had on their gaolers. While many ex-political prisoners can narrate the callousness and brutality of their gaolers, the stature and gravitas of political prisoners were admired by gaolers and those continuing the struggle outside.

### **Repositioning the External Mission to lead**

The reverses the movement suffered, particularly during the years 1963-1965, compounded by the death of our late President, Chief A. J. Luthuli in 1967, imposed on our External Mission the tasks of representing and leading our movement inside and outside

South Africa. The project of reconstructing a viable ANC organisation had to be initiated and implemented from outside. After 1965 there were no internal structures to receive the units of the Luthuli Detachment that had been trained outside. A tension arose between the movement's leaders and its trained fighters regarding the urgency with which trained fighters could return to the country.

The Revolutionary Council (RC), created by the Morogoro conference in 1969 to which OR Tambo was elected as its head, Yusuf Dadoo as Deputy Head and Joe Mathews as Secretary, was mandated to resolve that problem. The Morogoro strategy and tactics document dealt at length with the relationship between the political and military struggles, and emphasised the primacy of the former. The RC therefore concentrated on political work, especially on the task of re-establishing contact with our people at home, rebuilding our organised presence inside the country, and devising secure networks for the infiltration of personnel and war materials. On the military side, we also focused on the organisational work of building up uMkhonto weSizwe inside the country, raising the quality of both its personnel and the ordinance they received. The seriousness and determination with which the ANC leadership took those internal tasks gave the 1969-74 period a distinctive character, enabling ANC internal structures to recover sufficiently to move forward confidently and to exploit the greater possibilities that emerged during the next five-year period. The role played by Oliver Tambo was pivotal to forging unity within the ANC as well as reaching out to the international community; he was the driving force of the four pillars of our struggle.

The revolutionary council was transformed into the Political-Military Council, with Comrade Josiah Jele as its Secretary. The existence of the PMC allowed the ANC to ensure that its military wing was commanded by the political leadership of the ANC and took direction from the NEC of the ANC.

We take this opportunity to pay tribute to the veterans of our movement, to those who fought in Zimbabwe in 1967 and 1968 and those who came as delegates to the Morogoro Conference to chart our way forward in 1969. We recall the names of Basil February, known as Paul Peterson in the ranks of MK, a young Coloured intellectual from the Western Cape who distinguished himself as a thinker and as a fighter and fell in battle in Rhodesia. We pay tribute also to our MK fighters who volunteered for service to fight alongside FRELIMO in Mozambique and those who became combatants in Angola, fighting to free that country from the yoke of colonialism.

### **Internal reconstruction**

After the establishment of the RC at Morogoro our organised contact with the people also improved thanks to the steady penetration of our propaganda, transmitted by word of mouth, in actions, in print and on the airwaves. Radio Freedom, initially set up inside the country during the 1960s, was re-established first in Zambia and Tanzania during 1973, and steadily acquired facilities in three other African states so that by January 1990, we were beaming eight hours of ANC information and propaganda into the country daily! Radio Freedom gave the ANC the capacity to hold virtual mass meetings, covering all of South Africa, on a daily basis. The underground propaganda units operating from various points inside the country and from a few select countries abroad also made the organised presence of our movement felt among our people through imaginative propaganda.

The challenges were:

- how to reconstruct the ANC as an underground political movement operating under conditions of totalitarian repression inside South Africa;
- how to revive the spirit of militancy among the oppressed;
- how to create a political environment conducive to the infiltration of military personnel and materiel into the country;
- and how to revive mass struggles.

Our strategy entailed attaining four inter-related goals:

- making the ANC an organised presence among the people of South Africa; generalising among the mass of our people an appreciation that revolutionary violence was not only necessary but could be successfully deployed against what appeared to be a formidable enemy;
- stimulating among our people the understanding that without their active support and protection, the armed cadres of the movement could not hope to survive in the country;
- inspiring their self-organisation in every form of mass organization to actively engage in struggle to overthrow the apartheid regime;
- And creating secure lines of communication between units on the ground and the leadership for purposes of intelligence and counter-intelligence.

For its success the armed liberation struggle would have to be built on four interdependent pillars - the ANC underground; mass political mobilisation; armed struggle; and international solidarity.

At the heart of this strategy were the politically mobilised and active masses of our people who had to be drawn into the mass political struggle in every conceivable way through the leadership and political influence of the ANC underground. These struggles too were to be coordinated and meshed for an effective political offensive against the apartheid regime and all its structures. It was therefore the task of the movement to avail itself of whatever political space existed, even under the totalitarian apartheid regime, to further the struggle, by encouraging the formation of organised popular structures at the local, regional and national levels and striving to bring them under the overall leadership of the ANC. The armed struggle would thus be based on and grow out of the mass political struggle.

We were confident that the pace and level of struggle inside the country would stimulate international solidarity, whose effectiveness, in turn, would act as a further stimulus to mass struggles.

We were confident that as the struggle progressed, the coordination among these various planes could culminate in armed action to overthrow and dismantle all the machinery of the apartheid regime. Such a climax might arise as a result of the cumula-

tive effect of armed and mass struggles or as a general insurrection of the oppressed, spearheaded by the people's army, uMkhonto weSizwe.

Nkosi Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the KwaZulu Bantustan, a former member of the ANC Youth League took up his position in the KwaZulu Bantustan after consultations with the ANC leadership and was asked to use the legal space provided by the bantustan programme to participate in the mass mobilisation of our people on the sound basis of orienting the masses to focus on the struggle for a united and non-racial South Africa. However, this did not happen and Inkatha became a force of opposition to the ANC in Natal and Kwa Zulu. He did, however, reset the overtones of the Apartheid regime to accept independence for the Kwa Zulu bantustan.

We take this opportunity to pay tribute to the veterans of our movement, to those who fought in Zimbabwe in 1967 and 1968; to those who came as delegates to the Morogoro Conference; to those who joined forces with Frelimo fighters in Mozambique, and to those who fought alongside MPLA in Angola during the 1960s and '70s.

These comrades are the men and women who staffed the organs of the movement established at Morogoro to rebuild our political and combat capacity as enjoined by the Morogoro conference. Some were captured, demobilised and served long prison sentences on Robben Island and other prisons. Others fell in enemy ambushes, were killed or captured. We recall the honoured names of Flag Boshielo, an indefatigable liberation fighter who had distinguished himself in struggle since the Defiance Campaign; of Faldon Mziwonke, a seasoned peasant fighter whose track record stretches back to the 1940s, all of whom perished at Katima Mulilio in their effort to reach home.

Today we make bold to say that had it not been for the steadfast commitment and loyalty of these comrades to our movement and our revolution, there might very well have been no ANC to join when the youth poured out of our country after the Soweto Uprising of 1976. It was these comrades who became the military, political and organisational instructors of a new crop of recruits, who had been steeled in the street battles of that year.

In rebuilding the ANC among the people, we designed all our structures to become the tribunes of the people, capable of giving leadership and guiding the search for viable remedies to the people's plight. 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 evident in their leadership of the people in struggle.

The African National Congress pinned the imperative of national unity through struggle to its mast of the from its very inception. The youth took up the cudgels during the late 1960s, borrowing freely from movements in the USA and other parts of the world, and organised themselves in students' bodies that served to arouse and mobilise crucial sectors of our people to political activity that had declined after 1965. During the 1970s the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), which found fertile ground among our student youth, emerged as a distinct political and organisational force within our country. As a matter of course, the ANC had to define its attitude towards this movement. In statement issued after its second session in 1973, the NEC of the ANC said:

*“In the last few years... there has come into being a number of black organisations whose programmes, who by espousing the democratic, anti-racist positions that the ANC fights for identify them as part of the genuine forces of the revolution.”*

The NEC statement went on to elaborate:

*“The assertion of the national identity of the oppressed black peoples is... not an end in itself. It can be a vital force of the revolutionary action involving the masses of the people. For, it is in struggle, in the actual physical confrontation with the enemy, that the people gain a lasting confidence in their own strength and in the inevitability of final victory - it is through action that the people acquire true psychological emancipation.”*

Proceeding from these positions, the ANC sought to establish relations with the forces represented in the BCM and to engage with them on the collective revolutionary experience of our people.

Our aim was to establish close fraternal relations with this movement and to encourage it to grow as an instrument for the mass mobilisation of our people into struggle.

This was by no means an easy, uncomplicated and straightforward process. We encountered and had to combat an idea that was beginning to emerge among some circles, particularly outside our country, that the BCM could consolidate itself as a political formation to replace the ANC or as a parallel movement, enjoying the same legitimacy as the ANC.

We denied the ANC's opponents any and both these possibilities by our manner of engagement with the BCM. Despite the severe setbacks we had suffered during the sixties, the enemy had failed to destroy the prestige of the ANC among our people. Because of our movement's continuing status, the quiet re-establishment of our presence internally, together with the activities that we undertook within the country, the youth whom the BCM was organising were at least conscious of the ANC though most had grown up without any direct experience of or contact with the ANC. This enabled us to build our relations with activists of the BCM and by so doing to frustrate the schemes of those who sought to build a so-called “Third Force”, positioned to the right of the ANC.

The ANC has always recognised the impressive, positive contribution made by the BCM in activating of our people and mobilising especially the youth into struggle. On this occasion, we once again pay tribute to and salute the young militants who took up the banner of the freedom struggle at a time when open political activity was at its lowest ebb. We also recognise the significant ideological contribution of the BCM towards building unity among the black oppressed masses of our country, that emphasised the common oppression endured by Africans, Coloureds and Asians alike and underscoring our shared destiny. Building on political positions that our movement had canvassed and fought for since the end of WWII, the BCM became one of many emergent movements building a united front against the institutions and the ideology of White racism. BCM's popularisation of the term “Black”, to designate all the victims of national oppression also had the salutary effect of inverting the logic of racism and breaking the pathologies of self-loathing and the racist inspired myth that the African people might be immigrants from elsewhere with no original claims on South Africa.

While expressing our profound appreciation of the contribution of the BCM, we also

recognised some of its limitations, which cast our struggle solely in racial terms.

### **International solidarity and the incalculable contribution of the region**

The ANC owes a great deal of gratitude to countries around the world.

Building on the initial contact by comrade Gumede and the relationship between the USSR and the CPSA, Comrade Oliver Tambo visited Moscow, Soviet Union in April 1963 and a versatile system of mutual contacts and co-operation was developed.

Unfortunately too often this co-operation is reduced by outside observers to the military sphere. The assistance to Umkhonto we Sizwe constituted an important, but just one of, the fields of interrelations between the USSR and the liberation movement in South Africa. Other forms of assistance included humanitarian (food, clothes, etc), financial and training of medical personnel and other forms of academic training.

The ANC also acknowledges the support we received from Vietnam, China, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and many other countries in the world.

We are also indebted to countries such as Norway, Sweden, Denmark and others in Europe and Africa who supported our political school, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) and also assisted our cadres to study elsewhere in the world.

The people of Zambia, through their independence movement and mass organisations, received and assisted our movement even prior to their independence. Zambia hosted every liberation movement of this region for close to thirty years, earning itself the opprobrium of the racists and colonialist regimes who subjected its territory and people to acts of terror, its infrastructure to sabotage and its towns and cities to aerial bombardment. We single out Dr Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's founding President, as one of the most outstanding examples of pan-African solidarity in deeds and words, without whose support the ANC might well not have weathered the years of exile as safely as we did.

We salute also Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, founding president of the United Republic of Tanzania. An African elder statesman of rare quality with an unimpeachable commitment to the liberation of our continent. Tanzania did not only accommodate our movement, but also offered us land and facilities to build and develop our school, SOMAFCO, outside Morogoro, which stands as a living monument to the sacrifices made by the peoples and governments of this region to the freedom struggle.

Angola, an independent state that came into being despite the worst designs of the Pretoria regime and its international backers, under the leadership of that great son of Africa, Agostinho Neto, and the leadership of the MPLA, served as a secure rear base for our army and its personnel until 1988. We doff our caps to the heroic people of this nation for the sacrifices they made on our behalf. Angola, more than any other country of the region, paid an incalculable price for its principles and lost two decades that might otherwise have been invested in development in war, because of its commitment to the liberation of our continent.

At regular intervals after the collapse of the South African United Front, our movement was subjected to strong pressure from within the OAU and other supporters in the world

community to unite with the PAC. The leadership and the ANC's membership jointly resisted this pressure because we were convinced that meaningful unity must grow in struggle among forces that are actually confronting the enemy.

A significant number of democratic activists, particularly from among the youth involved in trade union politics, sought to transform the ANC into a socialist party and to project it as such. Though well intentioned, such misguided attempts to compromise the multi-class character of the ANC would not enhance, but could well have weakened the striking power of a movement capable of galvanising people across both racial and class barriers. Underscoring the ANC's core ethic, anti-sexism, non-racialism helps to ensure that this movement does not splinter into ineffectual tiny factions, battling over the same political constituency.

### **The world arena – the other side of the coin**

The United States Government embraced the so-called National Security Study memorandum 39, drafted under the guidance of Dr Henry Kissinger in 1969, brazenly proclaiming:

*“For the foreseeable future South Africa will be able to maintain internal stability and effectively counter insurgent activity.”*

With a myopia induced by racial arrogance and a serious underestimation of our peoples' determination, it continued:

*“The whites are here to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the Blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the communists... We can, through selective relaxation of our stance towards the white regimes, encourage some modifications of their current racial and colonial policies... At the same time, we would take diplomatic steps to convince the black States of the area that their current liberation and majority rule aspirations in the south are not attainable by violence and that their only hope for a peaceful and prosperous future lies in closer relations with the white-dominated States.”*

That memorandum, except for an inter-regnum under Carter, formed the basis of US policy towards the liberation of southern Africa, embroiling the US in Pretoria's sub-imperial adventures in Angola and other parts of our region.

The ANC led a vigorous campaign among African states to thwart Vorster's pseudo-detente, whose object was to isolate the liberation movement and its most consistent supporters amongst the states of Africa. In 1974 Vorster pleaded:

*“Give South Africa a six month's chance by not making our road harder than it is already...”*

It remains extremely regrettable that one or two African states, that were neither economically dependent on nor geographically close to South Africa allowed themselves to become willing pawns in a conflict they either did not understand or had been misled to view as an example of “Communist subversion.”

In 1973, owing to the growing prestige of our movement, the OAU agreed to seat the liberation movements as observers at all future OAU meetings and gatherings. In 1974,

under the Presidency of Algeria, the General Assembly of the United Nations, in one of the movement's greatest diplomatic victories, rejected the credentials of the racist regime. Its Western allies failed to stop that outcome.

That victory was crowned when the South African liberation movements, the ANC and the PAC were recognised as the legitimate representatives of the people of South Africa by the United Nations. It was truly consolidated by the General Assembly decision according us the status of official observers to the United Nations. In 1976, for the first time ever, the ANC addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations, accepted, alongside the PAC as a representative of our people and entitled to be heard by the nations represented in that august body.

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 a democracy. The Boycott Movement, (later the Anti-Apartheid Movement) founded in London in 1959 in response to a call by Chief Albert Luthuli played an enormous role in bringing apartheid atrocities to the attention of people in Western democracies. Through a series of campaigns and coordinated events, the AAM aided in bringing about the increased international isolation of the apartheid regime.

We salute the Anti-Apartheid Movement worldwide for its role in advancing the struggle for democracy in South Africa. The AA solidarity movement remains one of the greatest multi-class, multi-religious, international solidarity movements ever seen in history.

The extent and depth of the popular pressure it was able to generate forced changes on reluctant politicians, not least the Republican administration of Ronald Reagan, that had assumed office with the phrase "Constructive Engagement" on its lips in 1981.

The swelling ranks of the US anti-apartheid lobby, spearheaded by TransAfrica and the Congressional Black Caucus, finally broke resistance to sanctions among western states by passing the Anti-Apartheid Act (Triple A) with a majority that over-rode a possible Presidential veto.

### **Soweto uprising and its aftermath.**

With the accessions to power of FRELIMO and the MPLA in their respective countries in 1975 southern Africa experienced the emergence of a new kind of state born of armed revolutionary struggle. Our people, inside racist rules South Africa, demonstrated in action their embrace, acceptance and solidarity with the revolutionary perspectives associated with FRELIMO and the MPLA. The FRELIMO rallies of June 1975, for which some leaders and activists of the BCM were arrested, charged and sentenced to imprisonment vindicated the positions we had taken to deal with the BCM not in a competitive spirit but to relate to it as part of the broad movement for national liberation.

But the truly decisive watershed was the uprising detonated by the pupils and high school students of Soweto after a five month protest against the unilateral imposition of Afrikaans as a language of instruction in African schools. In a rebellion unprecedented in the annals of radical social change, teenagers and even younger pupils shattered the unnatural quiescence that had descended on the country after the repressions of the 1960s.

The message of the Soweto Uprising was clear enough: it announced that we had entered a new phase in our struggle; a phase that would be marked by an ever-sharpening confrontation between the masses of our people and the apartheid regime; a phase during which the mass offensive would, to all intents and purposes, be continuous and uninterrupted; a phase that placed the issue of the resumption of the armed struggle firmly on our agenda; a phase that would require us to devise tactics in response to the reality that the apartheid, with the support of its traditional allies, would use, and continue to use, maximum force against our insurgent but unarmed people.

With hindsight, we can today say that the national uprising that drew in every province of the country and all sections of the oppressed, signalled the passing of the strategic initiative from the racist regime to the movement for freedom of our oppressed struggling people. After Soweto we never looked back. Every action, proposal and scheme devised by the regimes was thenceforth defensive; an attempt designed to stem the inexorable drive to freedom.

During this period, the victories of the national liberation movement in southern Africa in particular, raised the level of militancy among our own people, spurring them to further action. Significant, new possibilities emerged for us to reach into our country. Allies with whom we had cooperated for a decades in the struggle for national liberation now were in government in Mozambique and Angola. Because of these developments from 1975 onwards, we were able to establish an official presence in the Kingdom of Swaziland. Among the independent countries of southern Africa, Malawi was the exception as having no official relations with the liberation movement. At the same time, and as a result of these developments, the political crisis of the apartheid regime became ever more apparent and emerged into the open.

The apartheid regime intensified its acts of terror and low-intensity warfare on Black communities in South Africa. Organisationally, the capacity of the ANC - in political and military terms- had not yet reached the stage where it could capitalise fully on the situation created by the Soweto uprisings. The regimes strategy to divide and rule the people of South Africa and the creation of the Bantustans as a tool of division and repression was indeed a major challenge to the ANC. Our underground political structures were in the beginning stages of preparing conducive conclusions for our military presence inside the country.

The communication links between the movement outside the country and the masses of our people were too sluggish and weak to meet the situation. Nonetheless our comrades inside the country, many of them former Robben Island prisoners, played an outstanding role and were able to make an ANC input, however limited, in the conduct of the battles waged in 1976-77.

Special mention can also be made of comrades like Joe Gqabi, Nonzamo Winnie Madikizela, Harry Gwala, Zolli Malindi, Mme Lesia, Mama Mahlangu, Dorothy Myembe, Lawrence and Rita Ndzanga, Samson Ndou, Albertina Sisulu, Helen Joseph, Bertha Gxowa and others, who were linked directly with the insurgent youth.

The generation of young fighters who flocked into the ranks of our movement, swelled the detachments of Mkhonto weSizwe with an energetic crop of fighters who were determined to resume the battles of that year equipped with modern political and military skills. They were a generation that demonstrated the capacity to spit fire at the most prestigious capital projects of the apartheid regime; to strike at its most sensitive installations and to bombard its most secure military machineries, compelling its strategists to devise defensive measures that spoke of the regime's vulnerability.

We cannot overemphasise the importance of the blows struck by the units of the June 16th, Moncada, Mmadinoga and other detachments of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe composed of the participants in the Soweto uprising. The members of these units, like Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu, Sello Moegerane, Obadi, Mduduzeli Guma, Victor Douglas, Krishna Rabilal, Anton Fransch and many others, despite their youth, left us with an inspirational heritage of combat and fearlessness that underscores the vital importance not only of courage, but also of revolutionary discipline and the spirit of self-sacrifice.

Desperate attempts were made by elements in the USA, often by well intentioned persons, and in independent Africa and in Western Europe, to form a youth political organisation. They did not succeed. We acknowledge the contribution of youth leaders of the time including Tsietsi Mashinini who decided to face the might of the apartheid state with stones for they refused to be treated like lepers in their own country.

### **The Year of the Spear and ANC on the offensive**

By 1979, the end of the phase under discussion, the ANC has attained maximum political and organisational unity. Its prestige among the people was high. There was no serious formation that could be posed as a viable alternative. It had demonstrated both its political and military capacity in deeds. What faced us was the challenge of continuously increasing and escalating the offensive with the support of our people.

It was in this context that we declared 1979, the centenary of the Battle of Isandlwana, the Year of the Spear, to be a massive propaganda campaign, coordinated by a sub-committee established for the purpose in the Office of the President. The armed actions which we had resumed in 1977 were having the political impact we desired. In the light of that reality we undertook to popularise the armed struggle, taking advantage of that centenary by evoking the heroism of our forebears in the wars of resistance to colonial domination.

The Year of the Spear would mobilise the masses of our people for increased involvement in the armed struggle, help further to inspire our people to make the sacrifices that armed struggle necessarily entails, and also remind them of the military traditions that had made the spectacular battlefield victory at Isandlwana possible.

It is of note that during 1979, the NEC sub-committee and activists inside the country used the weapon of culture to popularise the ideas of the Year of the Spear, drawing our attention to the importance of this medium of communication, to its value and its potency in the organised formations of our people and for stimulating a liberatory cultural movement.

The Year of the Spear also signified that we were beginning to pass over from the defensive to the offensive. The ANC was beginning to determine the political agenda of the day rather than reacting to what the enemy was doing.

The movement of Cultural workers grew as the mass movement gathered momentum with significant milestones being the Gaborone Cultural Festival of 1983, culminating in the Gala international fest, 'Culture in Another South Africa' staged by the city of Amsterdam in 1987. Popular musicians and other performers played a continuing role on the international stage during the 1980s. A British rocker, Billy Dammers, after popularising a song demanding the release of Nelson Mandela helped stage a concert, organised by the AA and the ANC making the same demand at Wembley Football stadium in London, from where the televised show was beamed into millions of homes in the west. In the space of one afternoon a youthful international Rock audience was conscientised about our struggle for freedom, with an imprisoned leader of exceptional moral stature. The cultural front of the international solidarity movement reached its peak during the years leading to Mandela's release on 11th February 1990.

### **The 1980s and the convergence of all opposition on the ANC**

The renewal of organised mass opposition to the apartheid state and the institutions of racial commenced during the 1970s heralded by the massive strike wave of 1973, which marks the beginning of Black working class self-mobilisation that steadily snowballed to become a decisive feature of the political landscape.

The events of 1973 unfroze politics, helping to stimulate political activity on a scale unknown for almost ten years. The emergence and growth of structures among religious and other communities created an ever widening front of pro-democracy forces. By the early 1980s, the regime had banned all our peoples' organisations and gathering to discuss our oppression was virtually impossible. People survived by gathering in women's, students, workers and issue-based organisations. These organisations multiplied throughout the country.

In August 1983, representatives from over 475 "grassroots" organisations from across the country came together in Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town to form a single, overarching organisation: the UDF. Within months over 600 organisations had joined in. This heralded a new stage in the mass struggle for the South African liberation.

The UDF had the support of the African National Congress (ANC) and UDF organisations became a way to link with the ANC's internal underground structures, and to establish contacts with the ANC in exile. The escalation of mass struggles was the central feature of politics during the 1980's. The founding of the United Democratic Front, with the active participation of ANC activists operating in the underground and in mass formations in 1983; the unification of the democratic trade union movement under the banner of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the proliferation of mass formations and organs of struggle among Women, youth and within communities led to the crystallisation of a Mass Democratic Movement made up of political formations, organs of civil society and community bodies. Opposition to the racist regime assumed a variety of forms, expressing itself in cultural, sporting, academic and other formations.

Many Christian, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim and Leaders from the African independent Churches, were involved in the formation and nurturing of the ANC over the years. The South African Council of Churches in collaboration with the World Council of Churches and Church Organisations from many other countries became involved in the campaign to have sanctions applied to South Africa we particularly recall the involvement of Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Canon Calata, Revered Beyers Naude, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Ellen Busack, Revered Frank Chikani, Imam Gasant Solomon, the Muslim Judicial Council, the Hindu Religious Organisations had all become partners with the ANC in the struggle for the end to apartheid.

It is important to recall the vital role that sports has played to mobilise communities against participating in sporting events that gave credibility to the apartheid regime. Under the slogan "No normal sport in an abnormal society, many sporting codes refrain from participating in international sporting events". South Africa was re-admitted to participate in the Olympics after 1990.

A vibrant democratic media, funded through sources mobilised by the ANC in the international community, also made its appearance to offer alternative sources of information to both the general public but especially to political activists.

By the end of 1983, it was increasingly evident that the ANC had earned growing acceptance amongst our people as the leader and coordinator of the liberation struggle and as the movement with a coherent strategy for taking on the racist regime. As virtually all the liberatory trends in South Africa increasingly converged on the ANC, we took the initiative in encouraging the formation of a front of democratic bodies, organisations and structures that could employ the remaining public political space to actively campaign for democratic change.

The most enduring facet of these upheavals was the emergence of a broad strategic alliance, embracing the Mass Democratic Movement and the national liberation alliance under the leadership of the ANC. This strategic alliance, tempered in the heat of the mass struggles of the time, became the spearhead of the national democratic forces coalesced around the Freedom Charter, giving overall leadership and coherence to the mass struggles.

The mobilisation of Student's Representative Councils among secondary school students brought liberatory politics to an even younger generation. We actively encouraged the formation of a number of mass democratic bodies for the youth which matured into SAYCO, AZASO and COSAS.

Compelled to operating from external headquarters over 30 years, the ANC's leading bodies were required to coordinate the operations of structures spread across the globe. In addition to its own membership and supporters we maintained a multi-faceted relationship with a number of other bodies - sister liberation movements, various supportive political parties, fraternal governments and solidarity movements.

By the marshalling all these forces and working in closer and more effective coordination, the movement finally brought the apartheid regime to the table, compelling it to seek a negotiated settlement with the forces of national liberation.

Our movement survived the most determined repression that began with our illegalisation, the execution of our members, the imprisonment of some of our most gifted leaders, the assassination of own cadres and members, as well the “informal repression” of our supporters through the agency of mercenaries and counter-revolutionary vigilantes.

The regime had begun to introduce cosmetic reforms and tried to convince Black people that they had a say in their governance, through e.g. the Tricameral Parliament and Black Local Authorities. The ANC and our structures (through the UDF) mobilised against these measures and they were rightly rejected.

In 1985, the ANC called on township residents to make townships ungovernable by destroying the Black Local Authorities. Councillors and police were called on to resign. Municipal buildings and homes of collaborators were attacked. As the administrative system broke down, people established their own democratic structures to run the community, including street committees and people’s courts. An atmosphere of mass insurrection prevailed in many townships and rural towns across the country during 1985 and 1986. Mass struggles and the armed struggle began to support one another. Troops and police who had moved into the townships at the end of 1984 engaged in running battles with youths - armed with stones and petrol bombs - in an effort to re-establish control.

The regime, again, reacted with short-sightedness and predictability by becoming more violent and repressive. It declared a state of emergency over many parts of the country in July 1985 and this became a national state of emergency in June 1986.

Over 300 000 people were detained; the UDF and its affiliates were banned from all activities and COSATU was restricted from all political activity. Government units killed activists and the South African Defence Force led raids into neighbouring countries to destroy ANC bases. The regime gave support to organisations such as RENAMO and Unita as part of their strategy to destabilise neighbouring governments sympathetic to the ANC.

The struggle for people’s power in the 1980s shook the foundations of the bantustan system. The regime tried desperately to save itself by also supporting vigilante groups and suppressing popular resistance and the growth of community organisations inside South Africa. There is evidence that they did this in the former homelands and by supporting elements within the erstwhile homelands.

By the second half of 1986 the ANC was visibly establishing itself as the alternative centre of power in South Africa, directly contesting that of the White minority state.

This gave the ANC leadership the confidence to attempt implanting an ANC leadership corps, with both military and underground organisational capacity inside the country. This operation, code-named “Vul’indlela”, (lit :Open the Way; fig: Pathfinder), under the personal supervision of the ANC President, Oliver Tambo, its purpose was to prepare the ground inside South Africa for the return of a decisive element of the ANC’s leadership and to prepare for an armed insurrection.

The name Cuito Cuanevale is destined to live on in the annals of Southern African liberation wars as the site where the myth of the apartheid regime’s power was finally

shattered. The small Afro-Caribbean nation of Cuba, which had actively supported African liberation movements from the 1960s, risked all – including her own security, for the cause of Africa's liberation. As Fidel Castro explained,

*“... , in this action the revolution put everything at stake, it put its own existence at stake, it risked a huge battle against one of the strongest powers located in the area of the Third World, one of the richest powers, ..., at such a great distance from our small country and with our own resources, our own arms. We even ran the risk of weakening our defenses, and we did so. We used our ships, and ours alone, and we used our equipment to change the relationship of forces, which made success possible in that battle. I'm not aware of any other time when a war broke out at such a distance between so small a country and such a great power as that possessed by the South African racists. ... we were there for fifteen years...because the way we saw it, that problem had to be solved; simply put, South Africa had to be prevented from invading Angola...if we wanted peace in Angola, if we wanted security in Angola, we had to prevent South Africa from invading Angola. And if we wanted to prevent the South Africans from invading, we had to assemble the forces and the weapons necessary to prevent them from doing so.”*

In November 1987 the battles between the armed forces of Angola (FAPLA) and apartheid South Africa's Defence Force came to a head at Cuito Cuanavale, when the apartheid troops encircled an Angolan garrison. Between January and March 1988, a combined force of FAPLA, Cuban troops and the Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) repulsed five assaults by the apartheid army and destroyed its capacity to fight at Cuito Cuanavale then forced them to withdraw completely Angolan territory.

The victory of the revolutionary armies at Cuito Cuanavale went beyond the defeat of the apartheid army on the battlefield. Angolan sovereignty was reaffirmed. In July 1988 representatives of Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the USA signed a framework for the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola. Those talks ended with the apartheid regime accepting the independence of Namibia in principle. In December 1988 a final agreement was signed.

The psychological impact of the battle of Cuito Cuanavale on the progressive movement in South Africa, Southern Africa and the world was profound. It confirmed the vulnerability of the apartheid regime by demonstrating that the threat of heavy losses among White military conscripts was unacceptable to the White supporters of the regime.

In December 1989 the Mass Democratic Movement in South Africa, came together in a Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF) to discuss a democratic dispensation in a free South Africa.

The last Cuban troops left Angola in May 1991, one year after Namibia had celebrated its independence and the establishment of democracy under SWAPO. In a tribute to Cuba and to the gallant Cuban fighters who had come to the assistance of Africa's liberation struggle, Nelson Mandela said,

*“Your presence and the reinforcement of your forces in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale was of truly historic significance. The crushing defeat of the racist army at Cuito Cuanavale was a victory for the whole Africa! The overwhelming defeat of the racist army at*

*Cuito Cuanavale provided the possibility for Angola to enjoy peace and consolidate its own sovereignty! The defeat of the racist army allowed the struggling people of Namibia to finally win their independence! The decisive defeat of the apartheid aggressors broke the myth of invincibility of the white oppressors! The defeat of the apartheid army was an inspiration to the struggling people inside South Africa! Without the defeat of Cuito Cuanavale our organizations would not have been unbanned! The defeat of the racist army at Cuito Cuanavale has made it possible for me to be here today! Cuito Cuanavale was a milestone in the history of the struggle for southern African liberation! Cuito Cuanavale has been a turning point in the struggle to free the continent and our country from the scourge of apartheid!"*

We pay special tribute to the Cuban people and their government, who at great cost to themselves, sent their most courageous sons and daughters to a continent on the other side of the Atlantic, not in pursuit of oil, minerals, diamonds or raw materials to exploit, but to defend the African revolution and to help defeat an obnoxious system of racial oppression.

### **Returning from Exile and Underground**

The darkest hours come just before dawn and so it was too with our movement. The ANC and other organisations were unbanned in February 1990.

These were the first public indications that the regime may be willing to negotiate a peaceful transition to democracy, although there had been overtures to the ANC before. Leaders and activists of the movement began to return home, were released from jails across the country and underground activists began to operate openly. The ANC began to establish legitimate branch and regional structures of the movement inside the country. Nelson Mandela was elected President and Oliver Tambo as National Chairperson at the 1991 National Conference. This was the first legal Conference of the ANC inside South Africa and was held in Durban in July 1991.

### **Negotiating Peace**

The ANC was committed to ending apartheid through a series of negotiations and participated fully in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), even under the most trying of circumstances and the most outrageous provocation from our enemies.

The CODESA I period commenced on 20 December 1991 and working groups were appointed to deal with specific issues, i.e. the new constitution, the setting up of the interim government, the future of the homelands, time period for the implementation of the changes and the electoral system.

The second session, CODESA II, commenced in May 1992 but in June 1992 the Boipatong Massacre took place and the ANC was convinced that the government was complicit in this massacre. This heinous massacre, together with the National Party's insistence on the disbandment of MK; disagreements over the role of the public broadcaster and the National Party's insistence on a minority veto within government led to the eventual collapse of CODESA II.

The ANC began a campaign of mass action to prepare for the first democratic, multi-racial elections and eventually led a march into the then Ciskei (Bisho) to demand its re-incorporation into South Africa during the last days of apartheid. On 7 September 1992,

about 80 000 protesters gathered outside Bisho, signalling the wide opposition to Oupa Gqozo's rule. The meeting was led by senior ANC leaders including comrades Chris Hani, Cyril Ramaphosa, Steve Tshwete and Ronnie Kasrils. When comrade Kasrils led a group trying to break through the Ciskei Defence Force lines to enter Bisho, Ciskei Defence Force soldiers opened fire on the marchers with automatic weapons, killing 28 marchers and one soldier, and injuring over 200.

This massacre brought home the absolute necessity of returning to the negotiation table and the ANC and the National Party resumed talks. A few months after the collapse of CODESA II, a Multi-Party Negotiation Process (MPNP) began to pursue the issues that CODESA had failed to resolve.

The ANC broke the deadlock by proposing the compromise of 'sunset clauses' which prescribed the Government of National Unity and guaranteed certain regime officials continued employment in the democratic dispensation. Once again, the ANC illustrated far-reaching magnanimity and generosity of spirit that is often seen as weakness and taken advantage off by those not of the revolutionary tradition.

The regime and its agents continued to undermine the negotiations efforts by heinous acts such as the assassination of comrade Chris Hani, but the ANC and our allies realised the destructive potential of these acts. We vowed to our people that the perpetrators would be brought to justice and continued to commit ourselves to a peaceful transition.

The ANC also said a tragic goodbye to comrade OR Tambo when he passed away of a stroke on 24 April 1993.

## **PART B: THE START OF THE JOURNEY: BUILDING A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC, NON-RACIAL AND NON-SEXIST SOUTH AFRICA**

### **The democratic exercise of peoples' power**

On 27 April 1994; millions of South Africans - black and white - voted in the first democratic elections. People queued for hours to exercise this hard fought basic human right of choosing their own leaders.

The ANC won these elections with an overwhelming majority.

Comrade Nelson Mandela became the first president of the democratically elected government of South Africa.

The ANC, as leader of the Government of National Unity (GNU) went to work immediately to begin the process of repealing the dehumanising apartheid legal framework. The pervasive and overwhelming nature of apartheid laws continues to strike us to this day.

The ANC achieved much in the first years of democracy; firstly and most importantly- we equalised access to government services across all the races.

We also played a fundamental part in addressing the realities of apartheid through the establishment and participation of the ANC in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The TRC was set up as a way for the South African people to deal with the violence and human rights abuses that took place on all sides of the liberation struggle.

The ANC as ruling party, together with the people of our country, put in place one of the best constitutions in the world. This constitution is supported by many institutions put in place to protect it, such as the Commission for Gender Equality, the Human Rights Commission, the Public Protector and others.

The first eighteen years of freedom brought new rights, responsibilities and opportunities for every sector of our society – for the young and the aged, professionals and rural people, men and women, workers and employers. The ANC remained steadfast in its commitment to the vision of the Freedom Charter and the policies contained in the RDP to build a South Africa that belongs to all, to ensure a better life for all and the transformation of our society. This vision for the first two decades of freedom are encapsulated in the following pillars:

- The building of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society;
- Deepening our democracy, the culture of human rights and people's participation in changing their lives for the better;
- Meeting basic needs and developing human resources;
- Building the economy and creating jobs;
- Combating crime and corruption;
- Transforming the state.
- Building a better Africa and a better world.

### **Deepening democracy, human dignity and equality**

We said in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) “...our people, with their aspirations and collective determination, are our most important resources. In linking democracy, development, human rights and a people centred approach, we are paving the way for a new democratic order. The thorough going democratisation of our society ... that must transform both the state and civil society, is (therefore) an active process enabling everybody to contribute.”

Our Constitution in its founding provisions sets out the values of our new and fledgling democracy as human dignity; the achievement of equality; the advancement of human rights and freedoms; non-racialism and non-sexism; the supremacy of the Constitution; the rule of law and universal adult suffrage; a national common voters roll; regular elections and a multi-party system of democratic government.

Based on these provisions of the Constitution we have transformed Parliament, set up Chapter 9 Institutions, put in place programmes for public participation and have repealed discriminatory laws and enacted policies and laws that enables gender equality. The policy framework and institutions we have put in place to ensure a caring society

and a culture of human rights are but the first steps. To make this a reality we must continue to expand access to basic amenities for all our citizens; food security; protection and a safety-net for vulnerable sections of our society; education and public awareness programmes to inform people about their rights; that children and youth are socialised in the values of our new society; a public sector that is people-centred in its orientation and a civil society that is mobilised behind the vision of a caring and humane society.

The constitutional obligation to strive for a clean and healthy environment has been placed on the national agenda. Awareness about the environmental rights and responsibilities of citizens are growing. Government has adopted various policies on environmental management, with special attention on those issues, which contribute to creating a better life and the sustainable use of resources not only for the present generations, but also for future generations.

The ANC and the liberation alliance have been the most consistent advocates of an inclusive South African nationhood, expressed in the vision of the Freedom Charter that 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white...' The resolution of the national question has therefore been a centrepiece of our policies – during the liberation struggle and in the process of transforming South Africa. We have noted that that the national question 'is a complex of socio-economic and political power relations' which is inextricably linked to the attainment of the strategic objective of the NDR, the liberation of the blacks in general and Africans in particular from political and economic bondage.

Eighteen years after 1994, we have eliminated institutionalised racism, all adult South African citizens have the vote, and all racial (and most gender) restrictions on property rights, on access to the professions, trades and forms of work have been abolished, the instruments of labour coercion have been done away with, and our democratic Constitution guarantees equality and freedoms for all.

However, the process of developing a sense of common nationhood, or a common vision of the future, has been slow. We continue to have different and differing perspectives on the processes unfolding in our country. Despite the progress we have made, there remain deep fault lines in our society that continue to undermine our vision of a united, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa. These fault lines include the persistence of poverty, old and new forms of inequality and the persistence of patriarchal relations that continues to marginalise women.

Our struggle against apartheid - in recognition of the role of women in this struggle and since the formation of the ANC Women's League in the 1940s - started to integrate the struggle for the emancipation of women. The defeat of apartheid however did not imply the automatic achievement of freedom for women. The ANC has recognised that gender equality and a non-sexist society is not a by-product of democracy, but has to be consciously build. The Second Women's Charter (building on the first Women's Charter of the 1950s), adopted in February 1994, outlined the kinds of laws that women expected from a democratic government. These laws focused on the immediate and practical needs of women as well as the overall strategic needs of changing the power relations between women and men.

The adoption of the most democratic Constitution in 1996, that guarantees the equal rights for women and men, was the starting point on which we build over the last eighteen years.

It is therefore thanks to the South African women's movement, the ANC and its allies' efforts that today gender equality is not only on the agenda of our society but that practical steps are taken in government, in the private sector and unions, in education and in all other sectors to address gender inequality. Women's empowerment has become the order of the day. Quantitative and qualitative changes in gender relations are the issues that our society is grappling with and will continue to grapple with.

### **Meeting Basic Needs**

A central aim of transformation in our country is to uplift the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor, the majority of whom are African and female. ' How we have set about this task, is outlined in the RDP (1993) when it states that we are "committed to a programme of sustainable development, which addresses the needs of our people without compromising the interest of future generations. Without meeting basic needs, no political democracy can survive in South Africa. Attacking poverty is (therefore) the first priority of the democratic government.

The strategy for meeting basic needs rest on four pillars, namely, creating opportunities for all South Africans to develop to their full potential; boosting production and household income through job creation, improving conditions of employment; improving living conditions through better access to basic physical and social services, health care and education and training for urban and rural communities and establishing a social security system and other safety nets to protect the poor, the disabled, the elderly and other vulnerable groups.

This should be realized through a process of empowerment, which gives the poor control over their lives and increases their ability to mobilize sufficient development resources, including from the democratic government where necessary. The RDP reflects a commitment to grassroots, bottom-up development that is owned and driven by communities and their respective organizations."

We have moved some way to ensure access to basic services in areas such as health care, social security, housing, electricity, water and sanitation, education, etc. We have also through our local structures sought to ensure the mobilisation of communities around the objectives of reconstruction and development, through campaigns around local issues, a participatory people's budget process (IDPs) and the creation of community forums such as Community Policing, democratic School Governing Bodies, health committees, etc. There are ongoing challenges, especially at local government level and the ANC continues to address these.

We therefore still have a long way to go towards eradicating the apartheid social deficit. The ANC's 50th Conference in Mafikeng in 1997 noted that poverty is "*the single greatest burden of South Africa's people and that redressing poverty and inequality must be a central focus of the ANC, to ensure that government and other sectors of society meet the basic needs of the underprivileged in our country.*"

We have prioritised the development of an institutional and legislative framework that would ensure the transformation of society and create an environment for appropriate social and economic development. The reprioritisation of the national budget supported policies and programmes of departments such as Welfare, Health, Water Affairs, Education and Housing and towards greater investment in social infrastructure generally.

We also adopted and implemented economic policies to promote stability, creating the conditions to spur and sustain development, eliminate poverty and reduce inequality. Our economic reform programmes are aimed at creating a competitive and fast-growing economy that generates sufficient jobs, a redistribution of income and opportunities in favour of the poor, a society capable of ensuring that health, education and other services are available to all and an environment in which homes are safe and places of work productive. The extent to which this strategy is succeeding in these objectives needs to be constantly assessed.

We must therefore continue to work tirelessly and with ever-greater urgency to ensure that we meet and exceed the Millennium Development Goals of halving poverty and unemployment by 2015.

### **Developing our human resources**

*“The provision of opportunities for people to develop themselves in order to improve the quality of their lives and the standard of living of their communities is a central objective of the RDP, alongside ensuring that basic needs are met, the society democratized and the economy grows. The opportunities that must (therefore) be provided include the massive expansion and qualitative improvement in the education and training system, artistic and cultural expression, and sports and recreation.”* (RDP)

We have made progress in building a single, non-racial, non-sexist and national public education system, and have reached near universal enrolment in primary and increasingly in secondary education. We have begun investing in early childhood education, adult literacy and also fundamentally restructured our university sector and introduced a new system of skills development. However, major challenges remain - in particular the huge challenge of the quality of education and throughput rates at all levels of the our education and training system. This constitutes a crisis, with South Africa performing poorly in comparison with other peer countries on nearly every single education indicator.

### **Building the Economy and Creating Jobs**

The centrepiece of the ANC’s programme for the economy is the pursuit of growth, development and redistribution: *“We need to increase the wealth base of the country by producing more goods and services in the same measure as we improve the quality of life of especially the poor, and effect in a variety of ways, the redistribution of wealth and income in favour of those previously excluded from the economic mainstream.”*

We had to achieve these objectives in very difficult circumstances. We inherited a stagnant economy with an economic system of resource mobilisation that was designed to meet the needs of a minority of the population. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) set out a comprehensive approach to overcoming this whilst accepting that we also had to face the challenges posed by the globalisation of the world

economy.

In implementing this programme, the ANC has used its position in government at national, provincial and local level. The instruments available to government include:

- The national budget, which has progressively been oriented towards capital expenditure and social services, as well as provincial and local budgets;
- Ownership and control of state-owned enterprises, with a significant presence in the energy, transport, telecommunications and defense sectors;
- Development of a macro-economic framework, including policy on monetary, fiscal, labour, industrial policy and trade matters;
- Institutions for research into, and support and development of, the country's scientific, technological, cultural and human resource base;
- The substantial human and other resources available to the public service.

At the same time, the organisation has pursued its economic objectives through engagement with the private sector on its role and responsibility in the transformation of South Africa. In addition to using government capacity (through regulation, deregulation, supply side incentives, and partnerships) this has taken place through public debate as well as through direct interaction with members of the private sector and with private sector associations and institutes. The ANC has also played an important role in framing and shaping the economic debate, and has been a vocal advocate of the need for a focus on growth, job creation, redistribution and black economic empowerment.

### **Transformation of the state and governance**

Whilst the first few years after the end of apartheid was very much about putting in place the correct legal framework and mechanisms; the second phase was about executing our plans and programmes.

The ANC has succeeded well in addressing the many challenges facing problems South Africa in that we have delivered in many areas and continue to improve the lives of ordinary South Africans every day. Our policies and programmes have meant an increase in access to government services, health care, education, justice, improved transport services, better protection of labour laws and improved housing in this country over the last twenty years.

We have also returned our country from being an international pariah state to venue of choice for international events; the African Union was launched in South Africa, the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), the Cricket World Cup, the Rugby World Cup, the African Cup of Nations and most recently the FIFA World Cup and COP17. We will continue to open our doors as a country ready to host international events and also as a country ready to make friends and reach out beyond our borders. We will also continue to reach out to those territories still struggling for their freedom, i.e. Western Sahara and Palestine.

The ANC's policy on international relations stems from our domestic policy and will continue to raise our voice against any forms of neo-colonialism and will continue to engage with our friends in the West regarding the dominance of some Western powers in the recent so-called 'Arab Spring.'

Against this backdrop and the further transformation of our country, we must assess our progress against our movement's litmus test – the Freedom Charter.

**The Freedom Charter declares that South Africa must belong to all who live in it;**black and white and the ANC has delivered on this promise. We derive authority from winning the majority in four National and Provincial elections and four local government elections. The removal of the minority regime from power restored the birthright our people were robbed of. However, we must remain vigilant that we remain steadfast in adhering to our long-term commitment to non-racialism and non-sexism.

**The people shall govern:** This is indeed true in South Africa today, people are governing.

**All national groups shall have equal rights:** This is true in the strict sense of the law, but access to resources makes this more of a theoretical than practical truth. The ANC is attending to this on an ongoing basis

**The people shall share in the country's wealth:** The legal dispensation established under the democratic government has established equality of access to opportunities. The mineral wealth below the soil has been transferred to the state on behalf of the people as a whole. We have to ensure that this translates into benefiting all our people. The establishment of a state owned company means the state takes an active interest in mining activities. We have to look at how the state can play a role in the banking sector. We must look at monopolies beyond what compelis commission is doing. The question is whether this has gone far enough to benefit the people as whole. The other areas, right to trade wherever one chooses, free choice of trade, craft or professions have been opened and concrete progress is being made.

**The land shall be shared amongst those who work it:** Freedom of choice is now open to all citizens. Everyone can live anywhere in South Africa. It is reality that only 5% of the land has been redistributed. Land purchased by black South Africans outside of the government programme cannot be quantified and this has the potential to distort/ underestimate the actual figure of black land ownership in the country. Progress in this area is slow. We must however try to give meaning to "those who work it" to minimise the effect of weekend farmers whose preoccupation is not banishing famine.

**All shall be equal before the law:** In terms of law this clause has been fully achieved. We must accelerate transformation of the judicial system. Access to the courts must be made simpler and not be a function of access to resources.

**All shall enjoy equal human rights:** Provisions of this clause have been achieved. There are, however, notable challenges in this area.

**There shall be work and security:** Racial and gender disparities in employment and remuneration have not been fully eliminated. The biggest challenge today is high unem-

ployment.

**The doors of learning and culture shall be opened:** Progress has been made in terms of giving all children access to the same education and education system.

Progress is being made in making education free for the poor but not in all schools and the funding for higher education and technical training is ahead of what is envisaged in the Freedom Charter. Africans and blacks in general, constitute the majority of the population but remain the cultural minority. Progress is being made and this is changing fast.

**There shall be houses, security and comfort:** Freedom of movement is guaranteed for all the citizens of South Africa. Provision of housing has been one of the major projects for the democratic government. There is a serious debate about the quality of the houses provided. Attempts to eradicate slums are negatively impacted upon by the culture of building informal settlements freely and everywhere there is space.

Access to health care has improved under the democratic government. The National Health Insurance Scheme focuses on the improvement of quality and efficiency of the provision of these services.

There is a lot of backlog in the provision of recreation facilities.

**There shall be peace and friendship:** The ANC continues to implement this demand and strives to achieve peace and friendship in the continent and the world. The various peace missions in the continent are a concrete evidence of our commitment as a country to peace in the continent.

The ANC is active at the level of party-to-party relations, in the continent, in south-south relations and in the world.

The ANC is also at the forefront of addressing issues of climate change and protection of the environment and we are very proud of our country's successful hosting of the recent COP17 in Durban.

## **PART C: BEYOND THE CENTENARY: THE NEXT 100 YEARS**

As we mark the ANC Centenary, not only do we celebrate a glorious history of selfless struggle by millions of ordinary South Africans who defeated the apartheid regime, but most importantly, we summon new courage and energy to face the future with confidence. This is the right moment to pause and ponder the future of South Africa and of the ANC over the next hundred years. We must ask and answer the difficult questions about the future of our country.

During this year, 2012, our nation must renew our determination to build a South Africa founded on the principles of the Freedom Charter and our democratic Constitution. We must bring new energy and new ideas into the kind of society we want to build over the next few decades. In this regard, we take note of the fact that the National Planning Commission has published both a diagnostic report and a Draft National Development

Plan for discussion. As the ANC prepares for its Policy Conference in June and its 53rd National Conference in December 2012, we call for a genuine national dialogue and debate about the future of our country. We call on all South Africans to join the national dialogue that should be based on our common commitment to build a caring society that is truly non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, prosperous and united in its diversity.

As we move forward, we want to take a medium-to-long term approach to the challenges we face on the road to a South Africa of our dreams. We want to freshly and boldly identify the few key challenges around which the nation shall be rallied and mobilised. These are the triple related challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality. Principally, it is the Africans, women and youth who continue to carry a disproportionate burden of the challenges. Over the next decade, both the ANC and all organs of state shall pay a single-minded and undivided attention in order to overcome these triple related challenges.

In this regard, the important and urgent task facing current and future generations is to build a sound and enduring education and training system that adequately prepares the youth of our country to take their rightful place in their diverse communities, in the democratising society, globalising economy and rapidly changing world. This requires a single-minded focus on turning the entire education and skills - from pre-school education, to teaching the basics of literacy and numeracy in primary schools and a secondary and a post-schools system - in order to prepare young people to take their place in their communities, the economy, in society and the world at large. Our education and training system should be the cornerstone of all efforts to radically transform South Africa and build a truly non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, united and prosperous society.

During the different epochs and phases of the struggle for liberation, the ANC had to continuously undergo a major re-organisation, redesign and internal renewal in order to meet and respond to the demands of the struggle. We have no doubt that the current phase of our struggle requires of the movement to undertake a bold and dispassionate relook at the way it is structured relative to the strategic imperatives, key tasks and pillars of social transformation and development. However, we must not change the character of the organisation of being a movement, a mass based political organisation of the people. Consequently, the movement needs new capabilities and new forms of organisation in order to drive the transformation agenda and our national development vision on all fronts.

Accordingly, we cannot afford to squander the opportunities presented by this historical moment of the centenary. This hour of destiny calls upon us to take bold and urgent steps to reconstruct and renew the ANC in a manner that safeguards its role and place as the glue that hold South Africa and the entire African continent together and source of inspiration in the struggle to build a just and alternative world order.

As we navigate the uncertainties, dangers and contours of the future, we shall draw important lessons from our rich history and revolutionary traditions. This movement has been able to change with changing conditions, and has a rich experience of adapting to new conditions at all material times when called upon to do so by circumstances.

Firstly, our history teaches us that the ANC emerged as a product of a historical moment in the evolution of resistance against colonialism, a subjective expression of an objective historical movement for change. From its foundation as “a parliament of the African people”, the ANC developed to pursue the widest possible unity among those struggling for a better life. Over the years, it did its utmost to forge unity among South Africans irrespective of race, colour, gender or creed; it sought to build unity across the African continent and indeed the unity of humanity as a whole against racism and sexism. In this sense, the movement matured into ‘a great unifier’ for the common good. As we move into the future, we shall renew our efforts to unite our members, the motive forces, all South Africans and people of Africa in the ongoing struggle for the transformation and development of our countries.

Secondly, our history teaches us that the people are the bedrock on which the survival of every revolution and every organisation depends. During its evolution, the ANC was able to mobilise the people and place the organisation at the head of popular resistance.

Thus the organisation developed into a people’s movement and agent for change in theory and in practice, recognising that a leadership role is earned, and not decreed. The people’s problems and interests are at the heart of the ANC’s strategy, policy and theory of organisation. The ability of the ANC to root itself amongst the people, to participate in their daily struggles and thus earn its position as a trusted leader of the people – in whichever epoch – will determine its survival as a revolutionary movement and agent for change. As we move into the future, we shall renew our connection and dynamic contact with the people and ensure that the core purpose and daily work of the organisational structures focuses on the problems and aspirations of the people.

Thirdly, the ANC has triumphed over adversity in the past because it had a tremendous capacity for self-reflection, self-correction and internal renewal. This unique character has enabled our organisation to continuously review and adapt its strategy, policy and organisation to meet the demands and requirements of the new and changing situation, globally and domestically. As we move into the future, we shall invest hugely in and elevate the importance of theoretical and ideological work as well as a scientific approach to analysing and solving society’s problems. To join the ANC should, among other things, mean a commitment to lifelong learning through theory and practice. Without scientific approach and a sound theoretical basis, common sense and rhetoric can rule the roost. Without a scientific approach and sound theoretical basis common sense and rhetoric can rule the roost!

Fourthly, the ANC has led the people of our country and continent exceedingly well during the struggle against colonialism and apartheid because it had a distinct capacity to produce a galaxy of South African leaders of exceptional qualities and talents. This unique character has enabled the ANC to produce some of Africa’s finest revolutionaries - men and women of courage and conviction, vision and humility, intellect and integrity, selfless service and loyalty to the people of our country and continent. As we move into the future, the ANC will renew its internal systems and processes in order to prepare and produce new generations of leadership for our country and continent whose integrity and passion to serve our country and continent is unquestionable.

Lastly, the ANC has always been able to attract into its ranks all South Africans, who

have distinct abilities and capabilities necessary to push the revolution forward. This includes the most influential thinkers and talented individuals among the working class, middle strata and sections of capital. In addition, the movement has constantly trained and developed its own organic intellectuals academically and politically in order to be the best school and repository of progressive thought in our country. As we move forward, the ANC will intensify its programme about recruitment into its ranks and training young people – across race, class and gender – who show tremendous potential, skills and talents in all fields of human endeavour.

Fully conscious of the fact that no organisation is guaranteed eternal life and that future success is a result of the conscientious decisions taken by every generation, we are determined to move to the second centenary with a more rejuvenated organisation that is strategically positioned to continue to lead the people of our country and continent in their tireless and ceaseless quest for a better life in a just and more humane world.

In this regard, the most urgent task facing us is to speed up the building of a national democratic society wherein all South Africans enjoy an improved quality of life, especially the working class and the poor.

### **Urgent and practical interventions**

During its second century of existence, the ANC will undoubtedly require new organisational capacities and strategic capabilities to give political, moral and intellectual leadership and serve our nation in all the five pillars of social transformation: the organisation, the state, the economy, the international arena work and the ideological terrain. During 2012:

***We should take urgent and practical steps to revitalise the grassroots structures of the movement:*** As we mark the centenary, we shall direct greater attention and effort to the revitalisation and strengthening of grassroots mobilisation and community-based structures. Without an effective grassroots organisations and an active citizenry, all our efforts to build better communities will not be sustainable. We should consider re-organising the branch of the ANC into voting districts, street committees and cell structures whose primary focus is to solve community problems and improve activism around development issues in communities. National, provincial and regional leaders will be required to report on a monthly basis about their own practical work with ANC branches and community-based organisations around solving development problems on the ground. This will enhance the ANC's mass work and improve the style of work of leadership.

***We should take urgent and practical steps to once again place the ANC at the forefront of the progressive forces for change:*** Any major historical process of social transformation has to be driven by a core of classes and strata that objectively stand to benefit from and have the capacity together to drive such change. We are therefore mindful of the ANC's historic responsibility to lead the motive forces of the NDR in pursuing their common aspirations and ensuring that their sectoral interests are linked to the strategic objective. The ANC shall do this through consistent and qualitative engagement with the Alliance, by organising and mobilising the motive forces, by engaging with the organisations and the new social movements that in their totality represent sectors of the motive forces and by building broader partnerships to drive the process of

reconstruction and development, nation-building and reconciliation.

The movement shall strive to conduct itself, both in its internal practices and in relation to society at large, in line with the ideals represented by the NDR and acts as a micro-cosm of the future.

***We should take urgent and practical steps to fast-track the development of cadres - new and old:*** As we celebrate our centenary, we shall be rolling out the institutionalisation of political education at all levels of the organisation in the next five years. In particular, the work of building the national and provincial political schools will take the centre stage in the political and academic development of the membership and leadership. We shall introduce and enforce measures to ensure that every ANC member has undergone compulsory political and ideological training so that they understand fully the undertaking that to join the ANC is to make a conscious choice of serving the nation. Over the next decade, we shall roll out leadership development programme at all levels of the organisation as part of ensuring that the ANC continues to be the best school for leadership in our country. Leadership development shall be accompanied by the review of the leadership election systems of the ANC in order to enhance internal democracy, credibility of the process as well as the integrity and suitability of candidates. This will protect the ANC from the tyranny of “slates, factions and money” and ensure that at all times, the organisation is led by the most experienced, most committed, most talented and best collective across generations.

***We should take urgent and practical steps to ensure that our programme of transforming our country is accelerated and taken to new heights:*** For renewal to have a far-reaching transformative impact, it has to be a societal project. The ANC is not an island. Renewal will only succeed in preserving the values of the ANC if it simultaneously addresses the values of broader society and the structural and economic context that fosters and promote such values. For example, unless the ANC makes rapid progress in the transformation of our economy and society to benefit the majority, it will be unable to withstand the prevailing logic of colonialism of a special type. Renewal has to permeate all aspects of society to produce the new person and new environment. We shall therefore ensure that we strengthen the capacity of the ANC for policy renewal, monitoring and evaluation; that we build a developmental state that can lead transformation and has the capacity and capability for implementation; the renewal of the ethics and values of governance; the institutional renewal and optimal organisation of the state and that we continue to enhance people’s democratic participation in changing their own lives in partnership with the institutions of the democratic state.

***We should take urgent and practical steps to restore the core values, stamp out factionalism and promote political discipline:*** As we mark the centenary, we are determined to enhance the ANC moral standing and image among the masses of our people. In this regard, we shall combine political education with effective organisational measures and mechanism to promote integrity, political discipline and ethical conduct and defeat the demon of factionalism in the ranks of the ANC, Alliance and broad mass democratic movement.

***We should take urgent and practical steps to place education and skills development at the centre of our transformation and development agenda:*** The ANC shall lead by example in championing the centrality of education and skills development in this phase of the revolution. In this regard, all ANC members and leaders are called upon to take practical steps to improve their literacy rate, skills and levels of education.

Every branch shall strive, through the education campaign, to improve the literacy rate and general level of education and skills among the people in the ward. Every ANC member should be involved in a project or programme to improve the quality of learning and teaching in all schools and raise the level of education, skills and literacy rate in a specific community. In 2012, each branch should begin the literacy campaign by focusing on eliminating illiteracy among the members and leaders of the ANC in each community.

***We should take urgent and practical steps to deepen our contribution to the renewal of the African continent and the progressive forces in the world:*** The ANC will continue to strengthen its relations with sister parties in Southern Africa, and contribute towards strengthening the progressive forces and multilateral institutions on the continent. As an internationalist movement, we shall continue to work with other progressive forces in the world, towards a more just global social, political and economic order. As a disciplined force of the left, the ANC shall continue to influence and be influenced by the latest progressive ideas and policy about how best to improve the human condition and ensure the sustainability of the environment.

***We should take urgent and practical steps to professionalise and modernise the operations of the ANC:*** As we mark the centenary, we are fully aware that the world in which the ANC was born hundred years ago is very different from that of today. We shall take full advantage of the advances in the information and communication technology and management sciences to continue to re-organise the ANC in the best possible way that facilitates the realisation of its historic mission.

We certainly need to step up the movement's capacity to implement and maintain an effective membership system, communicate effectively with its membership, core constituency and society in general and put out its views and policy perspectives without let or hindrance. Progressive modern management methods should be introduced in the running of the ANC offices. Over the next decade, we strive to build an advanced cadre of well-trained, professionally competent, decently-paid and highly motivated full-time functionaries of the organisation at all levels, and in our operations combine traditional methods of organising with effective use of information and communication technologies.

On this, January 8 2012, we therefore make a clarion call to all South Africans to work with us to make the dream of a united, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous South Africa a reality in our lifetime. We call on all the progressive forces in our continent to work tirelessly for the regeneration, renewal and renaissance of Africa in our lifetime. We call on all progressive people in the world to spare no energy and effort in fighting for a better Africa and more humane world. These ideals we shall fight for, side by side, throughout our lives until we realise our goals.

## CONCLUSION

### Achievement awards

The ANC Annual Achievement Awards were initiated to promote a greater focus on the organisational tasks of building branches, strengthening local government and building the leagues.

The awards aim to highlight the features of strong branches and councils and to reward best practice within the movement.

The awards are named for outstanding cadres of the ANC, whose individual qualities of commitment and selflessness are an example to every ANC member. During their lives, each of these comrades made an immeasurable contribution to the struggle for freedom and a better life for all.

We are pleased to announce the winners of the ANC Achievement Awards for our centenary year:

- The Sol Plaatje Award, conferred on the best performing ANC branch, goes to the Sondelani Branch, Bohlabela Region, Mpumalanga
- The Charlotte Maxeke Award, conferred on the best performing ANC Women's League branch, goes to the Siphon Mgijima Branch, Frances Baard Region, Kimberley
- The Anton Lembede Award, conferred on the best performing ANC Youth League branch, goes to the Madiba Branch, Waterberg Region, Limpopo
- The ZK Matthews Award, conferred on the best performing group of ANC councillors goes to the ANC councillors of the Hibiscus Coast Council, Lower South Coast, KwaZulu-Natal

Comrades and Compatriots,

It is with great humility that we can announce that the ANC has fulfilled the task we were given at the 1942 National Conference of our movement.

**Our membership at this moment stands at more than 1 million members.**

## OBITUARIES

The ANC salutes the comrades who passed away during 2011.

Comrades:

Nontsikelelo Albertina Sisulu, Regina Nzo, Boitumelo Mabilo, Conrad Motebe, Spencer Mathibe, Tony Malope, Refiloe Olepeng, Hendrik Visser, Aubrey Swartz, Nkosana MK Mkhali, Johanna Ndlovu, Lessy Ndzimande, George 'Missipi' Mokone, Piet Mello, Peter "Mjaqeka" Mnisi, Vely Masilela, Lillian Mkhathshwa, Vusimuzi William "Mshefi" Ndlovu, Mashiya Peter, Makhubela Lazarus, Mashele Bruce, Thobela Petros, Zikalala Sabelo "Martin" Nicodemus, Mafanyana Petros "Dabristo" Monareng, Kader Asmal, Joe Marks, Bhutan Victor Sono, Danny Boy Noruga, Jakavu Xolani, Magona Funelka, Beja Ntobentsha, Bokolo Elizabeth, Zantsi Agnes, Neville Jack, Nqobo Thulethu, Guglethu, Thembisile, Sentile Linda, Mazibuko Thomas, Monwabisi Gantolo, Manie Cornelius, Mpho Mosuhli, Sphiwo Tyhulu, Johnny Issel, Margaret Mtomile, Doreen Hugo, Novello Mack, Nokwezi James, Elsie George, Dalangubo Joyi, Pumzile Matshoba, Mvaneli Fazi, Linda Tshiki, Nombulelo Mabandla, Zithulele Wiseman, Mshibe Sbusiso Sbiya, Bongani Ngcobo, Nobuhle Ndlovu Rubinah Qhogwana, Siyabonga Khumalo, Wezile Sitembu, Bulelwa Ntshongwa, Mandla Zuma, Sifiso Dladla, Nompumelelo Matubakwe, Bhekinkosi Cele, Zandile Mtshali, Hlanganani Sithole, Vusi Ngcobo, Hlengiwe Sokhela Nomthandazo Mzimela, Mthethwa Ngcobo, Sindi Maphumulo, Caroline Ntshangase, Charlie Majozi, Jabulani Goge, Nonhlanhla Sokhela, Thuli Dlamini, Mr.Mathabizolo, Sthandiwe Ndlovu, Vuyo Toyo, James Khumalo, Sibongile Hadebe, Eva Jamile, Tiza Hadebe, Fikile Dladla, Sibongiseni Kunene, Jabulani Mathe, Nunu Hlatshwayo, Jabulane Kubheka, Bafana Makhubo, Sweleni Kunene, Bhekuyise Sithebe, Siphon Sithebe, Phiwokwakhe Madondo, Thokozani Khumalo, Senzeni Nyembe, Nokuthula Mchunu, Mlungisi Xaku, Funokwakhe Mzimela, Thabile Radebe, Elias Mhlanga, Nanazi Mvume Ngema, Athi Kuda, Samkeliswe Khoza, Sbusiseni Khumalo, Juliet Mabaso, Lindi Shezi, Snenhlanhla Mdakane, Prince Cebekhulu, Johannes Phahlane, Lungisani Shabalala, Chaza Khoza, Qenge Ntshingila, Sbusiso Mbajwa, Malusi Mkhwanazi, Mgeri Shabalala, Vela Mayaba, Derrick Vuma, Vusi Mhlongo, Anna Nene, Smangaliso Manana, Vuyisile Thwala, Buyile Mavimbela, Melusi Ndlovu, Thembinkosi Shabalala, Fikile Zwane, Nelson Nxumalo, Sthembiso Cele, Mbuyiseni Nkosi, Sphamaandla Zulu, Dumisani Ndebele, Cyril Khumalo, Sbusiso Benedict Zwane, Ziphokuhle Nhlanzi, Siyabonga Masondo, Jabulani Madida, Phumlani Zulu, Nana Nxumalo, Makhosi Mkhwanazi, Vusi Mkhwanazi, Mphile Motsa, Mavis Buthelezi, Mthembeni Magagula, Jabulani Menyuka, Phumzile Mngomezulu, Dlanini Tembe, Muziwandile Nsimbi, Qinisani Gwala, Mzikayise Masuku, Alexander Ngcobo, Mandla Ngubane, Khanyi Mdalose, Zama Dlamini, Mumsy Oliver, Lindiwe Ximba, Jabu Nkwanyana, Vukani Mbokazi, Fikile Mzimela, Buyi Gumede, Mkiti, Zbongele Mtolo, Skhosiphi Dlamini, Sandi Novuka, Bheki Dzanibe, Nomvume Gunudwa, Bavuyise Nduku, Thabo Dlamini, Sbusiso Sbiya, Lubelang Tsotetsi, Dalisu Sithole, Vivian Dlamini, Titus Z Ngubane.

## THE NEC DECLARES 2012 THE YEAR OF UNITY IN DIVERSITY



January 8th 2012

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# MESSAGES OF SUPPORT



## ANCWL MESSAGE TO THE ANC

The ANC Women's League joins its mother body, the African National Congress in celebrating 100 years of the organisation's existence.

A 100-year-old movement is no easy feat and as the oldest liberation organisation on the African continent, this achievement displays the determination of the ANC to serve the people of South Africa and shows the confidence the people of this country have in the ANC.

While we are celebrating 100 years of the ANC's existence and paying tribute to our past presidents, we must not forget the role played by many strong ANC women over the past 100 years. While in many instances it was men at the forefront of the liberation struggle, it was the strength of the women who raised families and endured a life of persecution that made the struggle possible. We must pay tribute to these heroines of our liberation battle, who sacrificed much for the ANC.

The ANC along with the Women's league has led the way in the women's liberation struggle of this country and gender equality is a top priority for the organisation and we will continue to work towards furthering the women agenda over the next 100 years.

The ANC brought the people of this beautiful country freedom, however the struggle is far from over and while so much has been achieved over the past century, we trust the next 100 years will see even more achieved by this celebrated organisation.



## ANCVL MESSAGE TO THE ANC

The ANC Veterans League wishes to add its undivided support to this illustrious celebration of the centenary of the African National Congress of South Africa.

The formulation of the ANC came about when our leaders agreed that the only way to stop the encroachment on our freedom, liberty and right to self-determination was for all the African tribes to unite and strive to achieve one united nation who could resist the scourge of colonialism. The visionary leadership of John Langalibalele Dube, Moroka, Makgatho, Xuma, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela, forged policies based on human rights and human dignity.

Defeating apartheid and colonialism could not be possible if tribes continued to resist the invaders on their own. Destiny demanded of our leaders to seek the path of a united South Africa.

We have come a long way since 1912, we have lived through two world wars, the Anglo-Boer war, the creation of apartheid and the devastation of Bantustans and apartheid education. We have been able to survive a long protracted war against apartheid and colonialism. Our challenges today still remain that we unite this beautiful country and all who live in it. That we forge a united nation of South Africans. Our organisation the ANC has brought peace to this country and with peace comes the prospects for real development and an end to hunger and poverty. We look to the future with an eagerness to ensure that we eradicate poverty and hunger, improve education, provide affordable housing and health care for all the people of South Africa.

The ANC is the most constant presence in the lives of the people of South Africa, we have been so for 100 years and now we must move forward with our organisation and lead South Africa into a future of certainty and commitment to development that is meaningful for all the citizens.

We applaud the successes of the ANC and we applaud the courage of our leadership. We call on all South Africans to support this visionary and iconic movement.



## SACP MESSAGE TO THE ANC'S CENTENARY CELEBRATION

The South African Communist Party greets its leading Alliance partner on this memorable occasion - the ANC's centenary celebration. There are very few political formations in the world today that have achieved a centenary, and none that can speak of such a history of perseverance in the face of prolonged persecution, of mass-based struggles against one of the most tenacious colonial regimes of the 20th century, and of ultimate, if still relative and partial, victory.

As the Communist Party in South Africa, now in our own 90th year of unbroken struggle, we take special pride in the fact that for over 80 years, communists have served in the ranks of the ANC. Shoulder to shoulder with other patriotic revolutionaries, communists have helped to build and sustain the ANC. But also, through their activism within the ANC, communist cadres have carried over into the SACP a deeper appreciation of the centrality of the national question within our struggle, and of the power vested in a majority's sense of collective national grievance and of mass-based, national capacity. Our shared history is a history of continuous cross-fertilisation.

As we mark this centenary, we remember, to begin with, the early founders of the ANC. They were a new stratum of African teachers, journalists, preachers and lawyers, together with progressive traditional leaders. They came together from across the whole of Southern Africa, in the context of the final defeat of centuries of heroic primary resistance. However modest its founding conference might have been, the launching of the ANC was a major milestone, a necessary and qualitative step forward in the struggle against colonialism and minority rule. From the outset, the founders understood the imperative of forging a new African identity, uniting those divided by narrower, traditional, ethnic identities. The foundational impulse of the ANC was the building of "unity in diversity" and it is the theme that is being taken up again today to celebrate the centenary. The ANC was launched in the final years of the previous last great accelerated wave of capitalist driven globalization that occurred between 1870 and 1914. It was a period of dramatic global expansion and breath-taking technological advances - railway lines, ocean steamers, and telegraph cables that now girdled the earth. There were large joint stock companies and banking houses that pumped massive investments into pre-industrial locations. Cities sprang up in the raw veld – not least here in South Africa with the opening up of the diamond and gold fields.

The ANC was launched also in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War which was itself connected to this wave of capital expansion. Owing to its immense technical superiority, the dominant imperialist power of the day had finally defeated the semi-feudal Boer

republics. All of this would have reinforced the belief in the “positive”, and, if not positive, then at least “irresistible” power of modernizing, Westernising “progress”. Reflecting much of the mood of the times, a young Pixley Ka Isaka Seme (soon to become the first secretary general of the ANC) delivered a prize-winning “African regeneration” speech in 1906, which confidently predicted a continental renaissance spurred by the new global technologies that promised to unite humankind as never before.

However, the 1909 Act of Union and consequent 1910 formation of the Union of South Africa effectively excluded the majority of South Africans from citizenship. This was the immediate catalyst for the 1912 formation of the ANC. From within the ideological frame of a (simultaneously westernizing and Africanist) modernization perspective, this exclusion tended to be thought of as essentially an “anomaly”, a local “distortion”. In short, at its foundation it was not easy for the ANC to grasp the dialectical, contradictory nature of imperialist-driven global accumulation – modernization and barbarism wrapped up together, development and simultaneous debilitating under-development. Nor was it easy to grasp the key motive forces needed to be mobilized in order to wage an active struggle to overcome national oppression. Instead, there was a progressive, but limited, moral rights-based critique of the intensifying oppression exerted on the majority. It was a politics of protest. It was, initially, a politics not to defeat the emerging state of white minority rule, but rather a struggle for inclusion of all those unjustly excluded from citizenship within the framework of the new Union of South Africa.

But, whatever the inevitable historical and social limitations of the founders of the ANC, from the beginning they introduced the seeds of three potentially radical positions. First, through their journalism, speeches, and sermons they recorded and gave voice to the deepening racial oppression of South Africa’s majority - the Land Act, pass laws, the colour bar. In this way they began to provide a framework to connect tens of thousands of disparate daily experiences of humiliation into a collectively shared sense of national grievance.

Secondly, from the very beginning they critiqued narrow tribalism, and launched an organization (the ANC) to forge in struggle a new African identity. In so doing they were advancing a revolutionary understanding of identity - not something fixed biologically at birth, not something cast in stone by language, or religion, or culture - but rather a complex process of becoming, shaped by social interaction and active organization. This radical approach to identity also lies at the heart of the ANC’s longstanding and (given South Africa’s history) remarkable espousal of non-racialism. This inclusive and open-ended approach to national identity is one of the great, world-historical contributions of the ANC and of the struggle it has led. There are many parts of the world today, both developed and undeveloped, that could benefit from this foundational principle of the ANC.

There is a third and absolutely relevant legacy bestowed on the present that has its roots in the very early foundation years of the ANC. The Christian liberalism that informed the founders of the ANC was in effect the appropriation of a discourse of universal human rights in a semi-colonial context. It was a context that was bound, sooner or later, to expose the limits of Western liberalism itself and force an increasing radicalization of any rights-based discourse. That radicalization can be traced through the ANC’s 1943 “Africans’ Claims” and its Bill of Rights, through the 1955 Freedom Charter, down

to the fundamentally progressive South African Constitution and Bill of Rights of 1996.

To appreciate the value of this legacy for the present, it is important to recall the generally problematic record in government of both communist parties and former national liberation movements through much of the 20th century. There are many reasons why formerly heroic fighting formations, both communist parties and national liberation movements, once in power, often declined into bureaucratism, stagnation and corrosive corruption...if not worse. The unending aggressive destabilization of popular advances by imperialism and allied reactionary forces was obviously the major factor. The emergence of new class dynamics within ruling formations has been another. But the neglect, suspension, or deliberate distortion of key constitutional and democratic safeguards that are key to buttressing sustained popular democracy have surely been another important factor.

It is one of many ironies of our contemporary South African reality that the ANC's struggle for far-reaching human and social rights within a progressive, law-based constitution is a legacy that is now being claimed (and dumbed down) by anti-majoritarian neo-liberals. The idea that the South African Constitution is essentially "liberal" is gravely mistaken, even the most moderately-inclined of clauses in the Bill of Rights, the so-called property clause, expressly allows for expropriation on terms other than market-value. One of the tasks of the Alliance in our current reality is to actively espouse the Constitution and advance it for what it is - a clarion call for ongoing radical transformation in the finest traditions of the ANC's longstanding and principled struggle.

But this means that we must continue to invest the key principles of our Constitution with their radically progressive significance. The principle of the separation of powers must be upheld to ensure that never again is the state machinery used for corrupt ends, and that never again are ordinary citizens of South Africa subjected to arbitrary arrest, or invasion of their homes by an authoritarian state bureaucracy. The principle of freedom of speech must be upheld to ensure that, above all, community organisations, trade unions, social movements, and local radio stations and publications have both the right and the actual resources to voice their collective aspirations and concerns. The right to vote for all adult South Africans must also be the right for the outcome of that vote to have a real impact on the ongoing transformation of our country. It is for this reason that we must at all times defend that fundamental principle contained in the Freedom Charter, that "The People Shall Govern"!

In short, we need to oppose those who were never in the trenches of the struggle, but who, today, pose as the great defenders of our Constitution. They pay lip-service to our hard-won universal franchise, while they seek to erode any effective power vested in the outcome of a majority vote. For them, media freedom means the freedom of four media oligopolies to perpetuate a message of Afro-pessimism, disinformation and of the impossibility of any real change. For them, the separation of powers is all about divide-and-rule. They attempt to play one arm of government against another, in order to undermine any determined transformational programme, the better to protect their ill-gotten minority powers and privileges.

Our response to this neo-liberal dumbing down of our hard-won rights must not now become an ambivalence about our Constitution and Bill of Rights. In the name of one

hundred years of struggle, we must vigorously claim our victories, including our constitutional victories, and invest them with real substance, buttressed by mass power. As we celebrate this centenary, it is important that we honour the real heroes and heroines of our struggle - the millions of ordinary South Africans who day in and day out resisted oppression and struggled for lives of dignity. They were joined in solidarity by millions of others in our region and throughout the world who supported this just struggle. In 1912, the ANC did not just emerge out of thin air. It picked up the fallen spear of the early resisters of colonial dispossession, the San and Khoi peoples who were subjected to genocidal oppression. The ANC built on the heroic armed resistance of our people, who fought over two and half centuries of invasion. Our struggle over the past century has also been infused with the popular traditions of slave revolts in the Cape and the struggles of indentured labourers in KZN.

The struggle is bigger than any one of our organisations. There have been times when ordinary South Africans have been in advance of our own formations - like the women in the Free State in 1913 who pioneered anti-pass struggles. In its first several decades, the ANC was not a mass formation, but popular struggles were fought by the trade union movement, by the Communist Party, by peasants and shack-dwellers. The ANC-led Defiance Campaign of 1952, for the first time placed the ANC onto a substantial active mass-campaigning footing. The campaign had been directly inspired by the earlier Passive Resistance Campaign led by the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses between 1946 and 1948, as well as by the Great Mineworkers Strike of 1946. There were times when, as a result of severe persecution, our own formal structures were badly disrupted – but popular resistance continued, often with borrowed ideas and eclectic ideologies.

The great achievement of the ANC, particularly from the 1950s onwards was always, through the ups and downs of struggle, to recover its balance, to learn from and instruct popular militancy, to build the shield of a progressive unity, and to provide the spear-point of a clear strategic line of march. The SACP is proud to have been a principled and active participant in all the major turns in our national liberation struggle, culminating in the dislodging of the apartheid in 1994!

Those attributes are now as necessary as they ever were. The 1994 democratic breakthrough and nearly eighteen years of ruling party incumbency have brought new possibilities and fresh challenges for the ANC, for the Alliance, and for the people of South Africa as a whole. One hundred years ago, as the ANC was being launched, the last major wave of capitalist-driven global expansion, which had seemed destined to continue in its upward trajectory, was fast approaching the crisis of 1914, and the outbreak of World War I. It was a crisis that was to persist through three decades, down to 1945. In the early 1990s, as the ANC came to power, the second great wave of capitalist-driven globalization and its gospel of neo-liberalism seemed to be both invincible and the only imaginable alternative. In 2012 we now know, if we did not know before, much better. The leading centres of capital accumulation in the developed North are now deeply enmeshed in an interrelated and multi-dimensional crisis, marked by financial turmoil, declining economic vigour, rising levels of unemployment and indebtedness, a shifting global hegemony, and, particularly in the case of the US, a manifest political incapacity to rise to the challenges confronting the whole of humanity, including climate change and natural resource depletion.

In these circumstances, the relevance of consolidating a radical national democratic revolutionary path here in our own country has become all the more relevant and pressing. This means placing our economy onto a new development path that prioritises the resolution of the key persisting crises of our society - unemployment, poverty, and inequality. It means breaking away from the neo-liberal, trickle-down, self-serving argument that capitalist growth and increased profits for a minority will somehow, on their own, resolve our social challenges. 14 years of growth locally from 1994 to 2008 have decisively disproved that claim. To place our society onto a new development path means breaking out of the role into which South Africa was condemned back in the late 19th century - namely to be a semi-peripheral exporter of mineral resources within the global division of labour.

To consolidate a new developmental path requires using democratic state power with the utmost determination and strategic discipline. And this is why the struggle against corruption is so critical. This struggle is not just a moral imperative, but an absolutely critical strategic imperative - if we lose strategic capacity within the state as a result of parasitic behavior, factionalism, tenderpreneurship and the personal diversion of public resources, we will betray one hundred years of struggle.

A democratic, developmental state needs to support and be supported by active popular mobilization. Placing ourselves upon a different developmental trajectory also requires that we build a different, developmental relationship with our region and continent, and that we forge firmer South-South ties.

The challenges of our times are multiple and complex, but, drawing on the legacy of 100 years of unbroken struggle, learning from our successes and mistakes, and, above all, building on the ANC's central legacy of forging a militant unity out of diversity, we can and we shall prevail.

On this day, South African communists once more, pledge their continued commitment to the strengthening of our Alliance, pursuing a radical national democratic transformation programme, as the only vehicle to consolidate and build on our gains. We shall leave no stone unturned in fighting the twin enemies of a conservative (white) liberal offensive against the majoritarian character of our democracy AND tenderpreneurship.

The SACP shall be a dependable ally in the struggle to realize the developmental goals and priorities of our movement, including job creation, access to health and education for all, and rural development. To achieve these requires maximum unity of our movement. For that reason, as we fight for the realization of these goals we will spare no effort in the fight against all tendencies that threaten the unity of our movement, including all forms of factionalism, populism, ill-discipline, corruption and misguided militancy.

In doing all this we shall place the interests of our people at the forefront of all what we do. This is the true meaning of the ANC's centenary!!



## **COSATU CEC MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY TO THE ANC - WISHING ANC HAPPY CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS**

The Central Executive Committee of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) on behalf of its over 2 million members and all the structures of the federation sends its best wishes to the leadership and membership of the ANC on the occasion of the centenary celebrations. We also send our best wishes not only to the people of South Africa, but also to the peoples of Africa and the world over, as all of us mark this historic milestone.

COSATU is extremely proud to be in alliance with the oldest liberation movement in the African continent. The ANC has been the torchbearer of the African continent, the fountain of hope to millions of the oppressed and exploited masses of our people, a colossal giant whose track record in the struggle is unparalleled anywhere in the world.

The ANC's roots predate 8 January 1912! This year we are actually celebrating not just the institution called the ANC, because that institution is an organic expression of the collective struggles of our people initially led by their traditional leaders, as they resisted wars against dispossession of land. We are therefore celebrating a struggle, whose collective experience is embodied in the ANC. The consolidation of those efforts into the ANC in 1912 proved to be one of the most important decisions our forbears made. This helped defeat one of the most potent weapons in the hands of the colonisers – dividing our people in terms of their different languages and cultures.

Today we are also celebrating one of the biggest achievements of the ANC – the triumph over the tribal divisions, regionalism and male chauvinism. We are celebrating the unity of the African people which over years extended to all the oppressed and white democrats who hated oppression and love freedom for all! Even though all of these divisive demons keep on rearing their ugly heads from time to time in our national politics, there can be no doubt that the cohesion and unity we are currently enjoying owes a great deal to the existence of the ANC.

The history of the struggle of the working class is at the heart of the history of the ANC. Similarly, the history of workers' struggles in South Africa would be extremely incomplete without the leadership role of the ANC. As we celebrate the centenary of the ANC we are bound to recall our history of oppression, enforced segregation, forced removals, police brutality and killings, countless massacres spreading over many decades. We remember our persecution and absolute humiliation. As workers we remember Non-gqawuse and the other countless tricks to force us off our land to go and work in the mines and farms. We remember the hut tax, the dg tax, and we also remember the filthy flea-ridden single-sex hostels and the active promotion of divisions by the employers

who collaborated with the minority regime. We recall the humiliating queues of older and younger men standing absolutely naked for inspection by a white madam using a pen to inspect our private parts in the mines.

From protesting against the creation of the Union of South Africa to protests against the imposition of the Land Act of 1913, to the Group Areas Act of 1950, Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951, Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952, Bantu Education Act of 1953, Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953, Natives Resettlement Act of 1954, Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act of 1956, Extension of University Education Act of 1959, Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959, Urban Bantu Councils Act of 1961, and the Bantu Homelands Citizens Act of 1970, all targeted the Black working class in its entirety in order to keep it subservient, super-exploited and subjugated.

It is important to underline the fact that as the working class grew from strength to strength, so did the ANC. Indeed, as the ANC grew from strength to strength, organisationally and ideologically, the working class got increasingly fortified in its struggles. In addition, we should note that the history of this great movement would be extremely incomplete, without the gallant role that was played by the South African Communist Party, which fashioned us with the tools of analysis and provided the much needed light when days were extremely dark.

We are celebrating one of the liberation movements that came to understand that our revolution must defeat three interrelated and antagonistic contradictions - of national oppression, class exploitation and gender oppression. The ANC is only one of very few liberation movements that understands that black people's oppression was not only based on their colour, but was equally a function of the inherent exploitative nature of the colonial capitalist system. The ANC understood that African women faced triple oppression in their homes, in society and in the workplace. The National Democratic Revolution therefore seeks to resolve the three inter-related contradictions.

The ANC is also one of the very few liberation movements that evolved towards a class perspective; it analysed society from a class perspective and was able to provide a rich dialectical synthesis of the concrete national, class and gender contradictions in its policy and articulations. The ANC did not just declare itself a progressive and left leaning formation. Its policies, actions and articulation reinforced it as a pro-working class and pro-poor anti-imperialist liberation movement.

The rich texture in the balance of class, national and gender perspectives is the rock and cornerstone on which the Alliance rests. The Tripartite Alliance of ANC, SACP and COSATU, with historic relationships with SANCO, do not exist anywhere else in the world. It is unique only to the conditions of the South African revolution.

When we sing "*Hamba nathi mkhululi wethu*" we mean this literally. The ANC promised to liberate us; the ANC, like a bulldog holding a bone, stuck to that promise with unbelievable tenacity. It may have taken longer than many other African countries; it may have been more costly, with far too many casualties not only in our country but also in the neighbouring countries - Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Namibia, etc., but, as the ANC promised, we witnessed the ushering in of political freedom in our

lifetime. The 27 April 1994 breakthrough will always be remembered with fond memories not only by South Africans but also by the peoples of the world whose own contributions to our freedom should never be underestimated.

Since that 1994 breakthrough, the ANC has led a new struggle to replace colonialism of a special type and apartheid with a new order as envisioned by the true Congress of the People in 1955, which drafted ten simple demands, starting with the clarion call that:

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know: That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people.... And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

Today, the majority who were not there in 1955, when these undying words were ushered, are enjoying and making sense of these words of wisdom. Our Constitution is to an extent the realisation of this vision.

Under the leadership of the ANC we have made tremendous strides in building a better life for all South Africans. As we celebrate 100 years of the ANC we shall be celebrating the protection of workers' rights, not only in the Constitution in a manner no other constitution does anywhere else in the world, but also we shall be celebrating a range of progressive labour laws that have helped in tilting the balance of forces in the workplace to make super-exploitation of workers difficult as part and parcel of addressing one of the three interrelated antagonistic contradictions – class oppression and exploitation. We shall be celebrating improved healthcare, in particular with the phased-in and progressive introduction of the National Health Insurance. We are particularly pleased to note that 1.4 million South Africans are in government's ARV programme and 15 million will be tested for HIV by June this year. The aim is to reduce the rate of infections by 50% and get ARV treatment to 80% of those who need it.

We shall be celebrating improved access to education, in particular the near universal access by girl children. We shall be celebrating the fact that 15 million South Africans have a roof above their heads. Millions receive support from government in the form of grants without which they will simply die of starvation.

The victories under the ANC are countless. Our task is to multiply and consolidate these advances. We know that 'Rome was not built in one day' and as the ANC itself has said 'more still needs to be done'.

The biggest challenge we face as we celebrate the centenary is the triple challenge of unemployment, poverty and inequality. With 36% or 7 504 000 people still unemployed, South Africa's rate of unemployment is higher than any other middle income country that we economically compare with. We know that 73% of all those unemployed are youth and mostly women and Africans! Poverty remains widespread and continues to afflict millions with at least between 40% and 50% of the population living in poverty. We have become the most unequal society in the world, with 50% of the South African population living on 8% of the national income. This means that for every R100 of national income earned, almost 25 million people share just R8 a day.

COSATU agrees with the ANC that we can only overcome these economic challenges if we restructure the economy inherited from our ugly past. We must end its domination by mining, finance and heavy chemicals. We must end ownership and control of strategic sectors of our economy by a handful of people, be they black, white, foreign or domestic.

We must prioritise the expansion of manufacturing industry so that we benefit our own resources, using them to add value by turning them into manufactured goods and begin to reach the government's goal of creating five million decent jobs in the next ten years.

Unless we can embrace radical economic programmes and develop capacity of the state to intervene and drive development we shall not succeed to build a more egalitarian society that does not tolerate poverty and inequality.

To overcome this also means that we must return to our time tested values and principles. Revolutionary morality means consistently and robustly leaving no stone unturned in our 100% and total commitment for total liberation of our people. We need to return back to our value of selflessness and promote integrity and honesty by all members of society particularly leaders of the Alliance. Leaders must be beyond reproach! Unless we perform this task, we shall find it difficult repeat the feats of the past heroes and heroines of the movement.

Whilst welcoming many initiatives to deal with the cancer of corruption, greed and selfishness within our ranks, there can be no doubt that this is one of the biggest challenges of our time. COSATU together with the ANC has been ringing the alarm bells over the national crisis of corruption for many years. This cancer is eating away the heart of our democracy, driven by the capitalist culture of 'me first' and 'get as rich as possible as fast as possible'.

We must, together, defeat the existence in some parts of the political environment engulfed by growing stagnation and degeneration, the take-over of crass materialism in our ranks and society, greed, unbridled fraud and corruption. Together we must defeat ill-discipline, political arrogance and ideological backwardness that is compromising our revolutionary movement. We argue that we must draw a line in the sand on revolutionary morality that no one will cross.

Our task is to defend the space we created for ourselves in the historic 52nd national conference. We will continue to campaign for full implementation of all the resolutions of that conference. We will defend the current leadership collective from those hell bent on putting it on the back foot, undermine its authority and create divisions in the organisation.

Notwithstanding all these and other challenges we face, we remember a movement that led so gallantly for over 100 years. That is why we are celebrating today! We need to declare this coming decade a decade of the revolutionary cadre. The ANC has always adapted to new conditions – like a snake it has always left behind the old and bad looking skin to emerge with new methods that can be applied to new conditions.

Our hope is that our generation will recognise that each generation faces its own challenges – our generation must do what the ANC has always done – adapt to new conditions!

**Happy birthday to the people's movement – May you grow stronger and last for another centenary!**

**Long Live the ANC!**

**Long Live Nelson Mandela and all our stalwarts!**

**Long Live the memory of all our heroes and heroines!  
Long Live Oliver Tambo and all soldiers of our glorious army Umkhonto we Sizwe**

**The ANC Lives – The ANC Leads!**



## **SANCO MESSAGE OF SUPPORT TO ANC CENTENARY**

Today, hundred years after the great inaugural conference our movement in this town of Bloemfontein, the tasks which our founding fathers set themselves - the overthrow of white minority domination and the creation of a non racial, non sexist and united democratic South Africa - has been accomplished. The ushering of a liberated country, which is the final eradication of colonial rule in Africa, is a key milestone in the existence of ANC. We are however conscious of the challenges and contradictions inherent in newly acquired liberations. We remain confident that this movement of our people, the leader of the National Democratic Revolution, the ANC, given its historic track record will continue to lead our people to victory over these challenges and contradictions, locally and internationally.

As we celebrate the Centenary of the ANC on this historic occasion let us strengthen our resolve to consolidate the gains and achievement of this movement of our people. We must consolidate the delivery of services to the majority of our people who now have access to affordable and in some instances free basic services, housing, water, sanitation, electricity, health and many other services guaranteed in the statutes as basic human right services.

Through its commitment to peace and stability the ANC led Government delivered a peaceful transition into a democratic dispensation, hailed by the world over as a South African miracle. Through this movement we have held many peaceful local, provincial and national elections envied by many countries. This organisation has further exported its world renowned principle of Government of National Unity to other countries in its quests for achieving national, regional, continental and international peace and stability. This phenomenon has been accepted as a workable solution in conflict infested countries. Because the ANC is an international, its Centenary Celebrations are international in form and character. To that effect the struggles and achievements of the people of South Africa led by the ANC have impacted on the whole of humanity. We are also celebrating the freedoms and principles drawn by the real Congress of the People on June 26, 1955 now enshrined in our constitution.

We are proud to be associated with such a gallant movement, the ANC. This culture of discipline, selflessness forms part of the core values of the entire democratic movement instilled by the likes of our gallant leaders, John Langalibalele Dube, Sefako Makgatho, Richard Mahabane, Josia Gumede, OR Tambo, Moses Mabida, Nelson Mandela, Chris Hani, the current leadership and many others cadres of our movement. The ANC as the

leader of this government has through its commitment to clean governance introduced transparency enshrined in policies, regulations, legislation and institutions through which it exposed, Corruption, which the apartheid regime could not expose as it was inherent in its workings. To this extent we have many people languishing in correctional services for their corrupt deeds, which compromised our people's rightful access to basic services. We hail the efforts of the ANC in its commitment to fighter this cancer that destroys many established and newly established democracies. With the ANC as people's organisation leading government, we are guaranteed a Better Life For All for many centuries to come our way.

In celebrating our own twenty years of existence next month and as part of consolidation the gains of the ANC, SANCO is focusing on civic politics, the delivery of services, the challenges faced by communities, the successes and shortcomings in the local economic development, strengthen our participation on deepening democracy in all structures like Ward Committees, etc. To this extent we have established a SANCO Development Institute through which we will facilitate participation of communities in their own development. This approach is in line with the Durban 1991 Conference of the ANC, which resolved to promote people centred and people driven development. We are confident that it is possible for us to achieve these objectives, given the commitment of the ANC to participatory development approach. This commitment is underpinned by policies, deployed, resources and intuitions and continued support of the ANC led Government.

**We salute the founders of the ANC,**

**We salute other liberation movements that supported the ANC throughout the struggle for liberation,**

**We salute the people of South African for trusting the ANC,**

**We salute the current leadership of the ANC for providing leadership to the people and the Alliance,**

**Happy Centenary to the Movement of our people, ANC,**

**Long Live the ANC, Long Live!**