

African National Congress

NC STATEMENT ON THE THREAT OF A VOLKSTAAT U.D.I.

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~~This week, the focus of Volkstaat actions has moved from Comrades weeks provocative actions in and around Akasia, to Northern Natal and OFS. This is further evidence of our belief that the Volkstaaters have a strategy to slowly acquire power by incremental means after all the preparatory steps are judged to have been taken.~~

2. In Bloemfontein, Volkstaat supporters staged a demonstration of power by a blockade of the city centre with numerous motor vehicles. Their numbers were sufficient to bring all traffic in the city centre to a standstill for over an hour. There are no reports of any action by any of the forces of law and order to restrain the operation or uphold citizens' rights of free access to public places.

3. In Newcastle the Volkstaaters staged a public demonstration which reportedly drew in supporters from neighbouring towns. During this demonstration, the Boerkommando commander in Northern Natal, flouting a pistol in a hip holster, marched into the local ANC office to deliver a written "declaration" claiming Newcastle for the Volkstaat. It said that the claim was based on the right of the "boerevolk" to retain its own land which it had acquired by "negotiation" with the Zulu nation, "through honest hard work and the grace of the Almighty." Any party that attempted to deny this right would be regarded as an aggressor, and would be met with the "necessary reaction." The local ANC stated that it regarded this as a declaration of war.

4. The local leader of the AVF in Newcastle has called a public meeting for next Tuesday, at which a memo of their claim to the territory will be handed to the mayor. "On Tuesday we will begin in public to draw the borders of our Volkstaat" he stated.

5. Leonard Veenendaal, described as Chief of Staff of the Northern Natal Boerevolk Order, has stated that he is prepared to make war for the Volkstaat, and to lead Zulus to defend themselves by military means against the ANC's assault. "It is no secret" he said "that we are leading Zulus. We have trained them for the assault." He refused to say where the training camps are situated. Information reaching the ANC is that approximately 1000 men have been secretly trained in armed destabilisation and terrorist techniques, in camps in Northern Natal. This training and belligerent talk of war can only contribute to the current wave of mass murder and terror now being deliberately stirred

up by opponents of the ANC in the Natal Midlands.

7. While the Volkstaat campaigners go through the motions of "negotiating a settlement" in talks with the ANC and the Government, their followers on the ground are laying the foundations of an armed declaration of UDI in an area as yet undefined, or - perhaps as with the fragmented area of Bophutatswana - in several areas simultaneously. Wherever they have the strength of white following, local authorities have already been coerced into flagrant violation of the national law on municipal reform, and to declare themselves part of the anticipated Volkstaat.

8. The ANC can no longer allow the public right to peaceful political and electoral campaigning to be used as a cover for preparation of a military insurrection towards a new Volkstaat. It now demands:

- * that the SADF makes good its promises, and immediately withdraws all firearms issued to members of the commando units in any area where Volkstaater provocations are staged.

- * that the TEC compels all municipal authorities to comply with the provisions of the Municipal Reform Act without further delay or face suspension from office.

- * that adequate SADF forces are deployed throughout Northern Natal to prevent any further military or para-military training anywhere in the Province including KwaZulu.

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Motivation for Statement on The Threat from the Volkstaaters.

1. The outlines of the plans of the Volkstaaters are becoming clear. The Volkstaat will not necessarily start with a single "big bang" proclamation on some future 'day one'. Instead, it appears from the evidence that the plan is to bring the Volkstaat into being piecemeal, one creeping step at a time. It appears that these steps are preparing the way NOW for the establishment of structures and administrative apparatus for the future Volkstaat, so that, at a moment in the future, with the formal proclamation of "Independence" the trappings of such a state will be up and running.

2. The attention of the democratic forces in the country has been focussed on those aspects of the Volkstaat idea which are relevant to the constitutional negotiations and the election process. Separate attention has been paid to each specific step taken by the Volkstaaters at the time when it occurs. But this event-by-event approach obscures their overall strategic plan which explains their preference for a 'creeping' rather than a 'big bang' approach.

3. Some of the steps already taken by the Volkstaaters are:

a. The organisation of a substantial armed, mobile and politically dedicated 'Citizen Reserve' type force.

b. The development of a network of radio stations, which can serve to mobilize the citizen force for front-line duty when needed, for communication with supporters elements outside the Volkstaat, and for propaganda to the wider world.

c. Preparation of a skeleton of the Volkstaat legal/administrative structure by pressurising municipalities to re-establish segregated "white" facilities, to restore night curfew systems, and to put an end to the exercise of civil political rights by black and/or democratic bodies.

d. Training the white population in the use of offensive weapons, and securing weapons stockpiles against some future contingency.

4. Recent indications of the extent to which these steps have advanced are:

a. Events in Standerton, where armed members of the AWB occupied the town centre and declared it "closed" to protest marchers on the day, and at any time in the future, regardless of any arrangements reached with the municipality or the police.

b. Events in Akasia, where the Boerkommando barricaded the municipal

offices with sand-bags and barbed wire to keep the town council from becoming multi-racial. "We will in fact protect this property from any onslaught from the Government" Boerkommando leader Meynardt stated. "Council property belongs to the ratepayers and not to the province." The Akasia Town Council agreed, and co-operated with them .

5. The deKlerk government has not reacted in any way against those Volkstaaters who have seized power for themselves from government or local authorities. The police have generally stood by and refused to intervene in these actions, and municipal authorities and magistrates have either tacitly supported or treated these actions with total indifference. This has encouraged the Volkstaaters to try and extend their creeping take-over of local authority.

6. The precise area which will ultimately be claimed for the Volkstaat is unclear. But it appears from a number of their statements and actions that the area north of Pretoria (possibly including Pretoria itself) is their provisional target. Constand Viljoen claims that 75% of Afrikaners support the Volkstaat. That figure is blatantly exaggerated.

7. These facts lead to the conclusion that the Volkstaaters' strategy is to produce some sort of *fait accompli* in the target area, by putting substantial Volkstaat superstructure and procedures in place before a formal declaration of independence. An act of UDI under such circumstances, would amount to an armed confrontation with the TEC or the Government of National Unity , an insurrection. Vigilance, and contingency planning to meet that possibility seem to be essential.

8. The series of systematic bombings of ANC offices is equally intended to seriously disrupt the organisation, especially its ability to mobilise the people for the elections. In the absence of any governmental attempt to control the Volkstaaters' direct actions or to make them answerable to the law, mass resistance organised by local ANC units is the essential weapon we can now deploy . It is proposed therefore:

a. That the facilities available for rapid repair and or reconstruction of bombed offices be reviewed to ensure that disruption is as short-lived as possible.

b. That the ANC, together with whatever other forces it can rally, make a public and well publicised demand - a *demarche* - on De Klerk to bring the Volkstaaters into compliance with the law.

African National Congress

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ANC Press Centre

VOTES AND FREEDOM FOR RURAL WOMEN.

A Press Statement from the African National Congress.

From now till April 27th is the run-up to South Africa's first free election. But how free will the voters be - in the run-up campaign or on polling day?

More than half the total population are women. So if the elections are truly free, more than half the votes should come from women.

But will they? It will be more difficult for women to vote freely than it will be for men. Before most women can attend election campaign meetings, and before they can vote, they are expected first to have regard to all those things traditionally seen as "womens' work" - take care of their homes, and attend to the feeding and welfare of their men, their children, the sick and the aged.

Even after all that many of them will still not be free. Many will still be trapped by a net of customary and legal restrictions which make them into minors, dominated by male authority, and only able to exercise their free rights if their household head consents. All of them will have to face an intimidating threat of assault and violence, which is rampant against women everywhere in our society. And all of that before ever they get to hear the campaign speeches, and before ever they can vote.

Without the full and free participation of women - more than half the population - there can be no fair and free election. The issues are simple:

* 7 out of 10 women voters are African. They are the women most subject to legal and family restrictions on their activities. Of all voters, they live

in the places most exposed to violence and intimidation. Can they be free to vote?

* 7 out of 10 African women live in rural areas. They are the most isolated voters, often beyond reach of the canvassers or voters' education campaigns, and without transport to campaign meetings and polling stations. Are they free to vote?

* Many African rural women voters live and work on white-owned farms. They are the voters most subject to employers' interference in their right to canvass, be canvassed, or vote. Will their vote be free?

And what of the other 3 out of ten non-African rural women, the Coloured women like those on Western Province farms; Indian women like those like those on Natal sugar farms. What about all those other urban and rural women of all races - white, Coloured and Indian - who are cloistered in patriarchal families, and terrorised outside the family by fears of violent assault or robbery. Can they too be free to vote without special measures to guarantee and protect their rights?

The answers to all this are very clear. There can be no truly free elections until women are truly free to exercise their rights equally with men.

This is why, in the very forefront of its election programme, the ANC has committed itself to AFFIRMATIVE ACTION which will secure the rights and freedom of all women - and especially of those who need it most, rural women. That commitment stands in the very forefront of our programme.

But it is not - like many promises from our opponents - a commitment for the duration of the election campaign only. It was in our programme before the election campaign. It will remain in our programme after the election campaign. It will be writ large after the election, in the policies of the ANC in government.

The next, and ANC majority, government will legislate

* FOR women to receive equal access to jobs, pay and vocational training.

* FOR women to have equal rights to own land, and to hold mortgages and title.

* FOR women to have equal rights to business licences, business assistance, and loan capital.

The ANC in government will introduce:

- * a new tax system stripped of all discrimination against women.
- * special crash courses to let women catch up from past educational inferiority.
- * a health programme for free child health care up to five years of age, motherhood care for all, and safe legal abortion for women who choose it.

This is the ANC programme. It is designed to free women from age-old inferiority. Its aims are simple: **A democratic, non-racist, non-sexist South Africa, with jobs, peace and freedom for all!**

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frican National Congress

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A PROGRAMME FOR JOBS AND REDEVELOPMENT

I A Press Statement from the African National Congress.

There can be no new South Africa unless there are to be jobs for the more than three million jobless, or the tens of thousands more who join their ranks each year. Nor can there be a real new South Africa unless there are real jobs for many of the three million more who have been driven by the lack of work opportunity into petty street trading, odd-jobbing or a life of crime.

But making jobs on such a scale will take more than the NP's simplistic 1991 "job creation scheme", with a R1 billion programme. Of which only a third was spent in the next two years while 50,000 jobs a year disappeared from factories, mines and farms. Our country must find a new and different way to create the jobs we need..

The scale of the task demands that we turn the whole economy around.

That is precisely what the ANC has planned to do in its Reconstruction and Development Plan. And it is precisely the fundamental and thorough-going turn-around that ANC candidates are campaigning for, nationally and regionally.

Our Reconstruction and Development Plan will create new jobs on a scale commensurate with the need. We will not follow the 46 year record of all-round NP government failure. We will not follow their attempt to simply throw the taxpayers' money at the problem and hope it will go away. We will set out deliberately to turn the economy around by approaching the problem in a new way - towards consistent people-centred growth.

* We will take measures to divert our finances from high-price speculative developments to low-cost housing for the homeless. Large-scale building will create new jobs in construction and the supply industry

* We will develop a nation-wide network of primary health-care facilities to provide mothers and children with comprehensive protection. The demand for premises, services, equipment and staff will create new jobs.

* We will provide equal and high quality education for all school-children, adult-education services for the illiterate and semi-literate, and a greatly expanded teacher training service.

The need for more trained teachers, for upgraded buildings, adequate text-books and proper school facilities will create new jobs

* We will construct a national network of basic services - clean water, electricity, sewage and rubbish disposal throughout the country. It will create an enormous demand for materials, skilled and unskilled labour, and technical specialists. It will create new socially useful jobs.

But turning the economy around in this manner cannot be simply achieved by merely allocating the national finances and manpower resources to fit the plan. We will have to create a new approach, which does not simply repeat the disastrous approach of the NP government. We must set new national priorities and aims, and follow them through in the execution of our redevelopment programme.

The ANC in government will give priority everywhere to those most in the greatest need. This will apply in education, in skills training and job opportunities, in access to financial assistance, in allocation of contracts and licences.

The ANC in government will have new criteria for its economic planning.

We will take affirmative action to enable women to break out of their inferior status: only 1 job in formal employment for every 4 men, and in the worst paid jobs; only 1 woman in a managerial or supervisory post for every 7 men. This subject status for women cripples the capacity of the economy to expand. It is one of the NP's legacies we will scrap.

We will take affirmative action to enable our black citizens - especially the young and the school-leavers - to break out of *their* inferior status: 98% of the country's unskilled labourers, almost 100% of the illiterate, the under-educated, and of those below the official Minimum Living Level. Underskilling, illiteracy and poverty have been a perpetual break on economic development. That too is an NP legacy we will scrap.

We will give first place to development projects in those regions most impoverished and neglected by the NP government. We will focus on rural development projects and training to transform the millions of black rural women and men from landless or subsistence farmers into modernised, self-sufficient producers for their local markets. We will act to end the reckless pollution of air and water, and the reckless dumping of poisonous pollutants which the NP government tolerated. We will encourage democratic labour relations and fair employment practices everywhere, in farming as in industry, trade and mining, with full trade union organising and bargaining rights, and workers' rights to be informed about their employer's plans.

New priorities and new criteria will turn our whole economy and our whole society around. Together they will enable us to retrieve our country from the awful mess that 46 years of NP government has left in every corner of our national life.

Can we do it? Yes we can. But not alone. Only with the backing of all democratic minded citizens for an ANC majority government which works to realise it.

Can we afford it? Yes we can. But only if we bring to an end the NP regime which created the swollen and unaccountable bureaucracy which presided over 46 NP years of mismanagement, waste and fraud. We can find the money for both state and regional development if we reconstruct the economy to one of sustainable growth.

The ANC election programme is a programme for just such growth - for Reconstruction and Development, with full democratic participation of the people in open public policy forums. Non-racial, non-sexist. growth, which WILL create the jobs our

country and our people need so desperately.

This week therefore, the ANC election campaign will focus on the job front

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ANC Elections Press Centre

FOR SMALL BUSINESS AND FOR JOBS

A Press Statement from the African National Congress.

We have had 46 years with the National Party master-minding our economic policy. The results have been disastrous - over half the population at levels below the official Minimum Living Level; almost half the able-bodied population out of work; over 3 million people in slum settlements without basic services or homes; half a million lost jobs in industry, mining and agriculture in five years.

And this in a country with a G.D.P. of R8,500 a head! The scandalous economic record can not be blamed on a poverty of resources. It is the result of bankrupt National Party policies which encouraged privatisation and deregulation; which encouraged ever larger monopoly corporations and discouraged small business; which kept low taxes on corporations and big business, and high taxation on everyone else.

We cannot afford to travel this disastrous road any further. The coming election provides the chance to break with the NP's ruinous past.

Yet only the ANC has put forward a realistic model for an alternative. That model focusses on those most neglected in the past - the jobless and homeless, the rural and urban poor. It aims at raising the status and the standards of life for the black majority and the female half of the people, so that they can attain all-round equality.

It is not an anti-enterprise or an anti-business programme. For its success, the ANC will require only that big business and the big corporations also change *their* focus - away from the speculation and

This too - like the NP's overall economic record - is something this country can no longer afford. The ANC in government will reverse that policy. We will honour our undertaking to remake the economy so as to provide jobs, homes, and education for all. And new opportunities for independent traders small business-men and women.

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The ANC Programme is also a programme of hope for s

BE SURE OF A BIGGER LIE.

A Press Statement from the African National Congress.

Last week NP Housing Minister Shill claimed that the National Housing Forum's R90 million housing scheme was his and his government's own proposal. Now, in its press advertisements, the NP proclaims a belief that "every family should have a roof over its head."

It is a bit late for that! For forty-six years the NP held the power to do something about putting a roof over every head. It did nothing. It buried its head in the sand, and tried not to see the number of the homeless growing to today's total of over 3 million. But it is not too late to try "the big lie."

So now the NP also claims to be the only party that "you can be sure " will create an economy strong enough to pay for the National Housing Forum's nation-wide house-building programme. Where has it been for all these 46 years? With the NP in full control of the economy, production has declined, millions have rotted without jobs, and poverty has spread disastrously everywhere.

There is a real record of NP government, and there is the electoral advertisement about "the only party with the experience and the ability to create and manage a healthy economy." People who buy that will buy anything! The truth is in the record, not in the advertising claims.

The fact is that at this late hour and in a late attempt to mislead the voters, they are cobbling together an election appeal out of bits and pieces pinched from the ANC . Today they have taken bits and pieces of the housing programme which we developed together with other bodies in the National Housing Forum. Last week they lifted bits and pieces of our education programme to cover up their own.

The NP election programme is a fraud to cover up the party's disastrous record in government. It sloganises: "We've made the change". If so, it is only by changing their shabby apartheid mantle for a patchwork cloak made out of ANC cloth. they have. They made the change from being the apostles of apartheid by taking on some of the ANC' clothes. The disguise is a bit too thin. It will deceive nobody, because this is an election strictly for adults. And adults know all about the character of the wolf in others' clothing.

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ANC Press Centre

THE IFP ATTACK ON SHELL HOUSE, JOHANNESBURG.

A press Statement from the African National Congress

The IFP demonstration in Central Johannesburg on Monday March 28th has been widely described in the media as "A Zulu March". It was nothing of the sort. Though the IFP constantly claims to speak for "the Zulus", every opinion poll of Zulu opinion has shown that a clear majority of Zulus reject the IFP and support the ANC. Monday's events were not a Zulu affair but solely and simply an IFP adventure. Nor was there a "march". The so-called march was simply a cover for a preplanned assault on the ANC apparatus in Johannesburg.

Well before the IFP mobs gathered in Central Johannesburg, the ANC had intelligence information of an aggression against the ANC planned to take place during Monday's demonstration. This information was formally passed to the South African Police on Sunday, and a formal request was made for the SAP to control the route of the demonstration and to cordon off streets around the ANC buildings. The SAP failed to do either, until after the attacks had taken place.

This was a clear dereliction of duty by the responsible SAP officers. Even after the IFP began to spread panic by random shooting and assaults in the streets of Central Johannesburg, police took no steps to control the marchers' routes, or to cordon off ANC headquarters. Early on in the day, it must have been clear to the police that the advertised venue for the demonstration at the Library Gardens had been a diversion. Groups of marchers who had gathered at various places in the City began to move **away** from the Library Gardens towards Shell House to the West. Whether police shepherded them or ignored them is still not clear. Whatever the truth, the SAP will have to explain themselves. Their present excuse of "insufficient forces" is not acceptable in the light of the explicit fore-warnings they had been given.

There is a stark contrast between the SAP actions in Johannesburg on Monday, and their actions during the much larger ANC march through the centre of Durban on the Friday before. The Durban march of some 100,000 passed off completely peacefully. The ANC supporters were completely unarmed. The route had been agreed between the SAP and the ANC; it was adhered to. Yet the entire route was cordoned off with razor wire before the march began, to prevent incursions by provocators. The SAP will have to explain why the Johannesburg route was not

similarly controlled. And more pertinently, why there was no attempt to disarm the IFP bands before the Johannesburg march was allowed to proceed.

It can scarcely be coincidental that the IFP marchers were being co-ordinated by Themba Khoza, recently named by the Goldstone Commission as one of those involved inter alia in gunrunning for the IFP, in collusion with certain SAP senior officers of the so-called 3rd Force. Khoza returned from Natal immediately before the march. His spurious claim that the shooting in the streets was done by ANC members who infiltrated the Inkatha ranks, seems to be a total fabrication. The ANC states categorically that there were no ANC snipers anywhere in Johannesburg, and all ANC Security personnel operated at Shell House on the ground floor. If Khoza knew in advance about the presence of such 'snipers' - as he apparently claims - the real question is whether they did not originate from the 3rd Force?

The Johannesburg events which led to the unnecessary deaths of at least 25 people and the wounding of hundreds more have been variously described by reporters, few of whom were on the scene of the actual shootings when they occurred. Many reports have been assembled at second hand from accounts of casual by-standers, often in state of shock, and untrained to observe and report. As a result, incidents from one place have been concertina-ed into incidents from another, and times of one event conflated into times of another. The SABC, for example, in a televised opinion of DP Peace Secretariat member Rupert Lorimer of a "crowd .. in a fairly peaceful mood", related to a scene at the Library Gardens; but his comment was placed against TV coverage of carnage at Shell House - a different place and a different time.

Those who were on the scene of the violent confrontation at Shell House were the ANC staff, and the ANC Security personnel who were deployed around the building from an early hour.

The Events as Witnessed from the ANC Premises.

Reports had been reaching Shell House since around 8a.m. of armed demonstrators attacking people around the ANC Regional office in Jeppe Street; innocent passers-by seeking shelter in the offices were being pursued. No police had been deployed. ANC Security personnel were compelled to fire warning shots into the air to prevent a massed attack on the building. Police arrived at the office later, and checked that all arms held by the ANC Security staff were licensed shotguns. They then withdrew. The demonstrators returned to the attack shortly after 9a.m., attempting to enter the building through the garage. Warning shots were again fired by Security staff. So far as is known there was one person injured in the first shooting incident, and no one in the second.

After this second incident, ANC Regional Secretary Paul Masitile phoned General Callitz of the SAP, who promised to deploy police personnel in the area around the Regional Office. At about the same time, NEC member Joe Nhlanhla phoned General Beukes of the SAP in Pretoria to ask for urgent action to cordon off Shell House. Ten policemen under the command of a sergeant were deployed at around 10.15a.m.

At around 11.20a.m. IFP marchers, moving from the west - that is away from the Library Gardens area - reached the vicinity of Shell House. They divided into two groups, one moving to the back of the building while the remainder assembled on the pavement opposite the entrance to the building. As this group advanced on the building, ANC Security personnel stationed outside the entrance fired warning shots in the air. The IFP group retreated. A second group of attackers, led by a man carrying an AK47 assault rifle appeared from the west side of the

building, firing as they came. The ANC Security staff withdrew from the pavement into the building, firing a second volley of warning shots. At this stage, no police personnel were visible.

The IFP bands began to coalesce, and to advance on the building for what appeared to be a concerted frontal assault on the entrance. Shots were heard, apparently from automatic weapons some4where west of the entrance. ANC Security personnel fired into the advancing ranks, inflicting a number of casualties. The IFP gangs broke and fled.

Despite reports to the contrary, no ANC Security personnel were stationed above ground floor level on any of the upper levels of the building. Nor were any ANC personnel stationed on the roof of Shell House or any other building in the vicinity.

The ANC considers that its Security personnel behaved in a thoroughly disciplined and professional manner. They made every effort to alert the police to the danger of an IFP attack well in advance of the event. They acted with the utmost restraint, firing in the air in order to warn off the attackers even when they themselves were under fire. Their presence in the building, and their right to carry arms for defence of the large staff employed there, had long since been established with the police. Their final decision to prevent the attack by direct fire was fully justified by the provocative behaviour of the attackers.

The ANC regrets deeply the loss of life and the injuries suffered by innocent victims of IFP adventurism, both outside Shell House and at other places in and around Central Johannesburg and in the surrounding townships. None of this was fortuitous. It was the inevitable outcome of the insane determination of the IFP's leaders to destabilise South Africa regardless of the human cost, and so prevent the holding of free and fair elections on April 27th.

They must not be allowed to succeed. They must not be allowed to cover their responsibility for Monday's bloodshed by blaming it on a shadowy group of 'indunas'. They must be held fully accountable for their reckless attempts to plunge the whole country into anarchy and civil strife. And so must their police accomplices in the 3rd Force, and those other police officers whose neglect of their public duties on Monday contributed directly to the mayhem on the streets.

The response to them all will still be given on April 27th, by a resounding and overwhelming public vote for a new democratic government, committed to equal rights and opportunities for all. The gangsters will not be allowed to wreck the national future.

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THE NATIONAL PARTY HOUSING PLAN.

The Minister of Housing's sudden announcement of a substantial new housing programme has been produced like a rabbit from a hat, right in the midst of an election campaign where much attention has focussed on the ANC's housing programme.

The new government 'plan' comes after decades of the National Party's gross neglect of our people's housing needs, which has resulted in an estimated 8 million people being reduced to slum life in squatter camps or in squalid urban hostels. Even so, any realistic programme to address their needs would be welcomed by all. But this particular initiative cannot. It is not a genuine attempt to cope with a pressing genuine need, but is simply a cynical deception of the homeless who have waited so long for an end to their misery. Instead of a real housing programme, they are being offered a blatant exercise in party electioneering dressed up as a programme.

The ANC programme, as stated in its election manifesto issued some time ago, provides for a five-year programme, which aims at the building of a million new houses, together with provision of running water and flush toilets to over a million families and of electricity to two-and-a-half million urban and rural homes. The programme would be funded jointly by the state, which would give it priority rating, and by inputs from the private sector.

In its attempt to steal the ANC's election clothing, the National Party has disclosed only the financial parameters of its scheme. Of the R90 million projected to be spent in the next ten years, more than half is intended to come from the private sector. R2 billion is scheduled to be provided by government this year, with a further R4 billion a year for the rest of the decade.

But the commitment of government funds on this scale, and to a newly announced programme, would be a clear violation of understandings reached between parties at the multi-party negotiations in the Trade Centre -including the NP - that no new measures involving state restructuring would be introduced during the run up to the elections. The NP is breaking that understanding in order to perpetrate a patent election fraud and to persuade the voters that it is at last taking action on the

housing front, when it knows that no such plan can legitimately be carried through. Their housing 'plan' is a con-trick.

Evidence that the 'plan' has been hastily cobbled together for election purposes is given by the reaction of the National Housing Forum which has spent a great deal of time developing a long-term housing programme in agreement with most of those seriously involved in the field. The Forum says that the NP announcement is jeopardising "months of negotiation towards a carefully negotiated national accord." And it is reported that both the Forum and the National Housing Board had specifically asked that Housing Minister Shill should withhold his announcement until the essential financial and administrative arrangements had been settled. But the Minister went ahead without any such settlement, driven by the pressure of the NP's electioneering priorities.

The ANC will not accept that any such new and unilateral initiatives can legitimately be taken by the government in this period, except with prior agreement with the TEC.

It will oppose to the full any attempt by the NP to pre-empt the electoral right of the voters to pass *their* judgement on housing or any other programmes which are put into the public debate through the ANC's or other party election manifestoes.

It issues due warning to any financial institutions which might be inveigled into contracting into the NP plan, that the ANC in government will not consider itself bound by any commitment entered into by the government in pursuit of this NP scheme without prior express sanction from the TEC.

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1st March, 1994.

FOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN.

In the coming week, the focus of the ANC election campaign will be on the future for women under an ANC government. All ANC regions will be arranging special events connected with this Focus Week, culminating in a major event in celebration of International Womens' Day on March 8th.*

Our election manifesto stresses our commitment to bringing about a society founded fully on the legal and social equality of men and women - in education, health, housing, employment, agriculture; and above all in law and in social relations.

This commitment finds an echo in the list of ANC candidates for Parliament which has a higher proportion of women than any other party. *However, they still remain an under-represented group.* And yet they are only one in three, though women make up more than half the population. ~~This under-representation shows that the~~ Inequality throughout our society, including in our political life, does not disappear in response to good intentions alone. Deliberate action needs to be taken to eradicate ~~it~~ *this*.

Inequality holds women back everywhere. It prevents them making their full contribution in any sphere of national life. If it is carried forward into the new South Africa, all of us, women, men and children will be the poorer for it. Laws, customs and social practices conspire to maintain that inequality. That women have unequal access to education and training, to job opportunities, to land, to trade and to finance, that they have unequal legal protection against exploitation and abuse arises from generations of apartheid and sexist law. That they carry unequal burdens in child raising and child care, in household and family duties is the consequence of outmoded attitudes and traditions. The ANC is committed to change all that.

There are three roads to change. An ANC government will repeal racially and sexually discriminatory laws. It will introduce laws to guarantee equal rights for all, entrenched in the constitution. And it will sponsor affirmative action and public education leading to the ending of discriminatory customs and practices. We are committed to all three roads.

Specifically, our election manifesto commits the ANC in government to:

repeal those laws which permit womens' inequality in access to jobs or conditions in the workplace; and those which limit womens' rights to own and dispose of land or other property;

enact new legislation for equal rights of women in all walks of life, with provision for affirmative action to end the backlog from unequal opportunity in education, training and health.

Yet such legal action does not complete our pledge to work towards fully equal rights and opportunities throughout our society. Some matters of established practice and tradition, such as polygamy, purdah, ukungenwa, customary and tribal law remain unresolved. Only when there is a consensus claiming substantial support for any definitive policy on these matters can they be resolved without destructive social friction.

There is as yet no consensus, though these issues are being vigorously debated in many places. The ANC welcomes such debate. For ourselves, we approach these issues with an open mind, and will encourage debate until there *is* a resolution based on the emergence of a clear consensus.

In and out of election times, we are inescapably committed to our election manifesto's principle of full equality of men and women in all walks of life. We will uphold that principle in the debate. Free public debate, full public participation in the making of national policies, and a striving for consensus are the fundamentals of ANC political practice. Together they laid the foundation for the successful long-term internal unity in the ANC ranks. They established the democratic credentials of the ANC over many years of political action. And they are now bringing overwhelming support from all sections of the people, men and women alike, for our election ticket.

*An outline of events connected with this Womens'Focus Week is attached for information.

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INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF WOMEN
A Statement from the African National Congress.

March 8th, International Womens' Day, is an annual day for the celebration of womens' solidarity across the frontiers of nations. It is the day of international calls by women for the ending of all discrimination against them. This year will be no different. Except in South Africa. Here, this Womens' Day is different from all others.

This year, for the first time in our history, women will no longer simply be claiming equality, and celebrating their solidarity. This year, for the first time, they will no longer simply be making calls for change; they will be preparing themselves to make that change through the ballot box. This year, in place of the traditional rallies, demonstrations and meetings proclaiming an international sisterhood, they will be preparing to strike a blow for equality by voting in our country's first ever non-racial government. This year, for the first time in history, South African women will have it in their power to pick the next government, and to decide the shape of government policy for the next five years.

That is a formidable responsibility. There are more women voters than men. And for this reason alone, all parties in the election are trying to lay claim to the support of women. The words are enticing, the promises extravagant. Programmes are being hastily cobbled together, promising all things to all women.

Promises are easy; words are cheap. This first ever election is too important to all our futures for easy promises to be accepted without the closest examination. Every promise, every programme needs close examination, so that it can be tested against the party's real record.

The ANC is content to be judged by its record. It does not seek to win support by sticking a "new" label over its record in order to cover up a disgraceful past. Unlike the NP, It has no need to obscure its past, or to suddenly discover a "new" vote-winning programme.

Unlike the NP, there are no disreputable skeletons in our cupboard. We do not have a past which is sullied by decades of racism, national oppression ,police dictatorship and minority rule. We will stand by our record.

Unlike the NP, we do not come to a programme of democratic rights for all from four decades of upholding minority rule and 'baasskap'. Instead, since 1955 we have sponsored the Freedom Charter and its creed, that: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white. ...Only a democratic state, based on the will of the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race sex or belief.":

Unlike the NP, we do not come to a policy of equal rights for women after decades of NP and Government discrimination and neglect of womens' rights. Instead, the 1955 Freedom Charter proclaimed: "the rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex."

For sponsoring the Freedom Charter, our leaders were charged with High Treason. By the NP Government! For campaigning for the rights envisaged in that Charter, thousands of our members were jailed, tortured and banished by the NP Government.

Voters in the first universal and free elections in our history must judge the NP - and all our other competitors - not by their words alone, but by their record. No other party in this election can match our record of consistent campaigning for equality of women with men. None of them before this election have campaigned, as we have, for equal rights for all women, Coloured, Indian, African and white.

On International Womens' Day, the ANC can truly claim to be the party of women of all races who want to use their vote to win womens' rights, a better life for themselves and their children and an end to all discrimination against them. They will look to the ANC, not just for its past record, but for its present programme to which all ANC candidates are committed, and which they will carry out in Government, viz:

- * The immediate repeal of all laws which discriminate against women.
- * Laws which guarantee women equal rights to jobs, equal pay and job opportunity, and equal training.
- * Universal maternity and child-care health services, free for children up to five years of age.
- * Affirmative action to wipe out the heritage of inequality everywhere.

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For that, the NP charged our leaders with treason!persecution of all who suggested it. Thousands of our members were imprisoned and tortured by the NP government for camp[aigning for just that. I solidarity yesterday. We have been campaigning against all forms of race discrimination, for decades. Nor are we recent recruits to t

African National Congress

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ANC Elections Press Centre

THE MISMANAGEMENT OF THE NATION'S FUNDS.

A Press Statement from the African National Congress.

The NP advertisements that its record shows it is "fit to govern." That claim has been finally contradicted from inside the heart of the NP Government itself - witness yesterday's annual report from the state Auditor General.

It catalogues a spending spree, in which the Public Service dissipated taxpayers' money irregularly:

- * State Departments spent R155.7 million during the year on unauthorized transactions.
- * The Public Works Department alone spent an unauthorized R154 million over the past 4 years, and further sums were spent by the SADF and the Departments of Health and of Population.
- * The SADF's R474 million Special Defence Account had "...material deficiencies, and fell short of required standards."
- * R31 million allegedly "invested" in covert projects is now irrecoverable.

The report describes a Public Service which is unaccountable and out of control:

- * The Department of Education and Training is "still experiencing widespread mismanagement."
- * The Department of Trade and Industry's schemes, including export incentive schemes, were "undertaken without due consideration."
- * In financing the Bantustans, control and administration of finances had deteriorated, while expenditure rose by almost a quarter. (R9.6 billion)
- * Ministerial authority for payments and decisions were "not always in writing".
- * "Reasonable precautions were not taken and control measures

instituted.. to protect the interests of state" in Secret Service accounting for payments and transfers.

Or to protect the interests of the taxpayers and citizens generally.

The Auditor General summarises:

* There was an "inability to manage" state debts. There was "poor regulation" of spending by state entities. There were "deficiencies in accounting" for financing of the Bantustans.

After those comments, eyebrows will be raised by his curious conclusion that "the Public Services were reasonably well managed"! So, no doubt, was the Titanic.

And like the captain of the Titanic, the NP's management has steered the South Africa's state towards a shipwreck. During the year

* the country's gross gold and foreign reserves fell by 3.6% - R330 million.

* the state debt rose by 7% - R31,805 million.

* state expenditure rose by 3%,

The levels of government spending and debt, according to the Auditor General, are "causing some concern". And tax collection is "not always efficient."

So much for the official record of the National Party's competence in government. It is a record devoid of any sense of responsibility towards the taxpayers, and of total inability to manage matters competently. Our money has been squandered recklessly, mismanaged, misappropriated and misspent. It is time for a change - not just of direction but especially of management!

The ANC election manifesto is a programme for change, for "A better Life for All." It breaks sharply with the discredit priorities of the National Party government. It envisages a greatly expanded programme of public services and public works, which will provide jobs, education, housing and health for all our citizens. That programme will certainly need greater state funding than the NP government has ever provided.

We plan to increase the state funding for that programme by putting an end to the waste, corruption, incompetence and bureaucracy which drained the coffers of the NP government.

We plan to increase the state's revenue through a rapid expansion of the economy and through efficient tax collection.

All our forecast show that the Better Life *can* be afforded. And without any increase of the tax burden on the people. **But not under a National Party regime.** Only if the management of our resources rests with an ANC majority administration in national and provincial office.

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ANC Elections Press Centre

A REALISTIC PROGRAMME FOR REAL JOBS.

A Press Statement from the African National Congress.

The ANC Election Manifesto is titled: "For Jobs, Peace and Freedom". There is good reason why 'Jobs' comes first. Without jobs to get the country's more than 3 million unemployed into work, there is little chance of peace or freedom for any of us - the main aim of all ANC policies. .

Our Election Programme promises the creation of at least two-and-a-half million jobs within five years! Real jobs - not charity handouts. Real useful work - not useless "job creation" schemes for digging holes and filling them in again. Two-and-a-half million real jobs, which will provide a real base for reconstruction and a new South Africa, and for the development of its industrial, commercial and agricultural sectors. Two-and-a-half million people taken from the ranks of the desperate and the hopeless, and given the chance of dignity and human development which only real, secure, full-time useful work can provide., .

This is the promise and the substance of the ANC Reconstruction and Development Plan. It is not a glib generalisation to fill the temporary demands of our election campaign. It is a long-term plan which sets the social parameters for an ANC government for years to come.

New jobs cannot be created by reckless spending on ephemeral schemes. In our programme, the two-and-a-half million jobs will be created steadily, through the unfolding over a five-year time-scale of an unprecedentedly massive programme of essential Public Works.

These are the detailed focus points of that programme:

- * the building of up to 300,000 low cost homes a year, totalling at least one million in the first 5 years.
- * a national network of primary health-care centres with maternity care services and safe supervised childbirth facilities for virtually all women.
- * clean on-site water supplies to all households in urban and rural areas, with first priority given to schools and clinics.
- * electricity supply to 25 million households within five years, with first priority for schools and clinics.
- * tele-communications to all schools and clinics within two years, and rapid expansion of the service nation-wide thereafter.
- * immunisation against disease for 90% of children within three years.
- * a range of free and nation-wide health-care services for the aged, the disabled and the unemployed.
- * the training of three thousand community development workers in 5 years, and half the nationally required district health workers within 3.
- * expansion of the schooling system, to give at least ten years schooling to all children, in classes of not more than 40.

Those are the numerically determined elements of the programme. There are further unquantified elements, such as the building of road and rail networks, setting up vocational and management training schemes, providing nation-wide sanitation and refuse disposal services, and so on.

These projects will create hundreds of thousands - perhaps millions of new jobs, directly. The indirect spinoffs will create many more, from such auxiliary activities as manufacture and supply of materials, to transportation, training and retraining, planning, marketing and so on.

This massive plan of development and construction cannot be carried through by central and provincial governments alone. To even attempt to do so would require the creation of an equally massive bureaucracy and administrative apparatus. This is a burden our country cannot afford.

We will therefore encourage the private sector, through with special incentives, to take a large part of the financial and material burden on themselves. We will encourage all portions of the private sector to shift its focus from the area of speculation and luxury production to the new opportunities for enterprise contained in the ANC Reconstruction and Development programme.

We will encourage citizens everywhere to take full part in the detailed planning of the programme through democratic peoples' forums, and so tailor the programme to meet detailed local needs. We will encourage citizens to volunteer to assist the paid teams which will be providing the main man- and woman-power needed for the physical realisation of all the local development projects.

We will set the same criteria for the planning and for the execution of the whole programme, viz:

- preference to be given to small private enterprises as contractors and suppliers before the large monopolies favoured by the past NP regime.

- preference to be given to labour intensive rather than capital intensive methods of construction and service provision, to maximise the number of new jobs.

- priority in the distribution of jobs and contracts to be given to the most dispossessed and deprived sectors of the population, rather than the rich favoured by the NP regime.

- priority in the allocation of labour, material and finance to be given to those regions worst neglected by the NP regime.

- priority in opportunity to be given to women rather than men, and to blacks before whites, to redress the inequalities left over from the NP. regime.

We will pay for this scheme without any general need to raise tax rates, partly through savings from by cutting back the NP's swollen bureaucratic apparatus; partly by cutting out the waste, the multiplication of administrative structures, and the corruption which flourished in the NP era; but mainly with new revenue created from turning thousands of unemployed into employed taxpayers, and from taxes payable by private-sector entrepreneurs on their new profits from the Public Works programme.

This is the ANC Programme for jobs. It is realistic, and it is realisable.

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ANC Elections Press Centre

PROGRAMME FOR A BETTER LIFE

A Press Statement from the African National Congress

People in these regions had little or no income, limited opportunities to find formal employment or even a decent living in subsistence agriculture. Three in four men and three in five women had no income at all.

If you think that must be a report from Bangladesh, think again. It is from the findings of a research study of the Northern and Western Transvaal in 1991, carried out for the Development Bank of South Africa. It gives a fairly typical picture of South Africa outside the main conurbations, after 46 years of National Party rule.

Such conditions need a lot of explaining. South Africa has rich natural resources, good climate, a developed infrastructure. And yet, the peoples' capacity to develop has been "impaired by lack of services, assets and access to credit." Or, more precisely, by apartheid - and by 46 years of NP economics.

Election talk is often focussed on "economics" and "the economy" - not so often of the people reduced to misery by "the economy." There is much concern with fiscal policies and markets, competitiveness and taxation. But the real thing that has to be addressed is people". People come first! The mechanics of "the economy" follow.

We are the only Party in this election campaign whose programme in fact puts people first! Our Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) is a plan to correct the NP government's deformation of "the economy" by putting the needs of people first. Ordinary people, whose "opportunities to find formal employment or even a decent living in subsistence agriculture" have been growing fewer and fewer during the years of NP rule.

Putting people first! Our RDP is a plan for ending the misery of life for all those who have "little or no income". It is a promise from the ANC that the next South African government will provide them with homes, health and education. It is a plan for a better life!

In towns and cities, jobs come first in the search for that better life. Our RDP plans for 2.5 million jobs ~~jobs~~ for the millions of jobless, and for many more who have been driven by desperation to urban hawking, street trading, or crime.

In rural areas, land reform comes first in creating that better life. Our RDP plans to provide land with secure tenure through a land reform programme for the millions with "little or no income."

For today's jobless, and for tomorrow's school-leavers:

- * We will create two and-a-half million new jobs over the next ten years.
- * There will be jobs in all trades, for skilled and unskilled, for white-collar and professional workers.
- * They will be useful jobs in "Public Works"- not in useless 'job creation schemes".
- * They will be the jobs which turn our RDP into a reality, providing homes, and services and health facilities everywhere, and a minimum ten years of education for everyone.
- * They will be rewarded with a "living wage" to be negotiated between government, trade unions and employers, with working conditions laid down through collective bargaining at national, industrial and workplace levels.
- * The right to organise or join a trade union will be guaranteed, together with the right to strike.
- * Affirmative action to close the opportunity gap between women and men, and between black and white will be required of all employers.
- * Training opportunities will be developed under the RDP to give job opportunities to the untrained, and promotion opportunities to all employees.

For the landless and the rural poor:

- * We will embark on a radical new scheme of land reform scheme to provide all who want it a decent standard of life on the land. through the redistribution of 30% of the country's agricultural land.
- * Vacant land, land offered for sale, land acquired by corrupt means through the apartheid system, and land mortgaged to state or parastatal bodies will be redistributed.
- * There will be substantial state funding for the redistribution programme, with priority allocation to the poorest rural people and aspirant farmers.
- * A new Land Claims Court will be set up, to decide on adequate compensation for all those dispossessed since 1913 by racially discriminatory laws.
- * The equal rights of men and women to secure tenure of farm and residential land will be guaranteed by law.
- * A corps of well-trained extension workers will be deployed to teach sustainable and efficient farming methods, and training courses in land use, marketing and finance.
- * All labour legislation and trade-union rights will be extended to cover farm workers, with special provisions to cover the special conditions of farm work.
- * Water supplies will be extended to redistributed lands, and acceptable workers' housing constructed on farms as an integral part of the RDP Public Works programme.

This is the ANC programme for work, land and jobs. After the elections, it will be in the forefront of the ANC Government's programme. It is a programme which really puts people first. It is a plan to give hope and rising living standards to those neglected and despised in the NP government's "economy".

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