

ADDRESS OF COMRADE WALTER  
SISULU, DEPUTY PRESIDENT OF THE  
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, TO  
THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY,  
JOHANNESBURG, 5 DECEMBER 1991

COMRADES!

IT IS A GREAT HONOUR FOR ME TO  
ADDRESS THIS 8TH CONGRESS OF THE  
SACP ON BEHALF OF THE AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS. WHEN SOUTH  
AFRICAN COMMUNISTS MET AT THE  
LAST LEGAL NATIONAL FORUM OF THE  
PARTY ON THE EVE OF THE ADOPTION  
OF THE "SUPPRESSION OF  
COMMUNISM ACT" OF 1950 NOT MANY  
PEOPLE- EVEN WITHIN THE PARTY  
ITSELF- BELIEVED THAT THE PARTY  
WOULD WITHSTAND THE VICIOUS  
ONSLAUGHT THAT THE NATIONALISTS  
UNLEASHED ON IT. THE VERY FACT  
THAT THIS HISTORIC CONGRESS IS  
TAKING PLACE HERE IN  
JOHANNESBURG BEARS TESTIMONY TO

THE RESOLUTENESS,

TENACITY AND PERSEVERANCE OF THE SACP. THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY SURVIVED FORTY YEARS OF PERSECUTION IS ALSO DUE, IN NO SMALL MEASURE, TO THE ROCK-SOLID BOND BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

THIS BOND BETWEEN THE ANC AND THE PARTY IS A PRODUCT OF THE STRUGGLE; IT IS A BOND FORGED AND TEMPERED IN THE CRUCIBLE OF A COMMON RESOLVE TO RID OUR PEOPLE AND OUR COUNTRY OF THE SCOURGE OF INSTITUTIONALISED RACISM, NATIONAL OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION; IT IS ALSO A CRUCIAL PART OF OUR PRESENT AND FUTURE STRUGGLE. OUR BOND WAS NOT FORMED OVERNIGHT. IT TOOK A LONG TIME BEFORE THE ANC AND THE COMMUNISTS OVERCAME SUSPICION OF ONE ANOTHER.

WE TOOK A LONG TIME BEFORE WE LEARNT TO UNDERSTAND AND RESPECT ONE ANOTHER. REVOLUTIONARY GIANTS LIKE MOSES KOTANE, JUSUF DADOO, J.B.MARKS, ABRAM FISCHER, RUTH FIRST AND MANY OTHERS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN DISPELLING MUTUAL MISTRUSTS.HAVING FOUND EACH OTHER WE BEGAN TO ACT JOINTLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF OUR PEOPLE. DURING THIS PERIOD WE GAINED A LOT FROM ONE ANOTHER AND, IN NO SMALL WAY, CONTRIBUTED TO EACH OTHER'S POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT.THE SEVENTY FIGHTING YEARS OF OUR ALLIANCE HAVE BROUGHT US MUCH CLOSER TO OUR CHERISHED GOAL OF FREEDOM FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE. IT IS THEREFORE WITH DEEP PRIDE AND GREAT JOY

THAT THE ANC EXTENDS TO YOU WARM AND FRATERNAL GREETINGS ON THIS MOST IMPORTANT OCCASION.

YOUR 8TH CONGRESS IS TAKING PLACE AT A VERY CRUCIAL TIME IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY. NEVER BEFORE, IN OUR LONG AND ARDUOUS MARCH TO FREEDOM, HAVE WE BEEN SO NEAR TO VICTORY. THE MORE THE REASON WHY WE SHOULD ACT PURPOSEFULLY, DECISIVELY AND RESOLUTELY TO ENSURE THAT LIBERATION IS NOT DELAYED A DAY LONGER. WE ARE, THEREFORE, CALLED UPON TO DEFEND THE GAINS WE HAVE MADE SO FAR AND ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF TOTAL LIBERATION.

SINCE THE LAST CONGRESS OF THE SACP OUR STRUGGLE HAS BEEN ELEVATED TO NEW HEIGHTS. THROUGH OUR JOINT EFFORTS AND THOSE OF OTHER DEMOCRATIC FORMATIONS NOT

ONLY HAVE WE COMPELLED THE REGIME TO UNBAN THE PEOPLE'S ORGANISATIONS, RELEASE MOST POLITICAL PRISONERS, ALLOW EXILES TO RETURN HOME, BUT WE HAVE ALSO

SUCCEEDED IN PERSUADING THEM TO ACCEDE TO THE DEMAND FOR A PEACEFUL NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THESE ARE OUR RIGHTFUL VICTORIES AND WE MUST CLAIM THEM.

WE HAVE MANAGED TO REGISTER THESE VICTORIES BASICALLY BECAUSE WE HAVE ACTED IN UNITY AND UNITED IN ACTION. OUR COMMON EFFORTS HAVE PRODUCED A QUALITATIVELY NEW SITUATION - A SITUATION WHICH DEMANDS A MUCH BROADER UNITY THAT EXTENDS BEYOND THE TRADITIONAL REVOLUTIONARY FORCES. WE HAVE THEREFORE SOUGHT TO ENGAGE OTHER PATRIOTIC AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES

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IN PURSUIT OF OUR COMMON  
OBJECTIVE OF DESTROYING  
APARTHEID AND NATIONAL  
OPPRESSION. AS A RESULT OF THIS  
INITIATIVE WE FORMED THE  
PATRIOTIC FRONT. WE ARE  
THEREFORE DETERMINED, EVEN IN  
THE FACE OF FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO  
WEAKEN IT, TO FURTHER STRENGTHEN

THIS NEW AND IMPORTANT VEHICLE  
OF STRUGGLE.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS IS  
MORE THAN SATISFIED WITH THE  
PROGRESS MADE THUS FAR IN  
PREPARATIONS FOR REAL AND  
GENUINE NEGOTIATIONS. WE ARE  
PLEASED THAT AT LAST A DATE HAS  
BEEN SET FOR THE CONVENTION FOR  
A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA. AS WE  
ENTER THIS TERRAIN IT WILL BE  
IMPERATIVE FOR OUR ALLIANCE TO  
ENSURE THAT THE END PRODUCT OF  
THIS FORUM WILL BE AGREEMENTS ON

THE CONVOCATION OF AN ELECTED  
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND AN  
INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL  
UNITY.

AS WE GEAR OURSELVES FOR  
NEGOTIATIONS WE ARE ONLY TOO  
AWARE OF THE MANY AND DIFFICULT  
CHALLENGES AHEAD. WE SHALL BE  
CALLED UPON TO CARRY THE MASSES  
OF OUR PEOPLE ALONG WITH US AS  
WE  
HAVE DONE IN THE PAST. WE MUST  
THEREFORE CONSTANTLY ENGAGE OUR  
STRUCTURES AND ALL OTHER  
PATRIOTIC FORCES TO ENSURE THAT  
THE DECISIONS WE ARRIVE AT ARE  
TRULY REPRESENTATIVE AND  
REFLECTIVE OF THEIR ASPIRATIONS  
AND INTERESTS.

IF WE ARE TO SUCCEED AT THE  
NEGOTIATING TABLE WE SHOULD  
STRENGTHEN OUR UNITY, FOR OUR  
LIBERATION STRUGGLE REQUIRES NOT  
ONLY BROAD UNITY. IT ALSO

REQUIRES TIGHT UNITY AT THE CENTRE. IT REQUIRES A POWERFUL ENGINE THAT PROPELS THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT AS A WHOLE. THAT ENGINE IS OUR ALLIANCE, IN PARTICULAR THE UNSHAKABLE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE ANC, SACP AND COSATU. WITH SUCH A FORCE WE ARE IN A POSITION TO GUIDE THE KEY COMPONENTS OF OUR STRUGGLE AND ENSURE THAT THE ALLIANCE

LEADS THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY OF OPPRESSED AND DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICANS.

OURS IS A NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE, WHOSE MAIN OBJECTIVE IS NOT ONLY THE ATTAINMENT OF FORMAL POLITICAL FREEDOM. WE IN THE ANC AND INDEED IN THE ENTIRE ALLIANCE RECOGNISE THAT THE FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLE WILL MEAN LITTLE IF THEY HAVE THE VOTE BUT



HAVE NO HOUSES NOR LAND. IT WILL BE OF LITTLE SATISFACTION IF THEY STILL SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO SCHOOLS THAT PROVIDE GUTTER EDUCATION, IF THEY HAVE TOTALLY INADEQUATE HEALTH CARE, IF THEY REMAIN JOBLESS OR THOSE WITH WORK GET PITIFUL WAGES.

WE IN THE ANC BELIEVE THAT A CONSCIOUS EFFORT HAS TO BE MADE TO ENSURE THAT THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMBALANCES AND

INEQUALITIES OF THE PAST ARE REDRESSED AND THAT THE ECONOMY BE DEVELOPED TO ENSURE GROWTH AND ALSO PROVIDE A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL.

THOSE WHO BECAUSE OF THE COLOUR OF THEIR SKIN HAVE BEEN DENIED THEIR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS NEED SPECIAL PROVISIONS TO ENSURE THAT THESE ARE RESTORED TO

THEM. THE DEMOCRATIC STATE WILL HAVE TO TAKE ACTIVE STEPS TO PROVIDE LAND TO THE LANDLESS, HOMES TO THE HOMELESS, EDUCATION TO THE UNDERPRIVILEGED AND DEPRIVED.

TO DEEPEN NATIONAL LIBERATION BEYOND PURELY POLITICAL RIGHTS IS A SHARED PRINCIPLE OF THE ENTIRE ALLIANCE. TRUE TO THE SPIRIT OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER, THE ANC, SACP AND COSATU ARE COMMITTED TO ENSURING THAT ALL OUR PEOPLE SHARE IN THE WEALTH OF OUR

COUNTRY. IT IS OUR COMBINED EFFORTS THAT WILL DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT THE LIBERATION OF OUR COUNTRY HAS ANY MEANING FOR ORDINARY PEOPLE.

IT IS SAID THAT WE ARE IN THE FINAL PHASE OF OUR LIBERATION.

THIS MAY BE TRUE, BUT WE NEED TO RECOGNISE THAT THE RESISTANCE OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN BENEFITING FROM APARTHEID ALL THESE YEARS IS YET TO BE BROKEN. WE NEED TO RECOGNISE ALSO THAT THOSE WHO SEEK TO PROTECT WHITE MINORITY PRIVILEGES MAY RETREAT FROM ONE DEFENCE ONLY TO HOLD THEIR LINE AT ANOTHER POINT. IN THIS REGARD, THEREFORE, IT IS INCUMBENT UPON US TO EXERCISE MAXIMUM VIGILANCE.

IN CONCLUSION, I WOULD LIKE TO WISH YOU WELL IN YOUR DELIBERATIONS. I AM CERTAIN THAT THESE WILL BE AN IMPORTANT

CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE SUCCESS OF OUR STRUGGLE FOR A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC, NON-RACIAL AND NON-SEXIST SOUTH AFRICA.

LONG LIVE THE TRIPARTITE