

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Mission to the United States

STATEMENT OF THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
NELSON MANDELA,
AT THE OPENING OF THE ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE
2-7 JULY, 1991.

Comrade Chairperson, Comrade
President of our movement
Esteemed guests and observers,
Fellow delegates,

I would like to join our President, Comrade O.R. Tambo, in welcoming you all to Conference. As he has said, this is an historic occasion not only for the ANC but also with regard to the future of our country.

It is an incontestable fact that the millions of our people and many more internationally are looking forward to the results of this conference, in the expectation that, at the end we will convey to them all a message of hope that the long days of apartheid tyranny are about to end.

We shall not, through our own acts of omission or commission, disappoint these expectations by reducing the conference just to another event in the political calendar of our country. The week ahead of us is therefore very important.

Consequently, we are very pleased that we have present in this hall representatives of all the organized structures of the ANC, as well as observers from all allied organisations. During the few days ahead of us we will have to take very important decisions which may very well decide the fate of this country for many years to come.

It will therefore be required of each one of us that we approach all issues on our agenda with all due seriousness. We expect of all us rational and constructive debate. Out of that debate must come equally rational, constructive and realistic decisions, aimed at taking South Africa forward as quickly as possible to its destination as a united, democratic, non-sexist country.

The Conference here today is the culmination of a singularly democratic process. It is a little over a year since the ANC began the task of reconstituting itself as a public organisation in our country. You delegates have been chosen by close to one thousand branches to represent the views of our entire membership. Your branches have participated in rigorous discussions concerning our strategy, constitution, organisation and policy.

You have been elected by a thoroughly democratic process. The procedures that have brought you here are unique in this country. There are not many movements or organisations which can claim to measure up to these democratic standards. Certainly, outside the ranks of the mass democratic and trade union movement, such practices are virtually unheard of. The very process that brings us together here is an outstanding example of participatory democracy which augurs well for the future.

Let us continue to demonstrate in our debates here this week that we stand by the principles of freedom of expression. All views are entitled to be aired. It is through vigorous and constructive debate that together we will chart the path ahead.

We have convened as part of our continuing effort to make further inputs into the unstoppable offensive to end the criminal system of apartheid, to transform South Africa into a non-racial democracy and to reconstruct it as a country of justice, prosperity and peace for all our people, both black and white, in keeping with the objectives contained in the Freedom Charter.

In this regard, the first point we would like to make is that it is the responsibility of our movement to be in the vanguard of the process leading to the democratic transformation of our country. We must both lead and learn from our people.

We make this point not out of any feeling of arrogance or superiority over any other political formation, we say it to make the point that the ANC is the repository of the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of our people. In terms of mass support and for reasons that are very easy to understand, we are the major political formation in this country.

Secondly, because it is the oldest formation among the forces that are fighting for the victory of the perspective of a non-racial democracy, the ANC contains within it a unique reservoir of experience of the struggle for democracy, equality and an end to racism in all its forms.

The ANC has a proud record of struggle and resistance to the efforts of successive white minority regimes to entrench this system and make an everlasting reality defining the nature and functioning of South African society.

It is precisely that struggle which has change the balance of forces to such an extent that the apartheid system is now in retreat. Through the struggles of our people the ANC has been unbanned and we are able to meet in our own country today. A regime whose ideology is based on a virulent anti-communism has been forced to unban our ally, the South African Communist Party, and remove provisions from the law prohibiting the propagation of communist ideas.

We have with us many of our friends from the rest of the world who, only a short while ago, would not have been able to enter this country. They have come here at the invitation on the ANC in order to demonstrate their continuing solidarity with our cause.

All of these developments represent important victories of the heroic struggle that the masses of our people have waged under the leadership of the ANC.

It is our movement that has the vision, the policies, the programmes, and the mature leadership which will take our country from its apartheid past to its democratic future.

From this Conference, we must formulate the strategies and provide the leadership that can and will enable us to lead all the people of South Africa to the goal which the overwhelming majority seeks, that of justice, democracy, peace and prosperity.

In a period of transition, in which we will experience many things for the first time, we are bound to make mistakes and experience failures. We must make sure that we recognise quickly, assess them, criticise ourselves where necessary, learn what has to be learnt and emerge from these stronger and better able to carry out our historic mission.

"The ability to conduct struggle is gained in struggle. The ability to score victories is a function of experience that we gain in struggle. Experience also means mistakes and failures. It is by learning from this that we are able to struggle in a better way. Fear of mistakes and failure means only one thing. It means fear of engaging in struggle."

As the result of the struggle that we waged for decades, the balance of forces has changed to such an extent that the ruling National Party, which thought it could maintain the system of white minority domination for ever, has been obliged to accept the fact that it has no strength to sustain the apartheid system and that it must enter into negotiations with the genuine representatives of the people. Negotiations institute a victory of our struggle and a defeat for the ruling group which thought it could exercise a monopoly of political power for ever.

When we decided to take up arms, it was because the only other choice was to surrender and submit to slavery. This was not a decision we took lightly. We were always ready, as we are now, to seize any genuine opportunity that might arise to secure the liberation of our people by peaceful means.

We are very conscious that the process could not be smooth since we are dealing with a regime that is steeped in a culture of racism, violence and domination. We are dealing with a group of politicians and who do not want to negotiate themselves out of power and representatives of the state who fear the impact of democratic change.

The point which must be clearly understood is that the struggle is not over, and negotiations themselves are a theatre of struggle, subject to advances and reverses as any other form of struggle.

Despite our own heroic efforts, we have not defeated the regime. Consequently, we see negotiations as a continuation of the struggle leading to our central objective; the transfer of power to the people. There are therefore some issues that are non-negotiable; among others our demands for one person one vote, a united South Africa, the liberation of women and the protection of fundamental human rights.

As a movement we recognise the fact that apart from ourselves there are other political formations in the country. These are as entitled to exist as we are. They have a right to formulate their own policies and to contest for support for their policies and organisations. We have agreed to enter into talks with all these, and have been talking to most of them, because we have no desire whatsoever to impose our views on everybody else.

We have never claimed that we have a monopoly of wisdom and that only our views and policies are legitimate. As a democratic movement, we shall continue to defend the right of all our people to freedom of thought, association and organisation. It is precisely because of this that we have firmly committed ourselves to the perspective of a multi-party democracy.

We say all this to contribute to our preparations for the period ahead of us when we shall enter into negotiations which will determine the destiny of our country for the foreseeable future. We must participate in these processes with a clear vision of what we want to achieve, with a clear view of the procedures we must follow to ensure that our representatives are properly mandated and that they report back to us, and with a clear view of the process of negotiations.

Our demand is for freedom now! It can never be in our interest that we prolong the agony of the apartheid system. It does not serve the interests of the masses we represent and the country as a whole that we delay the realisation of the achievement of the objective of the transfer of power to the people.

Therefore it is necessary that we should have an idea of the time frame we visualise for the processes which must take us to the election of a parliament representative of all the people of our country.

What, then, are the principal steps that we foresee on the road to this goal? First of all, there remains the matter of the complete removal of obstacles to negotiations as spelt out in the Harare Declaration. This must now include the question of the ending of the campaign of terror against the people, in this province, in the Transvaal and in the rest of the country.

The Congress will:

When these issues have been attended to, we should then move to convene the All-Party Congress. Out of that Congress must emerge a number of very important decisions. These will include agreed ^① constitutional principles, the mechanisms to draw up the new ^② constitution, the establishment of an interim government and the ^③ role of the international community during the transitional period.

We still have to grapple with the fact that the process of the removal of obstacles to negotiations has not yet been completed. We will discuss this question, bearing in mind both the progress achieved and what still remains to be done. One of the issues we must note carefully is the way in which the government has acted to discredit the process of negotiations, by dragging its feet in terms of implementing what has been agreed.

This has come as no surprise. It has never been on the agenda of the National Party to enter into negotiations with anybody other than those whom it had itself placed in supposed positions of power. It is also in this context that we should understand the use of violence to derail the peace process.

All of us present in this hall know that there are people within our country, and within state structures, who remain opposed to the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy. Not only do these forces of reaction stand against the realisation of that ultimate goal, they are also opposed to each and every step that has so far been taken to build towards the accomplishment of this objective.

They did not and do not like the fact that agreement was reached to free all political prisoners and detainees, to allow the free return of all exiles, to terminate political trials, to end the state of emergency, to review security legislation and so on.

They took fright at the prospect of these agreements being implemented because they knew that sooner or later the process would lead to the democratisation of political power in our country and, therefore, the creation of the possibility for the people themselves to dismantle the system of apartheid and create a society that would be in keeping with the genuine aspirations of

*Inkatha voboku kwesibini ANC was
successful —*

all citizens of our country . That is exactly why there has been the escalation of public violence such as we have experienced during the last 12 months.

It was not because we were failing that they decided to shoot the people down. It was exactly because we are succeeding. The lesson from all this must surely be that as long as we make the progress towards the achievement of our goals, so must we expect that those who fundamentally disagree with these goals will resort to violence and terror to deny us the possibility to move forward.

A heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of the presently ruling National Party to demonstrate that it is, in practical terms, as committed to change as its statements suggest. This it cannot do by engaging in manoeuvres designed to discredit the process of negotiations.

Neither can it expect that we will accept its good faith when it sits paralysed as the security forces ^{*training Inkatha*} it controls themselves engage in violence against the people, permit such violence to occur and remain immune from prosecution when there is clear evidence of their involvement or connivance at the murder of innocent people.

Consequently, nobody should complain when we accuse the Pretoria regime of pursuing a double agenda, one of talking peace while actually conducting war. It is for this regime to demonstrate its good faith not by what it says but by what it does.

What is of strategic importance for us is that we must defend the lives of our people at the same time as we push the process forward leading to the transfer of power into their hands. We should not allow the situation whereby those who deliberately inject violence into our communities succeed in their intentions of slowing down the process leading to the democratic transformation of our country through the use of such violence.

We must defend peace at the same time as we advance towards ^{*roads ahead*} people's power. We must engage in successful defensive battles to defeat the apartheid system. This is a struggle we must fight on all fronts simultaneously.

Conference has a responsibility to consider these questions, which pose important strategic and tactical challenges. In this context, we will need to assess the correctness of the positions we have adopted, the effectiveness of the actions we have taken, the possibilities we face in the future and arrive at decisions that will ensure that we do not submit to an agenda that has been set by the forces of counter-revolution, but pursue our own agenda whose core must always remain the speedy transfer of power into the hands of the people. ^{*Decisions to make*}

Conference will have to consider all issues which relate to the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations and take all the necessary decisions. I have no doubt that our struggle to create such a climate will succeed as I am certain that our offensive to achieve the democratic transformation of our country will triumph.

Accordingly, in our planning we must proceed beyond the mere removal of obstacles, important as this issue might be. We must engage one another in serious discussion about how we should manage the period of transition which our country has entered.

From all that has happened so far, it seems clear that this period is likely to prove one of the most difficult, complex and challenging in the entire life of our organisation. It is therefore one which we must all approach with the greatest vigilance and firmness with respect to matters of principle, clarity with regard to strategy and timeousness and flexibility with reference to tactical issues.

All Party Congress

One of the first principal policy questions we were going to face during the transitional period, and in the context of the process of negotiations, is the issue of the All-Party Congress. With regard to this matter, we must evolve a clear idea on such questions as the composition of this Congress, its agenda, the manner of its functioning and the length of time we propose that it should sit.

Conference should bear in mind the fact that we ourselves said that the All-Party Congress should convene when the obstacles to negotiations have been removed. Accordingly, we must calculate on the Congress taking place sooner rather than later and therefore approach all preparations for our own participation with some urgency.

Similarly, we must discuss the issue of ⁰constitutional principles which will be on the agenda of the All-Party Congress. Fortunately, we have a draft document on this issue, prepared some time ago by our Constitutional Committee and which we have been discussing in our branches and regions. I refer here to the documents dealing with constitutional principles and a Bill of Rights.

These are important documents as they spell out our views on the framework and the broad character of the new constitution. We must ensure that these do indeed advance our fundamental perspective of the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic, non-racial, and non-sexist country.

We must also discuss the issue of the ²mechanism to draw up the new constitution, as all of us know, ~~we are convinced~~ that this mechanism should be an elected constituent assembly and have made this into one of our major campaigning slogans.

The winning of the objective of a constituent assembly will not be achieved solely through the negotiation process. It will require the generation of mass support for this demand. We reject the regime's contention that mass mobilisation stands in the way of the negotiating process. In the absence of voting rights, the only power we can exercise is the power and the strength of our organised people.

But we must also deal with other important matters which arise in the context of the constituent assembly. To have an elected constituent assembly means that we must have elections. For us to succeed in those elections we must prepare for them, bearing in mind the fact that throughout the period of its existence the ANC has never participated in general elections.

We must therefore take all the necessary decisions which will enable us to engage in this process successfully, among other things. This means that we must have the necessary policies to present to the country at large and the organisational machinery to do this. It also means that we must have clear ideas about such questions as electoral systems and the demarcation of boundaries of constituencies.

As you are aware, another issue which belongs within the transitional period is the question of the interim government. The importance of the matter cannot be overemphasised. Among ourselves we are agreed that it would be incorrect and unacceptable that during this transitional period one of the parties to the negotiations, in this case the National Party, should continue to govern the country on its own.

An interim government will therefore have to be formed and constituted into such a manner that it is broadly acceptable to the various political formations in our country. To that extent, it will take on the character of a transitional government of national unity. Once this government is formed, we will have reached the situation whereby, for the first time this century, South Africa will cease to be ruled by minority regime.

In this regard we must provide the lead on all major questions that will affect the constitution of an interim government as well as its lifespan.

It would be important that we have some idea of the time frame within which the new constitution should be drawn up and adopted. We certainly do not want a long-drawn or endless process with regard to this matter. In the end, as we have said already, the sooner power transfers into the hands of the people the better.

The international community continues to be of vital importance to the future of our country. This will remain the case even after we have won our freedom. In both the Harare and UN Declarations, it is visualised that a stage will be reached when the community will determine that we have arrived at an internationally

acceptable solution to the South African question. This would then enable the rest of the world to welcome democratic South Africa as an equal partner among the community of nations.

But before we reach that stage, it would be important that we discuss the question of the possible role of the international community during the transitional period, the role it could play to expedite this process so that we move forward with minimum delay towards the accomplishment of our cherished goals. Conference will therefore have to deal with this matter as well.

Needless to say, the transitional period is not an end in itself. It constitutes the conveyor belt which should take us through to the goal of a democratic South Africa. At the end of this road and the beginning of another, it is the question of the exercise of political power. I take it that we all agree that when the moment comes that the ANC will present itself to the country at large for the election into the new parliament.

It therefore seems obvious that we should continue the work we have all been doing already of preparing our policy positions on all major questions of public life. We have already had to explain ourselves to the people as whole, in terms of these various policy positions. The country has understood that we needed the time to work out these positions as we had to rebuild our movement after 30 years of illegality.

But obviously elaboration of policy itself cannot go on forever. We must begin to arrive at firm conclusions about what we would do with the country once we became the governing party. Conference should at least give the broad guidelines which will enable the movement as a whole to move forward and arrive at these basic policy positions as quickly as possible.

The matter should not be underestimated that all our people want to know how we would govern the country if they gave us this responsibility. They want us to speak with one consistent voice and put forward a clear vision.

It is clear from everything we have said that there are very many major tasks ahead of us. Their accomplishment will be of critical importance not only to the ANC and its allies but to the country as a whole and to the millions of people who are not necessarily members of our organisation.

We must therefore closely scrutinise the issue of our organisational capacity to carry out these tasks. If we weak, we will not be able to realise our goals. If we work in a confused manner, we will not be able to take the country forward.

The Secretary General will be presenting a report on the organisation, therefore I will not go into any detail with regard to the issues that confront us in this area of our work. I would, however, like to draw your attention to a few issues which I am sure Conference will have to discuss.

Organisationally, what do we need? We need a movement that is organisationally strong in terms of the membership that it attracts into its ranks. After 17 months of legality, we have recruited 700,000 members. Even though the effort has been commendable, there is no room for complacency and much more work has got to be done to draw millions of all our people into the ANC.

We must also express concern at the proportionally low number of members that is drawn from rural areas. We must also do more to attract members from the middle strata.

We can ill afford to be content with relatively low level of success that we are making with regard to drawing Whites, Coloureds and Indians into the organisation. We must ask ourselves frankly why this is so. In this context, we should not be afraid to confront the real issue that these national minorities might have fears about the future which fears we should address.

We must remain a movement of all the people of South Africa--a peoples movement, both in name and in reality. As we build our organisation, we must therefore constantly watch this issue to ensure that we do not just concentrate on one sector of our population.

Apart from the ANC itself, our movement has three other important component parts. These are the Youth and Women's Leagues, and the Peoples Army, Umkhonto We Sizwe. The responsibilities that fall on the shoulders of the Leagues are very heavy indeed. It is part of our task to ensure that they are themselves strong enough to carry out these responsibilities.

They, like the ANC itself, should understand the point clearly that they are charged with the task of leading not just their own members. They must, each in its own sector lead the millions falling within their own constituencies. Thus, when we talk of mass action, it must be real mass action which draws into struggle, not just members, but the masses of the people we represent.

At the same time, we need to pay better attention to our heroic army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, than we have done during the past year or so. ^{MK} MK has been at the centre of our struggle in the past and delivered the telling blows that brought us to the point where a negotiated solution became possible.

It is proper that this Conference should pay homage to all the commanders and combatants of MK who laid down their lives and made other invaluable sacrifices that have brought us to where we are

today. We are very glad that some of those who survived during the course of that struggle are with us today.

Some of them were serving long sentences, but we managed to get them out, even to the point where the notorious Robben Island prison has at last been closed down. Some of them are serving ~~commanders~~ of the People's Army, but we have succeeded to get them to be present at this, their Conference. Of those that were sentenced to death, we have ensured that none will hang! Soon we shall have all of them among us, to continue the struggle for the victory of the peoples cause.

We have suspended armed action, but have not terminated the armed struggle, whether it is deployed inside the country or outside. Umkhonto We Sizwe therefore has a responsibility to keep itself in a state of readiness in case the forces of counter-revolution once more block the path to a peaceful transition to a democratic society.

Interim Gov Controls Sec Forces

New challenges will face MK in the context of the installation of the interim government. As we have said, this is one of the issues we will have to discuss, an important part of which will be the issue of the control of the security forces by such a government. It is clear that MK will have to play a vital role in these processes. Where it can, it must, of course make its expertise available to those communities that are engaged in the process of establishing their self defence units. *Self defence units*

At the same time, MK must prepare itself to become part of the new national defence force we shall have to build as part of the process of reconstruction of our country. The task of training this cadre cannot await the adoption of a democratic constitution but must be carried out now to ensure that, as happened in Zimbabwe and Namibia, when the time comes to rebuild our defence forces, we are ready to participate in these processes in defense of our democratic gains.

Such are some of the major tasks that confront MK during this period. To carry them out properly requires that all the necessary logistics be made available, but it also requires that Mk continues to be an army that is committed to the democratic perspective that we represent.

We will also be discussing the new constitution of the ANC. Quite clearly we must ensure that we agree on a structure which enables the membership to participate in the formulation of policy and direction of the work of the movement while the leadership we will elect recognises that it is accountable without compromising its ability to lead.

But whatever our constitution will say, it will only function properly if we all proceed from the position that we are all comrades, bound together by common goals, with all of us equally committed to make a contribution to the realisation of these common

No Factions

goals. Much work remains to be done among us all to raise the level of political consciousness so that every cadre, however high the position they may occupy, is schooled in the policies of our movement, its character, its strategy and tactics.

Certainly, we must also resist the efforts of some among the media to encourage factions within the movement by suggesting there are groups locked in mortal combat, there is a division between the exiles and the internal group, the ex-prisoners and somebody else, the so-called militants and moderates.

We should not tolerate the formation of factions within the movement. The best means of ensuring this is through open democratic discussion within our ranks so that no one feels excluded or denied the right to express his or her opinion.

Many people both inside and outside our country repeatedly raise the question of our relations with the Communist Party. We would therefore like to take this opportunity once more to reiterate the fact that we consider the South African Communist Party a firm and dependable ally in the common struggle to rid our country of the system of white minority rule. We will therefore rebuff all attempts to drive a wedge between our two organisations.

At the same time the point must be borne in mind that the SACP is a separate organisation which does not seek to dominate the ANC as the ANC. The ANC for its part, does not seek to dominate the Communist Party. The policies of the ANC are not decided in the Communist Party as neither are the policies of the SACP decided in the ANC, regardless of the number of people who might be members of both organisations.

Both we and the Communist Party must be judged by the policies we espouse and the things we do to propagate and to advance those views. We believe our detractors should outgrow the pathological anti-communism of the period of the Cold War, stop the red-baiting and live up to the commitment they all express in favour of a multi-party democracy.

The other member of our alliance is the Congress of South African Trade Unions. We would like to reaffirm our firm determination to respect the independence of the trade union movement and to act in a manner consistent with this position. Both now and in the future, we are ready to act in support of positions that are put forward by this allied organisation with regard to issues such as retrenchment, a living wage and the Workers' Charter.

The incoming National Executive Committee will have to ensure that our Tripartite Alliance works better than it has done in the past. This will ensure that we use the collective strength represented by our respective organisations in a better way.

We have also advanced the perspective of a front of all patriotic forces. Undoubtedly a report will be presented to Conference on

new direction

this matter. The unity of our people and the organisations that represent them, has always been central to both our thinking and our practice. Unity remains important to this day. It must remain an essential part of our activities, from the branch upwards.

Our contact with various organisations has not been as strong as it should be. This too will have to be corrected.

Our strength lies in the masses of the people. We must therefore continue to pay the closest attention to the issue of our work among the masses. They must see the ANC as their organisation, one that represents their aspirations and actually advances their interests.

We must ensure that these masses are in fact engaged in struggle and are drawn into the fundamental discussion which must now take place about the future of our country. To ensure that these do not remain mere slogans and pious wishes, we must pay attention to the importance of door-to-door campaigning and the value of small local meetings.

NO INTIMIDATION

We must help entrench the culture of political tolerance amongst our people. We reiterate, it is absolutely impermissible for anyone of us to use force against the people. As we continue to engage in mass struggles, we must ensure that the people join these struggles as a result of conviction and not because of intimidation.

Strengthen links w

We must stand out as an unchallenged example of a real people's *masses* movement, in touch with these masses, responsive to their needs, capable of drawing them into in their millions and enjoying their genuine allegiance and voluntary support. Hopefully Conference will address this question as well and be unsparing in its analysis and criticism of where we might have failed to relate to the masses in the manner I have described, so that we do indeed strengthen our links with these masses.

International Community

The continued support of the international community remains vital for the victory of our cause. We also need further to strengthen our links with the rest of the world to ensure that the international community, so well represented here today remains engaged not only in the struggle against apartheid but also in the struggle for the democratic transformation of our country.

From this international community we shall therefore require continuing political and material support for the present phase of our struggle. But equally we will need to prepare these friendly nations to come to our aid as we carry out the enormous tasks that will face us during the period of the reconstruction our country, as well as define the place of a democratic South Africa within that of the international community. These are matters of critical importance to our people as a whole and will have to be discussed bearing in mind this reality.

SANCTIONS

Undoubtedly, we will also continue our discussions of the sanctions question which we began at our Consultative Conference last December. The challenge that faces us with regard to this question is that we should find ways and means by which we arrest the process of the erosion of sanctions and help create the situation whereby we do not lose this weapon which we will need until a democratic constitution has been adopted.

Let me take this opportunity once more to join our President in saluting our honoured international guests who are with us today and pay tribute to them for everything they have contributed to the protracted struggle which has brought us to where we are today. We thank you most sincerely for your support and are confident that you will stay the course with us not only to end the system of apartheid, but to help us rebuild this otherwise beautiful country.

While you are with us, we hope that you will see a little bit of it, talk to as many of our people as you can and get a better understanding of the challenges that the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement face. The masses of our people will undoubtedly feel greatly strengthened that you were able to visit them directly to express your solidarity and to strengthen the bonds of friendship which must underpin the relations that a free South Africa will have with the rest of the world.

We would also like to thank all of our other distinguished guests from within the country, including the members of the diplomatic corps, who took some time off to be with us today. We deeply appreciate the interest you have shown in our Conference and trust that you will accept its results as a contribution to the common concern we share of the speedy transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy.

I would like to thank all the comrades and friends who have been involved in the work of preparing this Conference. They have had to attend to a lot of issues. To honour and respect their contribution to the struggle, we are called upon as delegates to go about the business of our Conference with all due diligence and seriousness. I wish all of you success.

Finally, I would like to thank the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Durban Westville, Professor Reddy and all other members of the university for making the university available for our historic Conference. We have no words to express our gratitude, but trust that the results of our Conference will help to reinforce the work in which you, yourselves are engaged, of transforming this centre of learning and the educational system as a whole in keeping with our common aspiration to create a just society. Thank you for your attention.



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Mission to the United States

*a great overview of
the struggle*

STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
COMRADE OLIVER R. TAMBO
TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE
DURBAN 1 JULY 1991

The Chairperson
Comrade Nelson Mandela, Deputy President of the ANC
Members of the National Executive Committee
Regional Leaders
Commanders of Umkhonto We Sizwe
Esteemed Representatives of governments and political parties
Excellencies Members of the Diplomatic Corps
Distinguished Guests
Fellow Delegates
Comrades and Friends

We welcome you all with boundless joy, especially you delegates who represent the hopes and aspirations of millions of our people across the length and breadth of our strife torn country. We welcome you conscious of the fact that you have come here propelled by a burning desire to make this Conference the last one we shall have to hold under minority rule.

We salute our allies in the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. We salute the ANC Youth League - the future of our country. We salute the ANC Women's league for steadfastly championing our cause and particularly the largely unresolved issues of women's emancipation. We salute the commanders and combatants of our glorious army Umkhonto We Sizwe for the sterling contribution they have made to the struggle.

This Conference is not only unique because it takes place in South Africa after a period of three decades, but also because of its representativeness. Given the cloud of uncertainty hanging over our country and the climate of confrontation festered by enemies of peace and democracy; and given our people's and the world's impatience with oppression, decisions emanating from this conference must infuse South Africa and our entire region with

consequences of historical magnitude. For, congregated within these four walls is the voice of reason, the voice of freedom, the voice of peace - in fact, the voice of humanity.

Comrades and Friends, it is my task to present a report back to our Movement, our people and country, on the mission we were assigned to do outside the country more than three decades ago. I present this report on behalf of my colleagues in the National Executive Committee, my peers and fellow combatants in the external mission - both the living and the departed. In this context, we pay special tribute to the heroes and heroines of our struggle. The names of Robert Gesha, J.B. Marks, Moses Kotane, Florence Maphoso, Lilian Ngoyi, Moses Mabhida, Johnny Makhatini, Duma Nokwe, Yusuf Dadoo, Vuyisile Mini and countless others will forever remain on the roll of honour of our struggle. We shall always remember them for their outstanding contribution.

Because the history of the past thirty years is as vast the road we have traversed, one can but only mention land-marks in this report. In 1959 the ANC took a decision that Comrade Josia Matlou and I were to leave the country. Our mission was to rally international support for the isolation of the apartheid state. We also had to create a reliable rear base for our struggle. Comrade Matlou left before me. I left the country in 1960, a week after the Sharpeville massacre and just before the ANC and the PAC were banned. Sharpeville, of course, marked a major watershed in our history and ushered in a whole new era.

Permit me to strike a personal note. I crossed the border illegally into the then Bechuanaland with the help of Ronald Segal. I was aided too by the late Sir Seretse Khama and spent some time in protective custody because of kidnap threats by the South African agents.

Together with Dr Yusuf Dadoo and Segal we proceeded to Tanganyika. It was there that we met Mwalimu Nyerere who was heading the struggle for his country's independence. We were amongst the first freedom fighters to be received by this great son of Africa. These were hopeful and exciting days. They were also particularly frugal - we often did not know where the next meal was coming from.

From Tanganyika we went to Ghana where we met Kwame Nkrumah. It was there that the idea of a united front was discussed between the ANC, the PAC, the SACP and an organisation which was later to be known as SWAPO of Namibia. Our discussions of this issue were finalised in London and the South African United Front was formed. Thus, began our international crusade to win friends and isolate the racists.

Comrades and friends, it must be emphasised that the fundamental question that we then had to resolve was how to transform our Movement to meet the new situation in South Africa. The choice confronting us by a vicious and violent regime was, "to submit or fight." Rather than surrender we chose the path of armed struggle.

Our role outside was to prepare conditions for the politico-military training of cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Here at home the leadership was recruiting cadres to go for training as well as building the underground.

In this regard our mission abroad worked hard to ensure that the world was mobilised in support of our struggle. We appealed for the isolation of the regime and urged the international community to support our armed struggle. From the very beginning we made steady gains in this regard. The Socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union and the newly independent countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia threw their full weight behind our struggle. Most of these were willing to support the armed struggle.

In the West we succeeded in encouraging the formation of a powerful anti-apartheid movement and other formations which helped to isolate the Pretoria regime. We are honoured by the presence of the President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, none other than that great friend of the South African people, Bishop Trevor Huddleston. I am sure you will all agree with me that he is a most fitting representative of the international anti-apartheid forces. Welcome home Father. Welcome home Isitwalandwe Huddleston.

Comrades our position in international organisations, like the non-Aligned Movement, the Afro-Asian solidarity organisation and so forth became unassailable. By 1974 the general assembly of the United Nations was able to refuse the credentials of the South African representative despite strong resistance from some Western countries. It is a measure of our success that by 1989, the ANC had more representatives abroad than the South African government.

Comrades and Friends, whilst we registered early victories on the international front, here at home we suffered a devastating setback at the hands of a regime armed with draconian laws of repression. The Rivonia arrests and the smashing of our underground structures set us back many years. Although colonialism was collapsing in Africa our sub-region was still in the grip of reaction. The imperialist powers collaborated with Pretoria, Portugal and Rhodesia against the liberation movements. The cordon sanitaire they erected made it difficult for our Umkhonto combatants to return home. Following our discussions with ZAPU, we decided to send a detachment into Rhodesia, with instructions that they were to fight their way back home.

It was in 1967 that a combined force of Umkhonto we Sizwe and ZIPRA crossed the Zambesi into Rhodesia. This marked the beginning of what was known as the Wankie-Spolilo campaigns. As well as being an attempt to return home, this was a practical manifestation of our solidarity with our sister people in the Frontline States. In this regard, our combatants, together with their Zimbabwean comrades, acquitted themselves heroically in battles against the combined Smith and Voster forces. They carried out their mission gallantly and valiantly. We salute Basil February, Patrick Molawa, Andries Motsepe and other comrades who lie buried in the soil of

liberated Zimbabwe. However at the conclusion of the Wankie and Spolilo campaigns, our problem of re-establishing the Anc inside the remained essentially unresolved.

By 1969 it was considered necessary to hold a National Consultative Conference in Morogoro, Tanzania. Conference was to take stock of the totality of our experience and, on the basis of that, map out the way forward. Morogoro became a landmark and a turning point in our struggle. It was that Conference which produced a comprehensive document on the strategy and tactics of the ANC.

Reporting to our Second National Consultative Conference in 1975, the National Executive made the following observations about Morogoro: "Out of Morogoro came significant results, the most important being the re-orientation of our Movement towards the prosecution and intensification of our struggle inside South Africa, the restoration and reinforcement of unity within our ranks and the integration of all revolutionaries within the external mission of the ANC." The decision to open up membership of the ANC to all South Africans, regardless of the colour of their skin, was a great leap forward towards true non-racialism within the ANC.

From Morogoro we created the Revolutionary Council which was charged with the responsibility of prosecuting the struggle inside the country. We later replaced the RC with the Political Military Council. The PMC was answerable to the NEC and, under its leadership, forward machineries were established. As a result the post 1976 era witnessed a rapid re-emergence of the ANC inside the country. Some of the many factors which contributed to this development were the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and the June uprisings of 1976. Following this, thousands of young people who went to exile found a political home in the ANC.

On the other hand, the independence of Angola and Mozambique created new possibilities for our struggle. Angola provided us with military bases. The MPLA, under the leadership of the late President Agostino Neto allowed us training facilities regardless of their own serious problems. In spite of years of destabilisation by the regime, Angola stood firm and with the assistance of Cuban and Soviet internationalism, turned the tide against Pretoria. It was at Cuito Cuanavale that the SADF met their match. Victory there opened the way for Namibia's independence and Pretoria's historic retreat in our region.

The cohesion and steadfastness of the Frontline states proved decisive in enhancing our striking capacity. If these countries had not acted together and created a united front against apartheid South Africa, we would have been in serious trouble. In this regard the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 further consolidated the strength of the anti-colonial struggles in our region. Thus, the balance of forces was irrevocably shifted in our favour. However, in an attempt to roll the wheel of history back, these states were subjected to the most brutal form of destabilisation by South Africa. Together with our hosts, members of the ANC

became victims of cross-border raids. We remember our martyrs who fell in Matola, Maseru, Gaborone and other places. The remains of Obadi Mokgabudi, Geno Gcqushe, William Khanyile, Morris Seabelo and many others remain buried in the Frontline States and must be brought back home. Representatives of these states have joined us today, to once more reaffirm their unflinching support for our cause. We are grateful to them and to their people for all they have done for us. Never shall we forget the support they rendered and continue to render to us.

Whilst aiming to destabilise the Frontline States, the regime increased efforts to weaken the ANC through the infiltration of its agents. Comrades were poisoned in the camps, others kidnapped and many were killed. And in 1984 enemy agents managed to start a mutiny in our camps in Angola. We could not allow the enemy to destabilise us with impunity. We strengthened our department of intelligence and security and sought to contain the dangers posed by infiltration. We have now released all agents we held but most continue to uphold our vigilance.

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Comrades and Friends, one of the greatest historical failures of our time has been the ability of successive white regimes to halt our struggle. Even in the most difficult times our people never surrendered. Whether it was under the banner of Black Consciousness in the late 1960s and the 1970s, or with the Durban strikes of 1973, our people never ceased to struggle. As a result, despite all manoeuvres aimed at destroying our movement we grew both in stature and in effectiveness. Our survival and growth as a fighting force was the major victory that our people have scored under difficult conditions of illegality.

As well as fighting the regime we consciously prepared our people to play a meaningful role in a liberated South Africa. In this regard we founded the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Morogoro, Tanzania in 1979. When we approached the Tanzanian government with the idea of a school, they readily gave us land on which SOMAFCO stands today.

The beginning of the 1980s witnessed the maturing of both the subjective and the objective factors in favour of our people's victory. As we were poised for a great leap forward, we designated the 1980s the "Decade of Freedom." We proceeded to call upon our people to make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. To this call our people responded in their thousands. Everywhere in the country, popular organs of people's power emerged, challenging the apartheid structures.

Our people's confidence in their ability to defeat the regime was restored by the daring armed actions of MK. The blows which were struck at SASOL, Voortreker Hoogte, Koeberg and other installations inspired our people and demoralised the regime. In this regard, we pay special tribute to comrade Barney Molokoane, Clifford Brown,

Ronald Molapo and other glorious martyrs who made the supreme sacrifice in the service of their people and country. In the same period we successfully re-established the underground in the country as a vital pillar of struggle.

It was this underground which through its propaganda and leadership stimulated the formation of the mass democratic organisations. With the dynamic growth of the UDF and COSATU we reached the point where our four main pillars of struggle - mass struggle, armed struggle, the underground and international support - posed the most serious challenge to white minority rule ever seen in our country. As a result, the regime was forced to declare the state of emergency in 1985. As the crisis of the apartheid state deepened, so did the confidence in our victory grow.

Internationally there was almost universal turning of the tide in favour of our struggle. Even the traditional allies of the regime found it impossible to continue supporting apartheid. It was in this context that, in 1987, an official ANC delegation was received in Washington for the very first time. And at last the United States administration fell in line with other governments who had long been supporting our cause. In this respect, we would like to single out the powerful and consistent support provided over the years by Sweden and Norway.

Even as we made these impressive gains, it is fair to say that on some issues and in some instances we could have put up a better performance than we actually did. It was with the view of resolving some of our subjective weaknesses that we convened our Second National Consultative Conference in Kabwe, Zambia, in 1985.

Conference took place against a climate of heightened confrontations between our people on the one hand, and the regime on the other. Like today the regime and the South African press sought to create divisions among us by resorting to all sorts of schemes including attempts to draw a wedge between the youth and the older generations within the ANC. None of these schemes succeeded. Amongst its many positive decisions, Conference resolved to open up the membership of the ANC to all South Africans. We therefore became, second to the SACP, the first truly non-racial political movement in South Africa. We also resolved to strengthen democratic practices within the movement, and in particular, to urgently address the gender issue. Further, we resolved to rally to the defence of our people by intensifying the struggle inside the country. Of note was the way we stressed the important balance and relationship between the main pillars of our struggle. We stressed that in struggle, even where arms are employed, the masses are the key to change. Above all we emerged from conference as a united and strengthened organisation, much to the dismay of our adversaries.

By the time of the Kabwe Conference we had succeeded to place the issue of the transference of political power firmly on the agenda. This reality was beginning to be recognized by far sighted members of the white community who began to seek for discussion regarding the future of our country. More importantly, contacts between democratic forces inside and outside were intensifying. In the circumstances, the need to address conditions under which we would be prepared to negotiate a democratic transfer of power was placed on the agenda. Equally, we had to elaborate principles upon which the constitution of a democratic state would be founded.

In response to these we issued an NEC statement in 1987 outlining conditions under which we would be prepared to enter into negotiations with the regime. At the same time we commissioned the ANC Constitutional Committee to begin elaborating constitutional principles on the basis of the Freedom Charter. It was our view that such principles would constitute a basis for a national debate on the new constitution. We, therefore, hoped to initiate a process whereby the new constitution would emerge from the people themselves. Through these and other initiatives the ANC increasingly defined the terrain and tempo of our struggle. In this manner we provided overall leadership to the country.

Even as we provided leadership, we were always conscious of the fact that the ANC was the people's Parliament. The widespread circulation of constitutional guidelines was a further assertion of the sovereignty of the people. The unity in action of our people has remained the guiding beacon throughout the days of illegality. To reach our goal of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, sooner rather than later, then we must not deviate from this course.

In this context, we considered it important that decisions of the ANC were to be shaped by popular mass endorsement at all times. Even if such decisions were acceptable within the Movement, they would have come to naught unless they enjoyed popular support beyond the bounds of the ANC itself. Whilst our policies were in terms of our beliefs and convictions, they also reflected and served the people's interests. Above all, we sought to make the people part and parcel of our decisions.

Operating within the logic of people's struggle - armed and political, and supported by the international community we managed to push the enemy into crisis which could not be resolved within the confines of the old order. For the first time, possibilities to end apartheid and national oppression through negotiations were created. As a result of struggle the closed door that our late President, Chief A.J. Luthuli knocked on for many decades was finally opened. It is our responsibility and destiny to seize this historic opportunity.

In this regard, it was vital that we did not surrender the initiative to our adversaries. We initiated a process of wide ranging discussions within the ANC, between the ANC and the Mass

Democratic Movement and between the ANC and the OAU and, in particular the Frontline states. These consultations resulted in the adoption of the Harare Declaration by the OAU in 1989, the endorsement of this declaration by the non-aligned Movement and the Commonwealth and the adoption of the UN Consensus Resolution on South Africa of 1989.

Once more, the world stood united behind democratic forces in this country. The unfolding democratic process is, therefore, taking place on the basis of the agenda set by ourselves. Accordingly we must continue to assert the ANC's leadership of this process. This means that we have an ongoing responsibility to lead the process of negotiations. As in the past, our leadership should be exercised here and abroad. This becomes even more important given the changing face of the international community. We must therefore, refocus international attention on the need of continued support including support we shall need in order to reconstruct our country and the region in the post-apartheid era.

Comrades and Friends, I was struck down by a stroke on the eve of the adoption of the Harare Declaration. The Deputy President will continue with this report in a moment. However, I wish to pay a special tribute to all of you here, and many more around the world who wished me recovery from ill-health which at times gave cause for concern. In particular, I thank my security aides who were the first on the scene and who to this day have continued to provide me with tremendous support and help. I must also thank his Excellency President Kenneth Kaunda who did everything possible to save my life - including paying all expenses relating to my illness and sending his best doctor and nurse to accompany me to London. Many comrades who visited me in Sweden and London were of great help towards my recovery as was the prayers many of you offered. Finally, I want to thank my wife Adelaide and my family for giving me the love and support I could not have survived without.

Before I sit down I wish to make a few observations: We did not tear ourselves apart because of lack of progress at times. We were always ready to accept our mistakes and correct them. Above all we succeeded to foster and defend the unity of the ANC and the unity of our people in general. Even in bleak moments, we were never in doubt regarding the winning of freedom. We have never been in doubt that the people's cause shall triumph.

Finally I would like to thank all who have contributed to making my Presidency a worthwhile experience for me personally.

Amandla!
Maatla!



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Mission to the United States

ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE JULY 1991 DURBAN NELSON MANDELA'S CLOSING ADDRESS

Comrades, I must first thank the independent Electoral Commission for the excellent work they have done. Their work has been professional in the proper sense of the word. They briefed us very carefully and very patiently about the procedure that was going to be adopted, and all of us clearly understood what they required. They put aside long hours in order that they should keep up with the pressure of work which the extraordinarily large number of delegates cast upon them. We will forever remain indebted to them for their magnificent performance.

I would also like to thank the National Preparatory Committee which made the elaborate arrangements in order that this Conference should take place according to plan. I also thank our comrades in Durban for their efforts. I must express, as I did in my opening speech, our appreciation to Professor Reddy for having made this university available to us in order to hold this Conference. It is an indication of the changing times, because this university was established as a bush college. It was never intended that an organisation like the ANC would hold a conference in a place of this nature.

You have entrusted me with the presidency of the ANC. It is a daunting task. In February last year shortly after I was released from prison I travelled all the way to Sweden to visit Comrade Oliver Tambo as he was recuperating in a clinic. One of the first things I told him was that in view of his state of health he was not longer in a position to carry out his duties as president. He then offered to resign from that post. I pointed out to him that it was not necessary for him to do so. He must give himself and ourselves a chance to let him carry out his duties and those of us who had worked with him over the years would see how his duties were carried out in his absence, and that if by the next conference of the ANC he still felt that he could not discharge his duties, he should leave the matter entirely until the next conference. Although he tried to persuade me I staunchly refused to accede to his request. However, as I told you the other day, he again approached the NEC and indicated that he was not available to serve. We then released him. You have now given me this responsibility. It will not be very easy for me to follow the giant footsteps of Comrade OR. Comrade OR, who is affectionately known as chief to his comrades, paved the way forward with gold, the gold of his humanity, his warmth, his democratic spirit, tolerance and above all intellectual brilliance, which in the end outwitted the racists in this country.

Of course, comrades, no struggle can depend on one person. The struggle is basically a collective affair. But there are exceptions to every rule, and looking at the history of the 30 last years of exile, one may be tempted to think that Comrade OR is that exception. As I pointed out, I know his humility, I will not continue to embarrass him by with further praise: it is sufficient to say there is not enough rain in the skies for us to be able to shower on him the honour he deserves.

We have had the privilege to participate in one of the most democratic processes this country has ever seen. During the past five days we have witnessed a process which will be remembered in the history of the ANC and the country as a whole as having set a standard for democratic participation. This historic conference has had the total 2,244 voting delegates who were democratically elected at branches. 85 per cent of this number were elected from the branches inside the country. We have changed the face of conferences to come by having the participation of our membership, represented in the steering committee and the preparatory committee of this conference through their regional representatives. Thus, comrades, we are all responsible for the successes we have achieved here today.

Debates leading up to this conference included rigorous debate within branches and at regional level on the policies which formed the basis of the debate at this Conference. The discussions within the plenary and in the commissions were remarkable for their frankness. Criticisms were given and taken in a debate organised to facilitate such a process. This conference has reflected the shifts we have made in our own organisation, and the transformation from a banned illegal formation to a mass based and democratic organisation. And this conference has also reflected the amount of work we have to do to consolidate our policies among all the people in this country.

We have achieved an important milestone in our history, and that is a merging of the different strands of our organisation. The lessons we have learnt from our experiences in exile have been strengthened by the lessons we have learnt from all our attempts to build a mass-based ANC inside the country. These processes have allowed outstanding men and women to emerge as our leadership, and today we can say the process at all levels has begun. And exiles are strengthened by the wealth of experience of those of our cadres who built organisation in the towns, in rural areas of our country, at a branch and leadership level. This executive we have just elected is a clear indication of this fact. We have both leaders from exile and leaders from inside who are now entrusted with the task of leading the overwhelming majority of our population, indeed of leading the whole country to a new South Africa. We have adopted a constitution which provides for the fullest participation of the membership at grassroots level, and a national leadership with the power to lead and guide on matters of the moment, as well as the major long-term issues facing us. I have the honour to congratulate the new leadership, and wish them success in their respective tasks.

I must also pay and add my compliments and appreciation to the services of the outgoing executive and especially to those who have not been able to maintain their position. The fact that they have not been elected does not indicate dissatisfaction with their performance. I am sure they will be the first to understand that that is how the democratic process works. It is me today, it will be comrade Cheryl Carolus tomorrow who will lead this organisation. We thank them. We are indebted to all of them for the amount of work they put in, and that is why today we have such a strong organisation. The logical question to pose is: what happens to those members of the executive who have not been able to be reelected. Many of them are fairly old. They cannot get employment in industry; they have to maintain families and send children to school. The ANC will have to look at the matter as a matter of urgency, and not allow men and women who have sacrificed so much to suffer. We have no resources but will do everything in our power to make their living conditions as bearable as possible.

The leadership we have elected here today reflects the national character of our people, including class and gender composition. Our people have strong commitments to the goals that the overwhelming majority seeks, that of justice, peace, democracy, unity and non-racialism. Our people have elected a leadership mature in character, men and women who will lead our collective with brave foresight.

We will ensure that our strategy and tactics are informed by the experiences of all the people in this country. Comrades it is our revolutionary duty to support this leadership and to guide it so that we will ensure that we involve the people as fully as possible in the vital decisions we have to make in this very critical period of our struggle. The non-racial unity of our country is non-negotiable, and may not be compromised. We also have to ensure that the policies we have adopted here are given the correct administrative support. We believe that it is not only the task of the NEC, but of every member of the ANC.

As I have said earlier, we have had a very serious debate here, and today we can return to our branches with clear mandates. On the question of negotiations, this conference has given us all.

ANC SELF CRITICISM

very clear mandate. We have reaffirmed the premise that negotiations is a terrain of struggle leading to our central objective, the transfer of power to the people. Delegates have determined that we are not yet in a state of transition. There still remains an enormous difference in the perceptions of the oppressed about the nature of the necessary changes that have to occur, and the character of future society and that of the Nationalist Party government. We have determined here that we cannot accept the regime's claim to recognition as the main agency of change and the manager of the current period of transition. Conference thus confirmed the position as previously communicated to the regime. The ANC is a equal partner, and not simply an organisation that is to be informed or consulted by the regime. We have asserted that everything has be done to build maximum unity among the forces committed to the perspective of a non-sexist, non-racist democracy; and to ensure that such forces act in unity throughout the process of negotiation.

The leadership has been mandated to establish a patriotic front as soon as possible. Conference has also given this, the NEC, the mandate to establish a comprehensive and representative team of negotiators, to continue our task of ensuring that the transfer of power to the people is a peaceful one. We must also admit that the manner in which we have handled the negotiations up to now has been subject to severe criticism both inside and outside this hall. Some of these criticisms have been fair, have been valid. One of the criticisms has been that there has not been sufficient consultation before we entered negotiations on a particular issue. There has also been the fair criticism that there has been no systematic and regular reporting on the outcome of negotiations, and that the membership has remained ignorant of what was going on in these discussions. We fully acknowledge that criticism. We acknowledge it without reservation, and we can assure you that in future we have taken note of this fact, and that in future we will try and work as systematically as you have demanded.

We have also resolved to build our organisation into a strong and well-oiled task force. The NEC has been mandated to take an inclusive approach to the question of building a programme of action to strengthen our organisation. Door-to door-campaigns to bring the policies of the ANC alive to the people, strengthening of the tripartite alliance, and sensitivity to the fears expressed by minority groups in our country were debated, and we can confidently say that this conference has endorsed the perspective of building a mass-based ANC to the fullest extent. I think it is proper here to be absolutely brutal about our weaknesses in this regard. There has been no effective communication between the ANC and the minority groups of this country. Many of us have made the mistake of thinking that the mere declaration of our policy in the Freedom Charter, because it is the most progressive policy ever published by any political organisation in this country meant that the masses would come rushing to join the ANC. This is not the position. Some of our structures have been so set up as to exclude the minority groups. That has been a serious weakness, because it indicates that the overwhelming majority of the Africans in this country are not taking into account the minority groups of this country. It is true that our policies are non-racial, but let us be realistic about it. There are different ethnic groups in this country, and ethnicity, especially because of the policies of the government, is still a dangerous threat to us. We have to redouble our efforts to make sure we have the confidence of all the different sections of the people of this country something which is not there at the present moment.

Whilst we deliberated here our membership in the Vaal area and this province have been attacked by vigilantes and it is believed by some elements of the security forces. We will have to make certain that the resolutions taken here on violence are implemented, and that we reaffirm our resolve to defend our country from the attempts being made to destabilise the peace process. In this regard you will have noted the statement which appeared on television and in the press made by President De Klerk in which he condemned the attacks very strongly and expressed his sympathies

to the victims of these cruel attacks. We welcome such a statement from President de Klerk. We have criticised him very harshly, and that criticism was justified, but when he does something which is commendable, it is part of honesty as public figures and as leaders to acknowledge it. When he makes a mistake, we will express ourselves quite openly on that point, as we have done on numerous occasions before.

If he had done this right from the beginning, this violence would not have intensified to the state it has. We must defend our people at the same time as we push forward the process of leading to the transfer of power to our people. We have to move faster on the question of achieving a constituent assembly. The power of our organised masses will outweigh any attempts to destabilise us. The interim government debate has been a long one, and we have reaffirmed our position that it would be incorrect for the Nationalist Party to continue to govern this country on its own, and we have resolved that an interim government would have to be formed in such a manner that it is broadly acceptable.

The MK commission was lively and the debate well rounded. We have resolved that MK should have a structured relationship with all levels of the organisation, and that the organisation shall take responsibility for the maintenance of the army both inside and outside the country. We will do our very best in this regard.

On Friday I attended a session of the MK commission. It became clear to me after listening to the speakers that the problems of MK cannot be properly addressed in a one-day commission. A separate conference of MK cadres attended by leading members of the NEC is necessary if justice is to be done to their complaints. The question of the suspension of armed action will be an important question on the agenda. It has already surfaced in the discussions that we have had. Although we have given what we regarded as an adequate explanation for having taken this action, nevertheless dissatisfaction continues to surface, and it is our duty to address that question.

Sanctions

Sanctions, as you all witnessed, also generated a great deal of debate, and I hope I am not patronising when I say Cde Thabo Mbeki handled this matter very well. I did not have the opportunity of listening to his entire address, but the little bit that I had the privilege to listen to I endorse it without reservation, because it is an attempt to get the delegates as well as the organisation not to rely on mere rhetoric but to look at the problem as it is developing. We want to continue to hold the line on the question of sanctions, and unless there is a great deal of flexibility and imagination we will be left holding a shell and nothing else. We will continue to call on the international community to support the position of the ANC for peace and unity in this country. We have asked conference to consider the question of using a phased perspective on the question of sanctions, and we have not been disappointed in the vision of our people. Sanctions have been a potent weapon, and we have made many gains. We have to continue to achieve maximum benefit out of this strategy. Many of our friends are under pressure to lift sanctions, and will not do so without consulting the ANC. We have to make a particular comment on the position taken by the Danish Parliament, whose position is to ensure that the EEC maintain sanctions until all the conditions in the Harare declaration have been met. We also have to make particular comment on the position of the Bush Administration, whose position has been to consult the ANC before making any decision, even though the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act will force them to lift sanctions once all the apartheid laws are off the statute books. But we have problems with some of our colleagues in Africa, whose economies are strained as a result of the support they have shown to our cause. We cannot be inflexible in our approach to this particular policy.

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I do not want my remarks to be misunderstood. We are calling for flexibility and for imagination: for an approach which is realistic. But our position is very clear: sanctions must continue to be maintained and applied. That is our position. The flexibility we want exercised is intended to ensure that this weapon is kept in our hands.

WOMEN
This conference has had a significant and historical debate on the question of the participation and representation of women, and this debate has carried the ANC much further than it has ever been. This heated frank and open debate was one of the most important in this conference because we were talking about a fundamental principle, a fundamental policy of the ANC, firmly entrenched in our alliance. We have to begin to work on mechanisms which ensure that affirmative action becomes positive reality. I can say with all confidence that after that debate, and after the women had demonstrated their intensity of feeling on this issue, the ANC will never be the same.

Homeland Leaders
Then there is the question of the homeland leaders, which has been raised very strongly. Again, we must confess that we have made mistakes in this regard. It is true that in some areas we have entered discussions with homeland leaders without proper consultations with our grassroots members in that particular area. We must assure you that this mistake will be attended to and in fact it is already being attended to. One can quote a few examples. In KaNgwane we have been able to consult our local branch there and the region. Not only that, we have brought the homeland leaders, as well as our people, our comrades, in a joint meeting to discuss their differences. We have done the same thing in Gazankulu. Our local membership has been brought together with the homeland leaders there to discuss their differences and iron them out. The emphatic point is that this matter is already being attended to, and we appreciate the frankness of delegates on this matter.

Mass action continues
Then there is the question of mass action. Many people have alleged that we are now giving more attention to negotiations and ignoring mass action. We regret to say that this is an allegation which is made by people who have no real idea of what is happening in their own organisation, in their own country. Because it is common knowledge that at no time in our history have we had so many forms of mass action as we have done in the during the last two years. So much so that our labour organisations have had to give us a warning that we must not just resort to mass action every time we get angry, that the question of mass action must be carefully examined because of the downturn in the economy of the country, and the high level of unemployment. And those people therefore who continue saying that we have abandoned mass action, with respect, they are not very sure of their facts.

Because of the enthusiasm that has been shown here, I do not consider it necessary to go into details about our achievements. But perhaps it is necessary for me to just to say in very brief outline that the ANC in this country continues to hold the strategic initiative, and those people who say that the initiative has passed on to Mr De Klerk are just giving vent to their own wishes. The point is the ANC has made very significant achievements. It has been able to isolate the regime. As comrade OR showed in his address, we have no less than 40 representatives with foreign governments, and sanctions continues to bite deep in the coffers of this country. We were able to reject the conditions which the government sought to impose for the release of political prisoners: they said before they could release us we must condemn violence, we must distance ourselves from the Communist Party; we must go to the homelands, to rule ourselves there comfortably without interference. We rejected all those conditions, and today, all the political prisoners covered by the definitions to which I referred are back with us, without signing any of those conditions.

Most important, we have made a gain on the ideological level. The government during the last 40 years has told the country and the world that the solution to the problems of this country was the

*Law
booklet
EEC leaving
summary*

policy of apartheid, in which blacks would continue to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. On the contrary we announced a non-racial policy; we announced that we were and still are fighting for a democratic South Africa, moulded on the principle of one person one vote. The government has now admitted they were wrong and we were right. They have embraced our policy, and there could be no greater victory than that.

On the question of sanctions, where they say sanctions are crumbling, that may be true but they are exaggerating the matter; they do not tell us that the decision taken by the EEC countries in December last year to lift sanctions on gold and iron ore, those decisions cannot be taken because of a decision of the Danish government; decisions of the EEC is that all decisions should be taken unanimously, and the decision of the Danish government rejecting the decision of the EEC makes that unanimity impossible; and that decision on the authority of the president of the EEC, to whom I spoke about three weeks ago, on his authority that decision cannot be carried out until the Danish parliament changes its decision.

In conclusion comrades we are very happy indeed to have had such a successful conference. We are happy about the contributions you have made, the constructive criticisms that you have brought forward. The leadership must listen to the membership, because we are here to serve the membership and our people. But you must also listen to us. You have given us a mandate to lead this organisation and we are going to do just that. But we are a great organisation which believes in collective responsibility. That collective responsibility means not only that the national executive should take collective decisions, it means we must listen carefully to what you say, and take that into account into our political activities. We want you to know that you yourselves, whether you are on the National Executive or not, on the Regional Executive Community, on the Branch executive committee or not, you as a member of the ANC are a leader in your own name and right; and it is in that spirit that we address you. It is in that spirit that we will listen to your criticisms and your suggestions, and if you do that there is no doubt that the road to Union Buildings and Tuynhuys has become all the shorter.



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Mission to the United States

DECLARATION OF THE 48th NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS 6 July 1991

We, participants at this 48th National Conference of the ANC, representing a cross section of South African society: workers, students, the rural masses, intellectuals, religious communities, business-persons - men and women, young and old, black and white - hereby adopt this declaration as our collective message to our country and to the world.

1.0. This 48th National Conference of the ANC, comes at a time when our country and its people are poised to commence the last leg of our long struggle to bring an end to minority domination and usher in an era of democracy and peace. The people's hopes for freedom, social justice, democracy and peace stand higher than at any time during this century. As a result of the struggles and sacrifices of the people, the moment for the final eradication of the hated system of white domination has dawned.

2.0. We remain convinced that the only real hope for the future of our country and its people lies in the creation of a democratic society based on humane values. These values - government of the people, by the people and for the people - have been kept alive and survived in our country thanks to the sacrifices of millions of our people against the tyranny of white domination. We salute the people of South Africa, who have over many decades waged unrelenting struggle, undaunted by repression and other adversities. We pay tribute to all the patriots who have fallen in the cause of this noble struggle.

3.0. The possibility of eradicating apartheid by peaceful means has emerged through our struggles. The overwhelming majority of South Africans are convinced that the process of peaceful transition to a democratic future must proceed with all deliberate speed.

Darius

4.0. In this regard, we reaffirm our unambiguous commitment to exploring every possible avenue to resolve by peaceful means the problems of our country. It is this commitment which persuades us that a climate of peace, free of formal or informal repression, is essential for the transition from apartheid to democracy. We reiterate our full support for the OAU Harare Declaration and the Open Letter to the regime, issued by the National Executive Committee on April 9th, and call on the government to address these issues with immediate effect.

Inkama

5.0. We note with alarm the continuation of vigilante violence perpetrated by agencies of the state against black communities. Even as conference continued with its deliberations, numerous attacks, including against families of conference delegates, took place. A climate of fear, doubt and uncertainty pervades our country. We refuse to submit to the temptations of despair induced by the enemies of democracy, justice and peace, who have over the past 18 months subjected our country, especially the Natal and PWV regions, to an unprecedented level of violence and bloodletting with a view to derailing the search for peace and postponing indefinitely the establishment of a democratic non-racial state.

6.0. We are no longer prepared to accept pious words of peace, while the government, its supporters and its surrogates pursue a policy of violence and death against the people and their democratic movement. The patience and forbearance of the people have been sorely tested and we demand that President De Klerk and his government demonstrate, in deeds, that they share our commitment to peace and reconciliation. We express our unqualified support for the initiative of religious and business leaders to facilitate the process towards the adoption and implementation of binding multilateral agreements aimed at ending the scourge of violence.

7.0. The removal of all the obstacles to free political activity will open the way for speedy movement on the crucial questions of the transition and the democratic future. We therefore welcome back to the ranks of active struggle the cadres of our movement and the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe who have recently been released. We note however that many other patriots, including those on Death Row, remain in apartheid dungeons. We demand their immediate and unconditional release and the granting of general amnesty to all exiles. The atmosphere necessary for free political activity and negotiations cannot emerge without these measures, the repeal of all repressive legislation and an end to the violence. The regime must honour the solemn undertakings it made in both the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Summits.

8.0. This will open the way to a period of transition which must be supervised by a sovereign and impartial body and during which the masses of the people will take an active part in the formulation of the basic law of the land. We remain committed to the call for an Interim Government and a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of one-person, one-vote

on a non-racial voters' roll. We are committed to work out and communicate to the nation our detailed positions on all these issues as soon as possible. With the clearing of obstacles to normal political activity, we will strive to ensure the convening of the All Party Congress without undue delays.

9.0. We, together with the majority of South Africans are committed to the advancement of the struggle within the context of the new situation. This struggle is vital because victory has not yet been won, the danger of repression continues to loom over the people and the possibility of a derailment of the negotiations process exists. Therefore, we will continue to strengthen the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe both as a force indispensable to the defence of the people and in preparation for the creation of a truly national army of a democratic South Africa; to maintain such underground formations as are necessary; to intensify mass organisation and mobilisation and to ensure the continued engagement of the international community in the common offensive against the criminal system of apartheid.

10.0. We reiterate our adherence to the principles of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa as enshrined in the Freedom Charter. These include the guarantee of the fundamental human rights of all South Africans, reinforced by an entrenched Bill of Rights, a multi-party system of government, a representative and independent judiciary and regular elections. However, these rights will be meaningless without the fundamental restructuring of the economy to serve the interests of the people and far-reaching reforms in the areas of land distribution, housing, education, health, welfare and so on.

11.0. The main goal of the struggle is the liberation of our people from the system of national oppression. The ANC remains a national liberation movement committed to the transfer of power to the people as a whole. We do not act simply in the narrow interest of the ANC as a political organisation. Our mission, hand-in-hand with other democratic forces, is to rid South Africa of the scourge of apartheid in all its manifestations.

12.0. We reaffirm our commitment to the deepening of democracy within our ranks. The preparations for this Conference and the open and free exchange of ideas in its sessions have reinforced the unity and coherence of our movement. They have also planted the seed which will germinate in the development of a democratic political culture in our society.

13.0. We reaffirm the ANC's non-sexist policy and commit ourselves to urgently to further develop mechanisms of addressing the serious challenge of women's emancipation in society at large, including our own ranks.

14.0. In order to ensure that all our people act as a united force to achieve the common goal of a democratic society, we commit ourselves to the strengthening of the tri-partite alliance of the ANC, COSATU and the SACP. We also pledge to continue our efforts to build a broad patriotic front of all forces committed to the attainment of a united, non-racial and democratic society.

15.0. We, the delegates assembled at this 48th National Conference of the ANC call upon all our people to join hands in the struggle for democracy and peace in our land. We reach out to workers, youth and students, the rural masses, traditional chiefs, artists, sports-persons, religious communities, intellectuals, business-persons and others. We call on our white compatriots to take active part in the efforts to build a just and democratic future for all our people. We reach out in particular to the security forces and call on them to support and defend the process of peaceful transition to democracy, acting in support of the aspirations of the people.

16.0. We are inspired by the presence at our conference of 450 foreign guests, drawn from 57 countries in every continent of the world. Their presence here underscores the wide-ranging international support our cause has won. We express our profound appreciation of the contribution made by these friends of our people to the anti-apartheid struggle in the past and are equally confident that this shall continue into the future. We call on the international community to maintain its isolation of apartheid South Africa and intensify its support for the forces of democracy and peace in our country.

17.0. Our country has entered a period of decisive movement towards her redemption from years of cruel oppression and repression. We are conscious of the heavy responsibility on the African National Congress and the people in general to ensure that this takes place with the minimum of bloodshed and destruction. We pledge to march together in ever-swelling ranks to a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

LET PEACE, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE PREVAIL!

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ANC PRESS STATEMENT ON SANCTIONS

Sanctions were imposed by governments and people across the world with the primary objective of ending apartheid. Sanctions remain a weapon which the international community can utilise to maintain pressure on the Pretoria government to expedite progress to achieve non-racial democracy in South Africa.

The ANC National Conference, which has just ended, stated that sanctions should continue to be used as a form of pressure, and that specified groups of sanctions could be utilised for the attainment of the particular strategic objectives, each of which is critical to the process of transformation:

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

President Bush has just announced that the United States government will lift those sanctions imposed in terms of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

We regard this action as premature. Large numbers of persons, defined as political prisoners in terms of agreement reached between the ANC and the South African government, remain in jail. Progress should be judged not only by fine words, but by actual deeds, and such progress cannot be determined by the South African government, nor accepted on

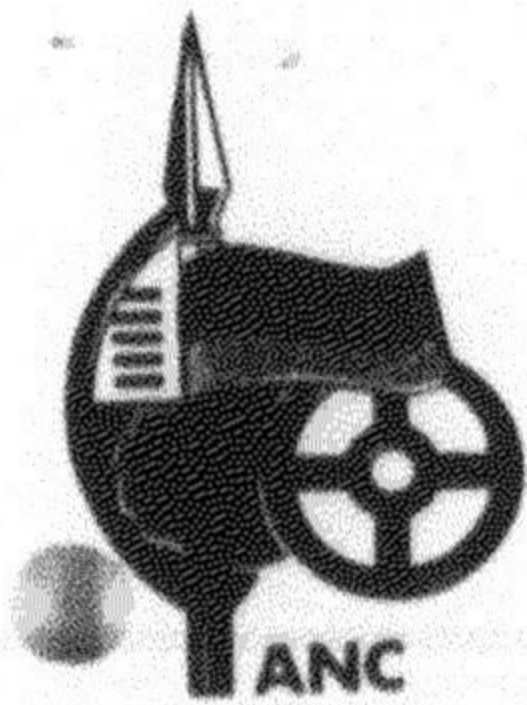
its word alone. The process of change can only be deemed irreversible when the people can defend their gains through that most democratic of means, one person one vote. This is still denied to black South Africans today.

We must point out that a whole range of sanctions shall continue to remain in force. In terms of the Gann Amendment South Africa cannot receive loans from the IMF and the World Bank. The arms embargo, and sanctions imposed by various cities and states are not affected by the CAAA.

President Bush has also made it clear that the United States shall continue to maintain pressure on the South African government through other means, and that is a source of encouragement.

We urge all who cherish democracy and want to see a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa come into being to continue to utilise this weapon to maintain pressure on the South African government to ensure rapid movement forward to establish the kind of society so many throughout the world have worked so long and hard to achieve.

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10 July, 1991



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Mission to the United States

ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE: JULY 1991.

DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

RESOLUTION ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE ANC

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Aware that our foreign policy must be informed by the understanding that South Africa has entered a critical period in the struggle to end the apartheid system and establish a non-racial and non-sexist democracy and that the white minority regime has been obliged to accept the demand for genuine negotiations, as outlined in the Harare and UN Declarations, which, among others, envisage the following strategic stages:

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

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

Cognisant of the fact that ways and means should be found by which to arrest the process of the erosion of sanctions to ensure that the democratic movement does not lose this weapon, which will be required until a democratic constitution has been adopted;

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

Now Resolves as Follows:

1. ON SANCTIONS:

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

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

Accordingly, sanctions should continue to be used as a necessary form of pressure. Specified groups of sanctions should be used to achieve the strategic objectives listed below, each one of which is critical to the process of transformation:

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

In this connection, the National Executive Committee as a matter of urgency is called upon in consultation with our allies, to determine the precise formulation of this process, acting in broad consultation internally and in coordination with the anti-apartheid forces world wide. These forces include the OAU and the UN as well as non-governmental anti-apartheid and solidarity forces.

2. ON THE MOBILISATION OF ANTI-APARTHEID FORCES.

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

During the period of transition from apartheid to democracy, the role of the international anti-apartheid movement will continue to be highly critical in strengthening the hand of the democratic forces. In this regard, the anti-apartheid movement has the task

to sensitise the international community towards its obligation of assisting the people of South Africa to effect the transformations which will result in the suppression of the crime of apartheid and the institution of a social order which will uphold the objectives contained in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations.

Furthermore, the world Anti-Apartheid Movement should prepare adequately for an important post apartheid role. Such a role is dictated by the enormous socio-economic inequalities that will remain the legacy of apartheid legislation from the statute books.

Conference resolves that, within a year, an international conference of the Anti-Apartheid Movement should be convened in South Africa to address these issues.

3. ON THE MOBILISATION OF FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL ASSISTANCE.

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

- A) To empower the anti-apartheid forces to carry out the tasks of transforming South Africa from an apartheid to a democratic society. In this context, the People's Army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, needs to be assisted in order to facilitate its future integration into a new national army that will defend the country and the democratic order, while upholding the principles of the sovereignty of nations, regional stability and international peace and security;
- B) To assist in the evolution of development policies that will address the socio-economic imbalances resulting from apartheid, through training and research;
- C) To assist post-apartheid South Africa to eliminate these imbalances and meet the expectations of the people. In this regard, the ANC must encourage such initiatives as the establishment of a South African Development Bank along similar lines to the Bank of Reconstruction and Development with regard to Eastern Europe.

4. ON REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

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

- A) Further to advance the struggle for the liquidation of the apartheid system and the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial and non-sexist democracy;

B) Actively to promote the objectives of democracy, peace, national independence, stability, development and prosperity, as well as promote pan-African solidarity and mutually beneficial cooperation among the peoples, committed to the view that South Africa and its people will live with the rest of the world in conditions of peace, friendship and cooperation.

C) To promote programmes directed at the protection of the environment;

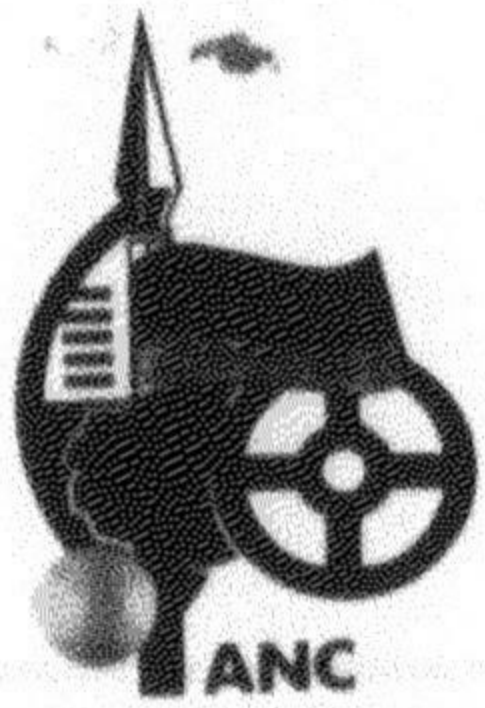
D) To help create a world free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. In this regard, to seek to promote the objectives of Africa and the Indian ocean as nuclear free zones and areas that would also be free of foreign military forces and bases.

E) To work towards the admission of the democratic South Africa in such organisations as the SADCC, the PTA, the OAU, the ADB, the Lome convention, the non-aligned movement and the reestablishment of relations with the World Bank, the IMF and the United Nations.

5. ON ORGANISATIONAL MATTERS.

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

Conference further resolves that all regional committees of the ANC should establish sub-committees on international affairs and on foreign policy questions.



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Mission to the United States

ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE - JULY 1991 DURBAN

ADOPTED RESOLUTION UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

PREAMBLE

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

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

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

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

THEREFORE RESOLVES

1. That the ANC shall maintain and develop MK until the adoption of a democratic constitution and the creation of a new defence force into which cadres of MK will be integrated. Until such a point is reached the equipment of the movement shall NOT be surrendered to the regime.
2. MK shall remain in constant combat readiness.
3. The ANC accepts full responsibility for cadres arrested and/or detained by police and security organs in the course of the execution of their duties in defence of the people.
4. The ANC shall establish structures of MK throughout the country at all levels including the establishment of offices and the provision of resources for such activities.

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

FURTHER RESOLVES

That the role of MK in the present period shall be

1. To act in defence of peace and stability to guarantee the people's political victories by imparting the necessary skills.
2. To participate in the rebuilding and organisation of the ANC.
3. To act in defence of the personnel and property of the ANC.
4. To encourage MK cadres to join and to channel their political concerns through the established branches.

FINALLY RESOLVES

That the NEC take full responsibility for the transferring of funds to regions for the maintenance, development and general welfare of all MK cadres, both inside and outside the country and that proper and appropriate binding mechanisms be established to ensure this and that the NEC shall take steps to ensure the marking of the 30th anniversary of MK throughout the country.

EXPRESS ITS DETERMINATION

1. That our strategies and tactics will be informed by the experience of all our people, including those sections of our population which are not sufficiently involved in the ANC.
2. Our strategy and tactics will also be informed by the experience of women, especially African women who are the most oppressed section of our population.
3. That the organisation will increase its emphasis on rural areas and bantustans and all other areas being given insufficient attention.
4. To marshal the necessary personnel and resources to implement an effective negotiations programme.
5. That the period ahead will be one of intensified struggle that will see decisive steps towards achievement of our basic demands leading towards the transfer of power and peace under a democratic constitution.



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Mission to the United States

ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE JULY 1991 DURBAN
ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON NEGOTIATIONS

1. Conference reaffirms that the possibility exists of achieving the transfer of power to the people and the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa by peaceful means.
2. This possibility has come about as a result of the heroic struggles of our people which have included mass action, armed struggle and underground work, supported by anti-apartheid actions of the international community.
3. To achieve the strategic objective of our struggle, it is vital that we continue to combine all forms of the struggle, drawing in the widest spectrum of the people.
4. Accordingly, the speedy realisation of a democratic settlement requires that negotiations which constitute an additional terrain of the struggle should be linked to a continuing mass struggle and international pressure. This is because the gains made in the mass struggle will be reflected at the negotiations table. Negotiations do not win our freedom, but represent the recognition of the victories we win on the ground.
5. Conference supports and endorses the strategy for negotiations outlined in the Harare and UN Declarations adopted in 1989. Conference instructs the NEC in consultation with other members of the Tripartite Alliance to elaborate a comprehensive approach to negotiations.
6. In this context, Conference notes that the Pretoria regime has not yet removed all obstacles to negotiations identified in these Declarations and has thereby blocked progress towards the creation of a climate to negotiations.
7. Furthermore, the campaign of terror carried against the people intended to destabilise the society, intimidate the people, undermine and weaken the ANC, its allies and the rest of the democratic movement is an obstacle to the objective of creating a climate conducive to negotiations and to free political activity and association.

8. Conference therefore demands that the Pretoria regime acts immediately to unblock the path leading to the creation of the necessary climate by removing the obstacles to negotiations
9. Conference denounces and condemns the Pretoria regime which, by delaying the process of negotiation, seeks to strengthen itself, weaken the democratic movement and discredit genuine negotiations.
10. Conference directs the NEC in consultation with the RECs and our allies to ensure the implementation of a programme of action to ensure the defeat of this strategy. Such action should aim to draw in the broad democratic movement and the masses of our people and the world anti-apartheid movement.
11. In the light of the fact that for the foreseeable future there will continue to exist counter-revolutionary elements opposed to the democratic transformation of South Africa, and recognising that there is a strategic relationship between the maintenance of peace and the possibility of a negotiated settlement, Conference resolves that the ANC at all times act decisively to defend the people while it conducts an uninterrupted offensive to defeat the apartheid system.
12. Conference therefore resolves that all necessary measures be taken to mobilise the people of South Africa as a whole to engage in action in defence of peace. Conference further resolves that the ANC should assist all communities to build the capacity to defend themselves against counter-revolutionary violence.
13. MK should maintain its combat readiness and vigilance to enable it to intervene decisively should the anti-democratic forces block the path to a peaceful settlement.
14. Conference endorses and supports the initiative already taken by Church and business organisations to convene a peace conference.
15. Conference further resolves that all necessary measures be taken to activate the international community to join the offensive against counter-revolutionary violence.
16. In keeping with the provisions contained in the Harare and UN Declarations, Conference reaffirms the crucial importance of the following steps, which must be taken consequent to the removal of ALL obstacles:
 - a. The convening of the All-Party Congress; —
 - b. The installation of an Interim Government; —
 - c. The election of a democratic Constituent Assembly; and
 - d. The adoption of a democratic constitution and the election of a parliament representative of all the people of South Africa.

17. Conference further resolves that these objectives should be achieved within a definite time frame, to ensure that the process of negotiation is not drawn out.
18. Conference reaffirms the positions of the ANC that all the people of our should be involved in the process of negotiating their future. Accordingly, it reiterates our standpoint that negotiations shall not be secret.
19. Conference further directs the NEC to take immediate steps to ensure that a comprehensive and representative team comprising all chief negotiators, working groups and researchers, which shall function under the supervision of and direction of the NEC, is established. The NEC shall ensure that in all such organs and structures there is adequate and fair participation of women.
20. Conference directs the NEC as a matter of extreme urgency, to take steps to ensure the creation of appropriate and effective mechanisms for consultation and communication with the membership. To realise this objective the NEC shall ensure that the necessary resources are made available.
21. Furthermore, Conference directs the NEC to take immediate steps to ensure the creation of appropriate and effective mechanisms for the involvement of the allies of the ANC in the process of negotiations.
22. In the mean time, and subject to this resolution, Conference mandates the NEC to continue with the process of talks about talks and invests it with discretionary powers, within the policies of the ANC.
23. Conference resolves that everything should be done to build maximum unity among the forces committed to the perspective of a non-racial, non-sexist democracy and to ensure that forces act in unity throughout the process of negotiations. In this regard it resolves that determined efforts are made to establish a Front of Patriotic Forces as soon as possible. All participants in this Patriotic Front shall retain their organisational independence and sovereignty.



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Mission to the United States

ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE - DURBAN JULY 1991

ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON VIOLENCE

NOTING THAT:

1. Many thousands of our people have been attacked and killed and continue to be killed especially in the recent period by apartheid sponsored violence carried out by Inkatha, askaris, Bantustan death forces and others whose aim is to weaken and destroy the ANC and other democratic forces.
2. This violence is taking place in a counter-revolutionary context directed by agencies of the state and its surrogate forces in the form of councillors, warlords, vigilantes, death squads and certain white right wing elements.
3. The ANC, together with other democratic forces such as COSATU, UDF and churches, has attempted to find peaceful solutions to violence by:
 - a] entering into peace talks with Inkatha;
 - b] making submissions, representations and demands to the South African government to end the violence.
4. Despite the past peace initiatives with Inkatha, violence still persists and despite the machinery at the disposal of the regime, it is refusing to take the necessary steps to end the violence.
5. The response of the democratic forces in dealing with this counter-revolutionary violence has not been adequate and that the December 1990 Consultative Conference took a resolution to build defence committees and that the organisation has made insufficient progress the setting up of defence committees.
6. The recent peace initiative by church and business leaders is aimed at involving all the organisations in S.A. in strategies to end the violence.

BELIEVING:

1. That the violence aims to:
 - a) destabilise the ANC and other democratic forces.
 - b) ensure that the government dictates the pace of transition in terms of its own agenda.
 - c) create a state of confusion and demoralisation in our ranks and among our people in an attempt to alienate them from our movement.
2. That violence is part of a counter revolutionary strategy to maintain white domination in new forms.
3. The ending or containing the violence should be at the top of the agenda of the ANC and democratic movement.
4. That our right to self defence is not limited by any agreement entered into by the movement.

WE THEREFORE RESOLVE:

1. To support the current peace initiative of the church and business leaders in:
 - a) developing a code of conduct for the security forces.
 - b) developing a code of conduct for political organisations.
 - c) developing an enforcement mechanism to monitor the codes that will involve a wide range of groupings.
 - d) developing a programme of reconstruction.
2. To mandate the incoming NEC to give a deadline to the appropriate structures by which time it must have completed its task of forming self defence units in all areas, and to take definite steps to provide all possible resources and assistance required.
3. To embark on a programme of national and international mass action within the context of our demands for:
 - a) the removal of all obstacles to creating a climate for negotiations.
 - b) the dismantling of all apartheid structures.
 - c) an interim government and a constituent assembly.
4. To embark on a publicity campaign both locally and internationally to expose the true nature of the violence.

5. To re-affirm our demands contained in the NEC letter of April 5 1991 addressed to de Klerk .
6. To establish structures on a branch, regional and national level with our partners within the tri-partite alliance and other democratic formations to co-ordinate our strategies in responding to the violence.



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Mission to the United States

ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE - DURBAN JULY 1991

FINAL RESOLUTION ON STRATEGY AND TACTICS

THIS NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE ANC

NOTING

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

NOTING FURTHER

1. That the struggles of the people and the support of the international community have created the possibility of negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country
2. That the regime has been obliged to accept the fact that it does not have the strength to sustain apartheid in the old way and has therefore had to enter into talks with the ANC
3. That despite the advances made by the liberation movement, the de Klerk regime still retains the capacity to implement counter measures on a whole range of fronts, and that its objective is to retain the essentials of white domination under a new guise

4. That the regime seeks to discredit and weaken the ANC and other democratic forces, claim legitimacy for itself as the main agent of change, divide the forces of liberation while broadening its own base, pacify the masses and thus become the supreme manager of the current period

AND BELIEVING THAT

1. The struggle for the elimination of apartheid colonialism should intensify until a democratic constitution and government are in place
2. It is in the interest of the people of South Africa that the negotiating process should seek to place political power in their hands in the shortest possible time
3. The negotiating process should involve the widest spectrum of the people and their various democratic formations ensuring that they determine the final outcome through mass action
4. Negotiations must be conducted on the basis of consultation and accountability between the leadership and ANC structures
5. Negotiations can only succeed in the context of intensified struggle on all fronts and in combination with other forms of struggle

REAFFIRMS

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

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

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

WITH REGARD TO THE FOUR PILLARS CONFERENCE BELIEVES THAT:

- 1.1 Mass organisation and mobilisation is at the centre of our struggle.

- 1.2 This entails ANC involvement, including actions through organs of people's power, in day to day activities of the people on all fronts. Such action would also entail demands related to transition, particularly for a sovereign interim government and sovereign constituent assembly, and the question of the transfer of power.
- 1.3 That the ANC is a national liberation movement providing leadership to its members and the oppressed and democratic forces of South Africa generally, over a wide range of issues. The ANC is not a political party. In formulating our policies for a democratic South Africa these should relate to mass struggles and provide opportunities for the masses to assert their just demands.
2. The underground remains essential and needs to be strengthened since the process of change is not irreversible and violent acts of counterrevolution against the forces of liberation and the oppressed people in general continue to be perpetrated.
- 3.1 Armed struggle. Armed action has been suspended, but the armed struggle remains a pillar of our struggle. In a situation where the regime pursues or allows violence against us as part of its negotiations strategy it is essential for us to strengthen our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, contribute decisively in building the defensive capacity of communities who are victims or potential victims of the current reign of terror.
- 3.2 We also need to undertake various measures to prepare to build an army of a democratic South Africa.
4. The international pillar of our struggle has to be strengthened. Governments and international solidarity groups need to be given a clear understanding of the current situation and the perspectives of the ANC. The international community needs to actively seek support of and pressure from the international community for an end to violence against our people, the demand for a sovereign interim government, sovereign constituent assembly and a democratic constitution. In all its international work the ANC needs to ensure that it retains the initiative

CONFERENCE FURTHER RESOLVES

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

2. To strengthen the ANC as a mass-based, democratic organisation rooted amongst the people, through systematic organisation and mobilisation
3. To increase the capacity of the ANC to creatively lead the people in mass action, and for the masses to participate actively and take initiatives at various levels

BELIEVING

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

RECOGNISING

That the goals of the ANC can best be facilitated by the strengthening of the broadest range of people behind its democratic goals

COMMITTS ITSELF

1. To move speedily towards the building of a broad patriotic front to further the achievement of common democratic goals
2. And to go beyond this and draw in as many categories of people and organisations behind the broad goals of non-racialism, non-sexism and democracy
3. To devise and implement a programme of action aimed at keeping the initiative in the hands of the democratic forces and compelling the government to meet our just demands.

REPORT OF THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

The elections for the position of Deputy President, Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General and the National Executive Committee of the ANC were conducted by the Independent Mediation Service of South Africa (IMSSA).

Prior to the conference the ANC requested IMSSA to undertake this task and requested three independent persons to observe the elections, and to satisfy themselves that the procedures established by IMSSA were fair and that the elections were conducted in a fair manner. These persons were Professor J. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor and Rector of the University of Durban-Westville, Mr Enos Mabuza, a business consultant and former Chief Minister of Ka Ngwane and Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC, National Director of the Legal Resources Centre. Together with Mr Charles Nupen, Director of IMSSA, they constituted an independent electoral commission.

At the commencement of its proceedings conference confirmed these arrangements, and gave full power to the independent electoral commission to decide and make rulings on all matters connected with the elections. This was in fact done, and neither the National Executive Committee or any other structure of the ANC played any part in conducting the elections.

The right of delegates to vote was verified by a Credentials Commission on which all structures of the ANC were represented.

IMSSA prepared voters lists in accordance with the decision taken by the Credentials Commission, provided sealed ballot boxes and voting booths, prepared the ballot papers (which were stamped by it to confirm their authenticity) and engaged independent mediators to act as marshalls during the elections, and to deal with queries raised by voters. The arrangements made were explained to the press which had access to the voting hall immediately prior to the elections and was able to observe the arrangements that had been made.

Non-voting representatives of all ANC regions constituted an AN Electoral Commission which was consulted and kept fully informed by the Independent Electoral Commission, observed the balloting and the counting and expressed their satisfaction with the arrangements which were made and the manner in which the elections were conducted.

The Independent Electoral Commission satisfied itself that

- a) Voting procedures were understood by the delegates.
- b) The persons who voted were all duly accredited delegates
- c) The voting was conducted fairly.
- d) The ballot was secret.
- e) The counting was accurate.

The Electoral Commission has reported that it is satisfied that free and fair elections were conducted for all positions and that the results which have been announced are in accordance with secret ballots that were conducted.

REF:MASTER7

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

BALLOT COUNT

Position No.	% of Total	Total Votes	Candidate
1	94.7	1858	CHRIS HANI
2	93.0	1824	THABO MBEKI
3	87.8	1761	JOE SLOVO
4	87.9	1724	PATRICK "TERROR" LEXOTA
5	86.8	1702	PALLO JORDAN
6	86.5	1697	AHMED KATHRADA
7	85.0	1666	RONNIE KASRILS / ANC KHUMAL
8	83.8	1644	HARRY SWALA
9	83.3	1634	STEVE TSHMETE
10	78.8	1546	ARNOLD STOFILE
11	77.7	1523	POPO MOLEFE
12	77.0	1510	JOE MODISE
13	75.9	1489	RAYMOND MHLABA
14	74.6	1462	MAC RAHARAJ
15	72.4	1420	ALFRED NZO
16	69.2	1357	RUTH MOMPATI
17	67.4	1321	ALBERTINA SISULU
18	66.8	1310	RAYMOND SUTTNER
19	63.9	1253	TREVOR MANUEL
20	63.7	1249	EBRAHIM ISMAIL EBRAHIM
21	61.1	1198	AZIZ PAHAD
22	59.6	1168	CHERYL CAROLUS
23	59.2	1161	ALBIE SACHS
24	57.1	1119	JOEL METSHITENDZE / PETER M
25	56.5	1107	WILTON MKNAYI
26	53.9	1057	VINNIE MANDELA
27	53.7	1053	JOE NKLANHLA
28	53.5	1049	JOHN NKADIMENG
29	52.6	1031	MULLAN OMAR
30	51.7	1014	MOMAHED VALLI MOOSA
31	48.9	958	GERTRUDE SHOPE
32	48.8	956	ANDREW MLANGENI
33	48.7	955	SIPHINE NYANDA / SEBUZA
34	47.5	931	SIDNEY MAFUKADI
35	47.3	927	ELIAS MOTSOLEDI
36	45.1	884	MENDI MSIMANG
37	43.5	854	REGINALD SEPTEMBER
38	43.0	844	BARBARA MASEKELA
39	42.7	837	BILLY HAIR
40	41.5	814	MCHWAYIZENI ZULU
41	41.2	808	SISTER BERNARD MCHUBE
42	40.8	800	GILL MARCUS
43	40.4	792	JEREMY CRONIN
44	39.4	772	ROCKY MALEBANE-METSING
45	39.3	771	KADAR ASMAL
46	38.7	758	SAKKIE MACHOZONA
47	37.3	731	PETER MOKABA
48	36.7	719	ZOLA SKWEZIYA
49	36.6	717	THOZANILE BOTHA
50	36.6	717	MARION SPARG

ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE
JULY 1991, DURBAN

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

STATEMENT ON CREDENTIALS
To be read with reference to
"Official Status Position Of Delegates To Conference"
document.

Signed: *PP. Stuart*
James Stuart
Credentials Committee

1. Allocations to delegates have been made on a Voting and Non-Voting basis.

2. Voting delegations are categorised as follows:

Internal Regions
External
Other (including MK Internal, NEC/ILC, ANCWL, ANCYL)
Chief Representatives
National Departments

3. Non-Voting delegates are categorised as follows:

National Departments
Other (including SACP, COSATU, UDF, Stalwarts)

4. Allocations to all categories was decided with continuous discussion and consultation, but repeated revision has had implication for the 2000 voting delegate ceiling originally agreed to. The allocation totals per category as it now stands is as follows:

	<u>Total</u>
<u>Voting</u>	
Internal Regions	1909
External	83
Other	175
MK (Internal)	45
NEC/ILC	40
ANCWL	42
ANCYL	48
Chief Representatives	41
National Departments	36
	<u>2244</u>

5. With regard to the totals reflected above, note the required amendments in the "Official Status Position Of Delegates To Conference" document.

This needs to include under the Chief Representatives category an additional delegate each for Italy, Sweden, Netherlands and France to account for the transitional situation of outgoing and incoming Chief Representatives. In addition, Cuba and Libya are added as countries with Chief Representatives.

With regard to the National Departments Non-Voting category, credit the Interim Science and Technology Group with one delegate. The breakdown of Non-Voting delegates thus reads:

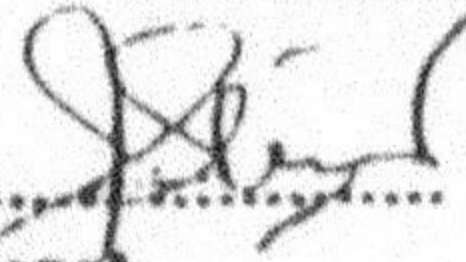
<u>Non-Voting</u>		<u>Total</u>
National Departments		41
Other		76
	SACP	10
	COSATU	10
	UDF	2
	Stalwarts	54
		<hr/>
		117

6. The official record of delegates to conference is entered as part of this statement and is available for perusal by arrangement with James Stuart, Credentials Committee head.

7. Finally, the figures for all voting delegates reflect that 85% of delegates are delegates from branches inside the country.

**ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE
JULY 1991 DURBAN
CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE**

**OFFICIAL STATUS POSITION
OF DELEGATES TO CONFERENCE**

Signed: 
James Stuart
Credentials Committee

A VOTING DELEGATES

INTERNAL REGIONS

	REGION	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1	IWW	257 + 3 REC
2	Northern Transvaal	88 + 3 REC
3	Eastern Transvaal	743 + 3 REC
4	Western Transvaal	30 + 3 REC
5	Northern Cape	41 + 3 REC
6	Western Cape	183 + 3 REC
7	Eastern Cape	194 + 3 REC
8	Border	244 + 3 REC
9	Transkei	138 + 3 REC
10	Northern Natal	35 + 3 REC
11	Southern Natal	180 + 3 REC
12	Natal Midlands	99 + 3 REC
13	Southern OFS	66 + 3 REC
14	Northern OFS	87 + 3 REC

EXTERNAL

		DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1	Zambia	18
2	Tanzania	18
3	Zimbabwe	4
4	USA	2
5	United Kingdom	4
6	Sweden	1
7	Angola	2
8	Canada	1
9	Australia	1
10	Lesotho	1
11	MK external (Ilganda, Angola, Tanzania)	35

	OTHER	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1	MK (Internal)	45
2	NEC and Internal Leadership Core	40
3	ANC Women's League	42
4	ANC Youth League	48

CHIEF REPRESENTATIVES

	COUNTRY	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1.	USA	1
2.	UK	1
3.	Kenya	1
4.	Mozambique	1
5.	Italy	1
6.	India	1
7.	Egypt	1
8.	Angola	1
9.	Sweden	1
10.	Canada	1
11.	Tanzania	1
12.	Belgium	1
13.	Botswana	1
14.	LSM	1
15.	IRK and Ireland	1
16.	Uganda	1
17.	Nigeria	1
18.	W Germany	1
19.	Ethiopia	1
20.	Netherlands	1
21.	Denmark	1
22.	Namibia	1
23.	Spain	1
24.	Japan	1
25.	Algeria	1
26.	France	1
27.	Australia	1
28.	Finland	1
29.	Norway	1
30.	Senegal	1
31.	Zaire	1
32.	Ghana	1
33.	Malaysia	1
34.	Zimbabwe	1
35.	Zambia	1

ANC NATIONAL DEPARTMENTS

	DEPARTMENT	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1	Office of the President	1
2	Office of the Deputy President	1
3	Legal Department	1
4	Department of Economic Policy	1
5	Office of the Land Commissioner	1
6	Health Secretariat	1
7	Department of Finance	1
8	Projects Department	1
9	Department of Arts and Culture	1
10	Department of Social Welfare	1
11	National Organising Committee	1
12	Political Committee	1
13	Department of Manpower Development	1
14	Department of Information and Publicity	1
15	Department of Political Education	1
16	Department of Education	1
17	Department of International Affairs	1
18	Military Headquarters (and other)	10
19	(N.E.)	1

B. NON-VOTING DELEGATES

ANC NATIONAL DEPARTMENTS

	DEPARTMENT	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1	Legal Department	9
2	Department of Economic Policy	3
3	Office of the Land Commissioner	3
4	Health Secretariat	3
5	Projects Department	1
6	Department of Arts and Culture	3
7	Department of Social Welfare	1
8	National Organising Committee	3
9	Department of Manpower Development	1
10	Department of Information and Publicity	3
11	Department of Political Education	1
12	Department of Education	3
13	Department of International Affairs	2
14	Office of Rehabilitation	1
15	(N.E.)	3

OTHER ORGANISATIONS/CATEGORIES

	ORGANISATION/CATEGORY	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1	SA Communist Party	10
2	Congress of SA Trade Unions	10
3	United Democratic Front	2
4	Statwarie	64

TOTALS		
Voting delegates		2239
Non-voting delegates		118
GRAND TOTAL		2354

AIC NATIONAL DEPARTMENTS

	DEPARTMENT	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1	Office of the President	1
2	Office of the Deputy President	1
3	Legal Department	1
4	Department of Economic Policy	1
5	Office of the Land Commission	1
6	Health Secretariat	1
7	Department of Finance	1
8	Projects Department	1
9	Department of Arts and Culture	1
10	Department of Social Welfare	1
11	National Organising Committee	1
12	Political Committee	1
13	Department of Manpower Development	1
14	Department of Information and Publicity	1
15	Department of Political Education	1
16	Department of Education	1
17	Department of International Affairs	1
18	Military Headquarters (and other)	10
19	(S)	1

B NON VOTING DELEGATES

AIC NATIONAL DEPARTMENTS

	DEPARTMENT	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1	Legal Department	0
2	Department of Economic Policy	3
3	Office of the Land Commission	3
4	Health Secretariat	3
5	Projects Department	1
6	Department of Arts and Culture	3
7	Department of Social Welfare	1
8	National Organising Committee	3
9	Department of Manpower Development	1
10	Department of Information and Publicity	3
11	Department of Political Education	1
12	Department of Education	3
13	Department of International Affairs	2
14	Office of Registration	1
15	(S)	3

OTHER ORGANISATIONS/CATEGORIES

	ORGANISATION/CATEGORY	DELEGATE ALLOCATION
1	SA Communist Party	10
2	Congress of SA Trade Unions	10
3	United Democratic Front	2
4	Students	54
TOTALS		
	Voting delegates	228
	Non-voting delegates	118
	GRAND TOTAL	346



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Observer Mission to the United Nations

STATEMENT

JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING - ANC\SACP\COSATU

The National Executive Committees of the ANC, SACP, and COSATU, led respectively by ANC Deputy President, Nelson Mandela, SACP General Secretary, Joe Slovo, and COSATU Vice-President, Chris Dlamini, met on January 27th, 1991.

The meeting considered perspectives on the negotiations process; mass campaigns for 1991; violence and state repression; sanctions and the current international situation.

The three national executives accepted the idea of a congress of all parties and organizations as a forum for an exchange of views on the process of advancing towards a post apartheid constitution. The precise objective and character of the congress should be the subject of broad consultations throughout the democratic movement.

The meeting was further of the view that such a congress could also exchange views on the form of interim state structures necessary to ensure the democratic adoption of a post apartheid constitution.

The meeting, however, emphasized that such a congress can not be a substitute for a constituent assembly and that it could only assume such functions if it were reconstituted and if the representatives at such a congress were elected in a non-racial election on the basis of one person one vote.

The three executives expressed their full support for the January 29th meeting between the ANC and Inkatha, and hoped that it would lead to an end to the violence in Natal and elsewhere, and to a climate of political tolerance and freedom of political activity.

The meeting called on our people to engage in mass action on February 1st, to demand a democratic Constituent Assembly and Interim Government. The character of this mass action should be determined by local conditions.

(continued on the back)

The executives reaffirmed the right of our people to organize self defence committees and endorsed the recommendation of the tripartite National Working Committee on Violence to hold a national workshop.

The meeting called on the international community to maintain sanctions against apartheid South Africa.

On the present crisis in the Gulf, the joint executives condemned the resort to war. The meeting called for an end to U.S. led military intervention. The meeting also called on Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. It called for a comprehensive Middle East conference. The meeting fully supported the right of the Palestinian people to an independent state, it called for the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories, and it supported the right of Israel to exist within safe and secure borders. The three executives called on our people to campaign for peace in the Gulf and wider Middle East region.

January 27, 1991.



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Observer Mission to the United Nations

**Opening Address by ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela
At the African National Congress/Inkatha Freedom Party Summit
29 January 1990 — South Africa**

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, your Royal Highnesses: Princess of the Zulu Royal House, members of the Central Committee of Inkatha Freedom Party, comrades and friends.

Allow me, on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress and indeed our entire membership, to express my profound gratitude to all gathered here, for this historic encounter between our two organisations.

I wish in particular to thank the ANC National Executive Committee, the Sub-Committee on Natal led by Comrade John Nkadimeng and the Inkatha Freedom Party Delegation led by Dr. Frank Mdlalose, as well as the Joint Working Committee [JWC], for the splendid preparatory work they have done to make this occasion the success that it must be.

Our ultimate praise should indeed be reserved for the masses in the province of Natal and other parts of the country whose yearning for peace is the driving force of our deliberations today. It is on their behalf that we crown the local and regional initiatives such as the Lower Umfolozi Accord, with a meeting of this nature. It is to satisfy their yearning and facilitate their efforts that we have gathered here.

The fact that we have traversed a long and tortuous road before this opportunity availed itself gives this august meeting its special significance.

For us this meeting represents the culmination of our persistent efforts to bring an end to the confrontation which has plagued our two organisations and our people. We set up contact between the Joint Working Committee of COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and UDF [United Democratic Front], on the one hand, and Inkatha on the other. We hoped then that through this body we would be able to end the violence.

In July 1990 we went further and appointed four members of the National Executive Committee of the ANC to form a Sub-Committee on Violence. The sub-committee was instructed to work in close co-operation with the JWC operating in Natal.

I also wrote to Chief Buthelezi from Victor Verster and expressed concern over our failure to stamp out the violence.

We are now meeting as a result of the initiative taken by the ANC.

Right at the outset we want to make one thing crystal clear. We have not come here to apportion blame for the fact that it has taken so long before we managed to sit around a table of peace and reconciliation.

Nor do we think that it would benefit the cause of peace if we spent our time in this meeting pointing fingers to identify those responsible for the terrible carnage which has left so many thousands of our people dead and wounded.

If we are to fulfil the true purpose of our get-together, there must be no victors or losers as between the ANC and Inkatha. Only our people must be the victors. And the only losers should be those whose racist policies are served by carnage among blacks.

The eyes of the world are on us. The majority of the people in this ravaged province and other parts of the country certainly wish us success. The angels of death and destruction — the defenders of white minority rule — will do the opposite. We must satisfy and disappoint in equal measure. We must deliver.

For me personally, this is a particularly important moment. As you know, this is not my first visit to the province of Natal. We have come and gone. We have urged an end to this intercommunal strife. But more often than not, we have talked at each other rather than with each other with the leadership of Inkatha in particular. Today we can at last exchange views on an issue which is literally a matter of life and death for so many of our people.

Belated as it might be, I wish in particular personally to thank Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the leadership of Inkatha for your contribution in helping secure my release and that of the other leaders of our movement. The messages of support and comfort during our long years of incarceration did not go unnoticed.

Comrades and Compatriots,

It is ironic that a meeting between organisations of the oppressed should require such a special effort to accomplish. Be that as it may, it is certainly a tragedy that the Land of Kings Shaka, Dingane and Cetshwayo should drown in the self-inflicted bloodletting of its own sons and daughters.

We meet in the province which has mothered some of the greatest liberation figures of our whole country. Among the unforgettables are the Great Warrior Bambata of the last armed revolt before modern South African history. King Dinizulu, John Dube and Josiah Gumede were founder members of the ANC. We owe these and other heroes, including Chief Albert Luthuli and Bishop Zulu, peace in their graves.

Their sacrifices were for the unity of the people against the common enemy of all the oppressed — the apartheid system. They shed their blood so that peace can finally prevail with the destruction of the apartheid system.

This is what the African National Congress was formed to achieve. And this is what it strives to attain today. The yoke of white colonial domination still rests on the shoulders of our people. To throw it off is the profound wish of every African, no matter what station he or she might occupy in life.

The foundation stone laid by our forebears is the rock upon which our encounter today must be based. The attempts to divide our people along ethnic lines, to turn their rich variety into a dagger with which to pierce their hearts, must be made to fail.

There can be no salvation to our beleaguered country but the realisation by all and sundry that we are one people — black and white. Cast in a mould that can be different, but one inter-dependent people all the same — irrespective of the political and ideological creed that each one of us might hold dear.

Thanks to the untiring efforts of the people, the grim and infamous era of apartheid is coming to an end.

Our people had to sacrifice generously to bring the administrators of apartheid to the realisation that they have no future as South Africans if they do not accept the reality that the fate of our country needs to be determined by all its people, as equals.

Comrades and Compatriots,

Many thousands have died in inter-communal violence, in Natal and other parts of the country. In the final analysis, we are justified to lay the blame at the door of the apartheid regime which has created conditions of such squalour and degradation among our people. We are certainly right to assert that the removal of this system is a basic precondition for an end to violence in our country. But generalities of this nature will not take us very far.

Among ourselves, we could point fingers and apportion blame in all directions. Perhaps that would satisfy an ego. But deflecting criticism, however justified we may be in doing so, would not help resolve the problem.

Therefore, whatever the concrete outcome of our meeting today, contact among us must continue, precisely to nurture areas of agreement and seek lasting solutions to areas of conflict.

Comrades and Compatriots,

The African National Congress believes that the efforts of our people have brought about a situation in which apartheid can be eradicated by peaceful means.

This requires an atmosphere of free political activity in which all people can freely canvass their positions within the rest of society. The use of force against others and the denial of access to public facilities, be it in inter-communal strife or by means of instruments of the state, simply because they hold differing views, can only make the views of the perpetrator the more despicable.

Such free political activity and the peace that we seek require that all the security forces of this land act impartially and in a way that promotes peace.

We also firmly hold the view that movement to that new South Africa is the business of all South Africans. It should be undertaken on the basis of mass involvement and broad consultation among all interested organisations. Our proposal for an All-Party Congress derives from this belief. So do our calls for an impartial supervisory mechanism as well as an elected body to draft a new constitution. Otherwise the final product and the process itself will lack popular support.

The ANC does not demand of the Inkatha Freedom Party complete agreement with these our views. If we have to reach the prosperous South Africa to which we all aspire, we must let the culture of debate flower in full bloom. We must ensure that every South African, including those in the security forces, help to build a nation of which all of us can be proud. More immediately, we must rebuild and develop communities in a manner that removes the potential for violence and heals the wounds of conflict.

This challenge faces us as we start our historic deliberations. In struggle, we have achieved the possibility of movement forward to a democratic future with a minimum of bloodshed.

Today we are called upon to cement this. If we do play our role as a catalyst to this process we shall have accomplished our mission. To all intents and purpose we cannot afford to fail. Violence must end. Let peace prevail.

Thank you.



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Observer Mission to the United Nations

JOINT STATEMENT OF THE IFP/ANC MEETING HELD AT THE ROYAL
HOTEL DURBAN ON THE 29TH JANUARY 1991

A MEETING OF DELEGATIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE IFP
AND THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANC, LED
RESPECTIVELY BY DR. MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI AND MR NELSON MANDELA
DEPUTY PRESIDENT OF THE ANC WAS HELD IN DURBAN ON JANUARY 29
1991.

THE CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE TWO ORGANISATIONS WAS HELD UNDER
THE JOINT CHAIRMANSHIP OF DR FT MDLALOSE THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF
IFP AND MR A NZO SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE ANC.

DR MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI PRESIDENT OF IFP AND DR NELSON MANDELA
DEPUTY PRESIDENT OF THE ANC BOTH ADDRESSED THE MEETING. BOTH
EMPHASISED THE HISTORIC IMPORTANCE OF THE OCCASION. THEY STRESSED
THAT THEY WERE EXTREMELY CONSCIOUS OF THE HIGH NATIONAL AND
INTERNATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE MEETING.

THE PRIMARY PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WAS TO EXPLORE WAYS AND MEANS
TO BRING ABOUT THE FINAL CESSATION OF THE VIOLENCE WHICH HAS
ALREADY COST MORE THAN 8 000 LIVES AND CAUSED MILLIONS OF RANDB
OF DAMAGE.

THE LEADERS EMPHASISED THE NEED TO NORMALISE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
THE TWO ORGANISATIONS, IN PURSUIT OF THE AIM OF ERADICATING
APARTHEID AND ESTABLISHING A UNITED, NON-RACIAL AND DEMOCRATIC
SOUTH AFRICA.

IT WAS AGREED THAT IT WAS IMPERATIVE THAT THE DECISIONS TAKEN AND
PROPOSALS ADOPTED SHOULD PERMEATE DOWN TO THE GRASS ROOTS THROUGH
THE USE OF ALL AVAILABLE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATIONS.

DISCUSSIONS WERE FAR REACHING AND FRANK AND BOTH SIDES AGREED ON
THE NEED FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS.

AT THE END OF THE DISCUSSIONS THE FOLLOWING AGREEMENT AND JOINT
DECLARATION WERE AGREED UPON:

IMPLEMENTATION

IN ORDER TO IMPLEMENT THE PRINCIPLES AGREED UPON TODAY THE HIGH-LEVEL CONTACT BETWEEN THE IFP AND THE ANC WILL CONTINUE THROUGH EXISTING JOINT MECHANISMS. THE COMMITTEES CHARGED WITH THIS TASK WILL, AFTER DUE AND PROPER INVOLVEMENT OF LOCAL LEADERSHIP AND GRASS ROOTS STRUCTURES, REPORT TO THE ANC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE AND TO THE IFP CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON OBSTACLES ENCOUNTERED AND PROGRESS MADE IN TERMS OF THE FOLLOWING BRIEF:

PRINCIPLE 1.

TO DEVELOP PRACTICAL STEPS TO BRING ABOUT AN END TO VIOLENCE BETWEEN THE ORGANISATIONS IN THESE REGIONS TO FACILITATE LOCAL LEVEL PEACE INITIATIVES AND TO ACT AS CRISIS CONTACT POINTS. THE COMMITTEES MUST CONSOLIDATE AND IMPLEMENT EXISTING LOCAL AGREEMENTS SUCH AS THE LOWER UMFOLOZI PEACE ACCORD.

PRINCIPLE 2.

TO ENSURE THAT ALL PERSONS AFFECTED BY PRINCIPLE 1 ARE AWARE OF THIS AGREEMENT AND THAT THEY TAKE ACTIVE STEPS TO IMPLEMENT IT.

PRINCIPLE 3.

THE ANC AND THE IFP WILL CO-OPERATE IN INITIATING AND IMPLEMENTING NON-PARTISAN RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMMES IN AREAS DEVASTATED BY VIOLENCE.

ALL RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO ANY ONE ORGANISATION FOR RECONSTRUCTION WORK SHOULD, WHEREVER FEASIBLE AND DESIRABLE, BE MADE AVAILABLE TO A TRUST FUND TO BE JOINTLY ADMINISTERED.

PRINCIPLE 4.

TO DEVELOP A CODE OR CODES OF CONDUCT BASED ON ACCEPTED PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES WHICH DO NOT IMPINGE NEGATIVELY ON THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS AND POLITICAL GROUPS AND WHICH ARE EQUALLY APPLICABLE TO BOTH ORGANISATIONS AND ALL SECURITY FORCES.

29.1.1991



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Observer Mission to the United Nations

Demand A Constituent Assembly — The First Step to a People's Parliament

The African National Congress (ANC) estimates that a minimum of 250,000 people engaged in its campaign for a Constituent Assembly and an Interim government.

The following is a round up of events which we have received reports for the Constituent Assembly Day, February 1, 1991:

Western Cape

March went off very peacefully. Traffic police estimate is that there were 30,000 people in the march which started and ended at the Grand Parade.

An open letter was handed over at parliament to the legal advisor of the State President, Marius Ackerman. The letter was then read to the marchers at the City Hall.

Marchers were addressed by the following speakers:

Johnny Eranson — Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)
Cheryl Carolus — South African Communist Party (SACP)
Clarence Makwetu — Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)
Walter Sisulu — ANC

Reports still being awaited from outlying and rural areas.

Eastern Cape

The stayaway in Port Elisabeth has been virtually 100 percent successful.

About 60,000 people marched through the streets of Port Elisabeth. At the time of this report marchers had gone to the stadium in New Brighton where they were being addressed by, *inter alia*, Raymond Mahlaba.

Marches and rallies have been planned for the entire region. It will be difficult to compile a complete report until tomorrow (Saturday, 02 February) morning.

Boarder

East London: A hugely successful march of about 50,000 led by Steve Tshwete. A number of marchers were arrested for carrying toy guns. About 200 National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) members on their way to the march were arrested. They are being

people from entering the city.

The police were generally irrational in their approach at one stage allowing two taxis at a time into the city and then refusing any taxis to enter the city.

At one point a tear gas canister was shot at a taxi. People rushed out of their taxis in a panic. Shots were fired into the air. The Riot Squad Commander told ANC officials that the matter will be investigated.

Eventually a march of about 6,500, led by Sipiwe Niyanda and Chris Hani, presented a memorandum to the Security Police offices.

Still waiting for reports from other areas.

Pretoria Witwaterand Vereeniging

There was an estimated 70 percent stayaway from work in the region.

Soweto: About 6,000 people marched onto the Soweto Council Chamber.

Pretoria: About 10,000 people marched onto the Union buildings led by:

Joe Slovo
Alfred Nzo
Digang Moseneke

There were several local marches in the region.

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ANC
1 February 1991



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Observer Mission to the United Nations

STATEMENT OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 2nd, 1991.

As reflected in its anniversary statement issued on January 8th, this year, the National Executive Committee of the ANC remains of the view that the apartheid system must be abolished now and the process of transforming our country into a non-racial democracy begin as speedily as possible.

In this context the ANC commends President De Klerk for the announcements he made on Friday 1st February that all discriminatory legislation will be repealed within a few months.

We welcome also the belated acceptance of the principle that South Africa and all the people who inhabit it constitute one nation, and that the government should derive its legitimacy from the consent of the governed by the leader of the National Party.

The publication of the "Manifesto for a new South Africa" by the government, as an expression of the principle thrust of its future policies, also constitutes a fundamental departure from the apartheid framework which deserves recognition. The NEC also notes with satisfaction the narrowing of the distance between the positions now being adopted by the National Party and the historic policies of the ANC and its allies as adumbrated in the Freedom Charter and more recently in the ANC's Draft Bill of Rights. These developments will be of great assistance in providing a climate conducive to the elaboration of a new constitution.

It is therefore ironic that President De Klerk rejects both the notions of a Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government. This amounts to an insistence that the minority regime which has no legitimacy in the eyes of the majority of our people, presides over transition to democracy. Together with millions of our people, throughout the country, as shown by the peaceful demonstrations that coincided with the opening of Parliament, the ANC is of the firm view that only an elected Constituent Assembly can provide the forum to negotiate a new constitution for South Africa.

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The ANC shall not be party to any arrangement that seeks to foist responsibility for the system of apartheid on us but denies us effective power to uproot it. In this context we cannot accept President De Klerk's proposal to find ways to integrate leaders of the negotiating parties into policy formulation.

We must also draw attention to the remarkable absence of any reference to the numerous Repressive and Security Laws that clutter up South Africa's statute books. These have been the subject of intense discussions between the ANC and the government for the past nine months and are amongst the most obstinate obstacles in the path of free political activity. President De Klerk's silence on the release of political prisoners, ending all political trials and the return of exiles is also cause for alarm.

These omissions suggest a reluctance on the government's part to relinquish the inordinate powers it wields in terms of these laws. This underscores the urgency of the installation of an interim government, reflective of all the political forces in our country.

The homeland system, an expression of the system of apartheid, must also be addressed and measures taken to ensure that all the people of South Africa, including those in the so-called TBVC states, participate in determining the future of their country.

JOHANNESBURG, FEBRUARY 2.

New York: Today, cloudy, perhaps a thundershower. High 82. Tonight, very warm, humid. Low 72. Tomorrow, hot, humid. High 90. Yesterday, high 74, low 65. Details are on page 39.

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TWO BLACK GROUPS AND PRETORIA SIGN PEACE AGREEMENT

EFFECTIVENESS IN DOUBT

Backers of Zulu-Based Party Refuse to Disarm — 15 Killed in New Clashes

By KENNETH B. NOBLE
Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Sept. 14 — After months of difficult negotiations, South Africa's two main black political groups and the Government agreed today on a comprehensive peace plan designed to end black factional violence that has cost thousands of lives.

But the violence continued today with at least 15 slayings in black townships around Johannesburg. And tensions rose even at the conference called to sign the pact, as supporters of one of the rival black groups, the Inkatha Freedom Party, staged a raucous mass demonstration, brandishing clubs, spears, shields and swords in defiance of the accord's ban on provocative public displays.

The pact is seen as an important test of the ability of the country's political movements to work together. Never before have the Government and the two rival black groups, the African National Congress and the Inkatha movement, reached an agreement.

Moreover, the three political groups are expected to be the principals in coming constitutional negotiations to dismantle apartheid and extend voting rights to South Africa's black majority.

No 'Magic Wand'

But Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader, today suggested the challenges ahead in bringing harmony to South African politics when he said those signing the accord "were under no illusions that it was a magic wand." And President F. W. de Klerk said it was but a "first step on the arduous road to peace."

Twenty other smaller anti-apartheid groups, including the South African Communist Party, also signed the accord.

Under the accord approved today, Inkatha, the African National Congress and the Government agreed to end the use of violence and inflammatory language against opponents and to adhere to a new code of conduct for political parties and the security forces. The agreement also calls for special courts to deal with political violence.

Display of Weapons

Since the agreement is meant to prevent provocative public displays or actions, and specifically imposes a voluntary ban on the carrying of weapons to meetings, the demonstration today by Inkatha supporters outside the luxury downtown hotel where the accord was signed immediately called into question Inkatha's commitment to it.

Thousands of supporters of the Zulu-dominated movement and its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, chanted, sang and staged mock battles, to the obvious displeasure of heavily armed Government soldiers in ar-

Continued on Page 13, Column 1

PEACE PACT SIGNED IN SOUTH AFRICA

Continued From Page 1

mored cars. The Zulus disregarded police requests to surrender their weapons.

At a news conference after the meeting today, President de Klerk said the police had no reason to confiscate the weapons carried by Inkatha supporters unless there was an immediate threat of violence.

"The people outside the hotel, while they apparently enjoyed themselves, according to all the reports I received, at no stage posed a threat to anyone," Mr. de Klerk said.

Mandela Criticizes Police

But Mr. Mandela, the African National Congress leader, strongly disagreed with Mr. de Klerk's assessment.

"If the people outside were members of the A.N.C., the police would have used force," Mr. Mandela said, "and if they had refused to move, the police would have used firearms."

Mr. Mandela implied that the factional fighting between supporters of Inkatha and the Congress is permitted and at times actively abetted by the Government security services.

Inkatha supporters are often seen carrying traditional spears and fighting sticks, and the Congress has long insisted that all such weapons be prohibited at political rallies, which have been catalysts for subsequent violence.

Buthelezi Discounted Plan

Although Chief Buthelezi signed the accord today, he earlier had effectively dismissed the peace plan as meaningless, saying in an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation on Thursday that he saw no reason why it would succeed where others failed. He added that it would be simplistic to think the violence could be ended at a stroke.

The Pretoria Government and the African National Congress reached a cease-fire in August 1990. Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi agreed to peace terms in January. But after both of those agreements, violence raged on.

Without Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi actively involved in putting the new accord into effect, its success seems very much in doubt.

Differences Between Groups

Although the African National Congress and Inkatha both oppose apartheid, Chief Buthelezi has criticized the Congress's support of economic sanctions and armed struggle against the white minority Government, although the Congress dropped the use of violence in August 1990 as it pursued talks with the Government. Inkatha also professes greater commitment to a market economy than the Congress. The two organizations split in 1979 at a meeting of their leaders in London.

The Government has admitted secretly providing funds to Inkatha and an allied labor organization, and some evidence has seemed to indicate that the security forces have aided pro-Inkatha militants in clashes with supporters of the Congress.

Today's signing was boycotted by a group of white supremacists and some militant black groups.

Majority Rule Opposed

Andries P. Treurnicht, leader of the white Conservative Party, said his followers would never submit to "black domination." He predicted that whites would oust the de Klerk Government.

"It is unthinkable to say we will submit to black domination," he reportedly told supporters at a party congress in Pretoria Friday night.

"We say to Mr. de Klerk: Forget the idea that we will accept a black president over white South Africa."

Two major black groups, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organization, said they would not sign the accord because of their policy of non-collaboration with the Pretoria Government.

Including those killed in overnight and this morning, about 125 people have died in factional violence this week. Virtually all of the bloodletting involved blacks in racially segregated townships scattered around the city. The fighting began Sunday after an Inkatha march was ambushed in what is widely seen as an attempt by unknown forces to derail the peace conference.