

African National Congress
of the
NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE
tax A(?DA NATIONAL PREPARATORY COMMITTEE
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. BROAD GUIDELINES FOR DISCUSSION

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STRATEGY AND TACTICS

OF THE i.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

PREAMBLE '

The South African state is colonial, racist, fascist and capitalist in its nature. It is an outgrowth and a remnant of the epoch of colonialism. Its formation came about as a result of an agreement between British colonialism and the white settler minority in South Africa that this minority would take over from Whitehall the functions of a colonising power. This agreement provided that the indigenous African majority would be excluded from power and would be ruled by the white minority as colonial subjects, denied their right to self-determination. From that time to date, the primary and sharpest contradiction that characterised this formation has been between the force of national oppression on the one hand, and those of national liberation, on the other. As in other colonial situations, this contradiction cannot be solved by the colonisers themselves reforming the colonial system out of existence or, in this case, by the: hreitorici'irag'ime 'vdismntli'x'ig'mSaithcid". The only way to abolish this contradiction is, through struggle, to destroy the colonial system: and, in the South African case, to destroy also the colonial power - the South African state.

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BOX 3179! LUSAKA, ZAMBIA, TELEPHONE 219656/7 TELEX 45390

The strategic goal which the African National Congress pursues is the seizure of political power by the revolutionary forces of our country, led by the ANC, and the forcible transfer of that power from the racist minority to the hands of the democratic majority, for the construction of a people's republic based on the

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3. OUR TASKS.
To fulfil this strategic 50.31 of the forcible trunafcr of power to
the people, the ARC is working to c: rry out four prln01pul Jtratcaic
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 nationul - s.sucs , whilst continuoust educating the people into
 I the realinotion that, without a revolutionary transfer cf power,
 no sin/rle major probleu of South Africpn life an be solved
 satisfactorily and permanently.

c) the intensification of the armed struggle, increasingly to assert the growing significance of revolutionary violence, our response

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to the violence of fascist, as a part; went feature of our struggle,
,LEEQiEE.IQ13 e recOFnisqhlq-encr" nee of our people 1251. Umkhgpto
We SiggSIWQS the popular spearhead in the struggle to smash the

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instruments of repression, deprive the enemy of the ability to
rule and thus create the conditions for us to seize power.

d) the international isolation of the Botha-Maleng, further
raising the strength and combativeness of the international
solidarity movement and on the basis of our own advances in
the struggle within South Africa, his correct strategy and
tactics translated into action, and the acceptance of our
programme for the creation of a democratic, anti-fascist and
non-racial South Africa, to let the majority of the international
community to accept our liberation movement as the representative
of all the people of our country, and the

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4. THE ANC AS THE VANGUARD

Without the ANC, in contact with and being part of the masses,
enjoying their support and confidence and leading them into many-
sided actions, our victory is impossible. We therefore work
continuously to expand and strengthen the underground structures

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It is of decisive importance that at all times the vision of what
we are fighting for, the political programme of demands contained
in the Freedom Charter should be put in front of the people to
ensure that we give no opportunity to the forces of counter-revolution
to train our people for a pro-imperialist solution of the
South African problem.

- The exercise of the function of leadership requires that there
should be present within the country recognised leaders of the
people who, because they are in touch with the pulse of events and
with popular feeling, and are well grounded in our policies, their
strategy and tactics, are therefore capable of providing timely and
correct leadership.

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Without an effective underground political machinery, there are lvery'many practical problems of the revolution that we would not 'ho able to solve.

For instance, the successful infiltration'of cadres and war-materidls'into the country is almOSt entirely conditional or dependent on the existence of the well-organised underground machinery inside the country, _capable of receiving, transporting, hiding and utilising such men-and equipment in conditions of secreCy.i This also-holds true for all propaganda materials,' except that relayed by-radio from outside.

- 'Th55ANC was formbd to unite and lead to freedom: the African"people. In time, 'however, this task has expanded; Today, t he ANC is faced with th5 task of organising and leading alth c oppressed people together; African; Coldurcd and Indian hhd'td wih over to it5 banner all democratic-mind ed whites. To accohplish this misSion, the ANC has in its arsenal the Freedom Charter which_wa5 born in strugglg, emana ting from the people themselves. Today the FreedbmlChdrt5f"' constitutes our principal platform in the political 5nd idhologibdi stru55le for thc allbgiance of the ma5s es.

5. THE MASSEs AS THE POLITICAL ARMY AND COMBAT FORCE OF THE REVOLUTION.

It remains one of the fundamental truths of our struggle that victory cannot be won without the active and conscious participation of.th9 mas5e5 bf the oppreSSed people themselves. Therefore we'continuously seek ways and-meansfoderQWing the people into active struggle against the Bdtha-Ealan regime:' The main tactical slogan put forward to the people is: 'Confront-the ; Enemy on-all Fronts'. lThe enemy must find himself confronted with stru55le throughout the _country,. involvlg all the oppressed ant democratic rasscs, carried out in different forms - strikes, boyCotts,' iras smeeings, prayer meeting, demonstpqtions, etc. Sucha programm of work is impossible to _carry out unless we take advantage of-all 105a -and semi-legal opportunitresm Therqfohplwg

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encouraging the formation of legal organisations, legal agitation, and many of us try to reach the greatest numbers of our people in the shortest possible time.

This work covers the formation of powerful and progressive trade unions, taking into account the central leading role of the Working class in our struggle. This work also covers the peasants and agricultural workers, women, youth and student, teachers and other professionals, religious people etc. It should also be borne in mind that all organisations which adopt anti-apartheid positions and strive for a democratic South Africa belong, properly speaking to the broad front for national liberation.

In order to be effective in our political and ideological efforts against the enemy, to educate the masses in the revolutionary politics of the ANC continuously, we strive to be extremely active and efficient in the field of propaganda and information.

Notwithstanding of revolutionaries however gallant, disciplined and self-sacrificing, can overthrow the fascist regime, without the support and active participation of the people.

In addition and of key importance, the perspective of a people's war is one of the people armed.

The development of our armed struggle must progress towards the situation of a war fought by the entire people, gradually expanding the activity of the masses as the political army of the revolution to encompass also their role as the military combat force of the revolution. Thus the armed struggle, in which partial and general mass uprisings will play a vital role, must involve the whole people.

6. UMKHONTO WE SIZHE - THE MILITARY COMBAT FORCE OF THE REVOLUTION

In 'pursuit of our strategic goal of the forcible capture of power, the ANC works continuously to step up its programme of training as many cadres as possible in as many fields as the different stages of our struggle demand.

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Whatever training is lesslibile :13L 9 has t' 3: carried cut care fully; KSimultnneously, we have to-ihfiltretep elnany trained '4 cddres'auì as much mo teri l- as- possible to f? cllltlte tb is programme. It is proper at this stage to point out that we are net lrep3rinv an army of invasion. The.units that train outside do net.themscelvee constitute an-arng; Rather, they are the nucleus, the organisers, the trr iners ahd leaders of the 3rowing popular army of which they dre'part.

The nature of our terrain, the strength and mobility of the ._ enemv fordes, the nature and organisation. of the state machinery and the general level of development of South Africa, including the communication system, do not give us the possibility to operate with classical guerrilla formations at tl%.e beglining of our armed offensive;'u

The Peolwl 's Armv will therefore rel y on the surp ort, and active participation of the people's revolutionary organisation and of the patriotic and politically conscious masses and their loyalty 'to the revolution.

In our work we are guided by the sloge : 'Wherever the masses are, political bases and revolutionary orgasisntions' must_be set up". By relying on these r-olitical bases, we will be able to solve the que- stion of military bases. .

He also work to create underground units of v.rious categories throug;hout the country. _

While working for the establishment and_activieation cf eur visualised national network of trained ane armed combat groups; we afe eihultn- neously working ta solve the very many related problehs 03 syptlies transport, communications, secrecy, etc.

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:Such organisationa l work is being accompanied Eyithe cs caIutionhcf'' armed actions to weaken qn'l eripple the enemy uni to' prepare for the next.phaae of armed struggle.-

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Through our actions we should aim to disperse the enemy forces, geographically and functionally.

SEIZURE OF POWER N THE FINAL PHASE

The Seizure of power by the people will be realised as the culmination of a protracted war of liberation, fought through a combination of political and military means and concluding in a general offensive in which we will bring to bear our accumulated military and political strength to defeat the enemy and effect a revolutionary transfer of power to the people.

BROAD GUIDELINES FOR DISCUSSIONS

PART III B

1. 'Introduction

The Presidential Eessage to the People of South Africa of January 8th, 1984 Contains many directives which, together, constitute our tactical response to the situation that fgg d and in many important respects, still faces our movement. Below, WQ detail these tasks since they represent an impcrtant part of th perspectives we have faced and will still face in the immediate future.

0. Defend cur rains

c) It is our duty to lefenl the Freedom Charter, the strategic and tactical line of our movemhnt, as well as the ANC and-its armed wing Umkhohto He Sizwc;

b) It is also our task to defend the mass democratic movement, as well as individual Iatriots and dgmocrats;

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c) He must also defend the gains we have scored in the international Struggle and encourage the international solidarity movement not to retreat from already established anti-apartheid po\$itionsg

3; -Achieve new victories

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a) By further popularising among our people the Freedom Charter and iff-Y'the strategib and tactical line of our movement as well as further increasing the organised strength and popularity of the ANC and MK;

b) By further encouraging the gTowth and strengthening of the mass democratic movement, promoting-the creation of these where none exist and working for united-action among all.these on the basis of tho .csitions of the democratic movement in wenerale

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o) By encouraging the formation of cno democratic trade union federation, the orgahisatioh 6f the uhofganiscd and the unemployed and ensure that the wdrking-class and the working rqulemin general are ConScious of-dnd pIar.their.roie as.the vanggard hocihl force of

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the national democratic revolution;

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d) By encouraging the formation of mass democratic organisations in the countryside and the activation of the rural population into

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struggle around the question of the national liberation struggle;

c) By encouraging the greatest involvement of the religious community in the democratic struggle and mobilise this community especially around the call: "Act now in defence of justice and life"; ' 5 I'Viii i ' 1.;

f- By forming the development of a democratic movement among

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cultural workers and sportspeople and to increase the use of the weapons in our struggle; i .': 1

3) By orienting the revolutionary masses and activating them to reduce the capacity of the apartheid regime to govern our country by destroying the organs of government and resisting ..C..n.-r 1....." .-

enemy attacks to implement its programmes and rendering "th"-

institutions of the regime unworkable;

h) By encouraging the "Coloured" and Indian people to refuse to be absorbed into the apartheid constitutional structures;

1) By encouraging those sections among the white community who have anti-apartheid sentiments to abandon the illusion of "parliamentary politics" and to activate them into the mass democratic struggle;

3) By encouraging white, Coloured and Indian youth to refuse to serve in the racist army and working for the widest possible mobilisation against conscription into the apartheid army;

e) By mobilising the black Youth against joining the SADF, Defence Force and police forces;

1) By encouraging the further activation of women into the mass democratic struggle, the formation of democratic women's organisations, united action among these organisations and the formation of a national democratic women's federation, and by encouraging the struggle for the liberation of women as an integral part of the victory of the national democratic revolution-

a m) By working to ensure the democratic movement to further shift its focus from the defensive to the offensive, and to educate

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activists and the masses in the politics of revolutionary change;
n) By encouraging the further growth of the Southern African movement of solidarity with the LHC and SHAPQ, projecting the position that our region shares one destiny, and by activating the people of South Africa to demonstrate their solidarity with the rest of the peoples of our region, concentrating especially on the aggressive policies of the apartheid regime;

o) By encouraging the further growth of the world movement of solidarity with the ANC, SHAPO and our region as a whole, further intensifying the campaign for the isolation of apartheid South Africa, educating our own people to understand the anti-imperialist nature of our struggle and mobilising them to act in solidarity with other struggling peoples in favour of nuclear disarmament national independence social progress and world

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peace.