

THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARIAT - PART IIThe External Mission:

The External offices of our organisation located in Tanzania, Zambia, UAR, Algeria, the United Kingdom and India continue to be the focal points of activity in the external mission. In addition to these offices our organisation has representatives working on the secretariats of international movements of the Youth and Women and the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity organisation based in Cairo. We hope that very soon we shall have a representative on the World Council of Peace.

We must also indicate that a group of activists of our movement decided to form an ANC committee in Canada. Since its establishment, this ANC committee has done quite a good job in mobilising public opinion in Canada and in certain cases funds have also been collected to assist the movement.

Solidarity committees in many countries of Western Europe and Australia have also a good of work in assisting our movement's efforts to isolate the South African regime of terror internationally. As indicated in the first part of our report, the international solidarity movement has scored very important victories in the field of international sport. South Africa is still outside the World Olympic movement; she has also been barred from participation in various fields of sporting activity. Of special note was the last minute cancellation of a tour of Britain by an All-White Cricket Team in 1970 and quite recently the militant demonstration in Australia during a South Africa which was converted into a powerful demonstration of solidarity with our people.

Japan: For some time in the past we have maintained regular contact with an active anti-apartheid group in Japan who have persisted in carrying out agitational work and have even sent us some clothing and transistor radios by way of contribution to our organisation.

During 1969 we received a copy of a book on our struggle written by one of the leading members of this committee - a long standing friend of the ANC, Kanjiro Noma. We highly appreciate these efforts.

U.S.: Recent reports by some members of our external mission who have had opportunities of visiting the U.S. on various assignments

indicate that contact has been made with various political and social groups in the U.S. who have shown willingness to support our movement. One of these groups, the Southern Africa Relief Fund which has been set up by an Association of Black Lawyers at Havana University is not only in regular contact with our headquarters but has also managed to send us a consignment of used clothing.

It will be further recalled that after the Morogoro Consultative Conference a decision was taken for setting up an office in the United States. Preparatory work for the eventual opening of this office has already been done and we hope that as soon as we have overcome preliminary problems connected with entry in the U.S. our office will commence its normal functions.

Many leading members of our external mission have on many occasions appeared before specialised communities of the U.N. connected with Decolonisation Human Rights and Apartheid work during the past two years. Some of the documents submitted to these committees have been published in various U.N. publications.

#### ANC External Offices:

A general survey of our work in the external mission shows that the external offices of our organisation have exerted a great deal to maintain solidarity work with our organisation at a fairly high level.

It must, however, be indicated that certain difficulties have arisen which have had the effect of adversely affecting our work in some areas. This has been the case particularly in London and Lusaka.

#### Lusaka Crisis:

It is not necessary for us to recall in this report details of events which took place in Lusaka following the distribution of a memorandum by seven M.K. comrades based in Lusaka. It is, however, important for us to indicate that what appeared to have been at the beginning opposition to the inclusion of some of the comrades who had been signatories to the memorandum in the various branches of M.K. administration in Lusaka shortly after the Morogoro Conference gradually developed into an acute political crisis whose dimensions posed a threat to our continued existence in Zambia.

The withdrawal of some of these comrades whose inclusion in the administrative machinery had been complained of by some of

our M.K. comrades, did not improve the situation as had been expected. It was discovered that there was block organisation according to places where our people had been accommodated in Lusaka and in some of these places dangerous trends of organised defiance of the decisions of the leaderships emerged. In the process there emerged a hard core within the ranks of M.K. which was prepared to escalate its defiance of the organisation and, taking advantage of what had earlier appeared to be genuine grievances of our people, went out of its way to organise a following from amongst M.K. cadres.

It must be indicated that all the time as the crisis was developing all levels of ANC leadership in Lusaka understood a campaign of explanation through addressing group meeting in the various residences and also through interviews with individual members of M.K. in an attempt to re-unite all our people behind the banner of the ANC and thereby resolve the crisis that had developed. The majority of our people in the long run agreed to subject themselves once again to the discipline of our movement but a certain group still resisted these efforts. The levels of ANC leadership involved included NEC members, members of the Revolutionary Council, a special committee of ANC leaders in Lusaka and members of M.K. administration.

In the meantime preparations were going on in Zambia for the convening of a Summit Conference of non-aligned states which was scheduled to take place in Lusaka in September last year. The Zambian government requested all liberation movements based in Lusaka to remove all military cadres to bases outside Lusaka. This was intended to create a calm atmosphere for the non-aligned conference.

Following this government order, appeals were directed to all ANC cadres to prepare to leave Lusaka to a base where our people are still presently accommodated. The overwhelming majority responded to the appeal but about 30 of them resisted despite warnings of serious consequences to our organisation as a result of their actions.

The NEC at its meeting in Lusaka at the end of September 1970, after careful consideration of the report of efforts that had been exerted by all the levels of ANC leadership mentioned above decided to expel the recalcitrant group in the interests of revolutionary discipline and loyalty to the African National Congress.

It was, however decided that a door be left open for re-admitting any of the expelled comrades who in the future would re-apply and be prepared to subject themselves to the discipline

of the movement. It was further decided that safeguards for the security of our organisation should be taken into account when considering applications for re-admission.

We are happy to report that in the past 7 months there has been considerable improvement in the political situation within our organisation in Lusaka.

London: What has now become commonly known in our movement as the London situation has its origin in the Morogoro consultative conference decision which called for intergration into the ANC external mission of all South African revolutionaries.

After the Morogoro conference certain changes in the allocation of personnel of the external mission took place. In London the position of Chief Representative was assigned to Comrade Reginald September and that of the Director of Publicity and Information was given to Comrade M.P. Naicker. Miss Frene Jinwalla was appointed Director of Research.

Meanwhile in the course of our work in London, a number of non-Africans offered their voluntary services to assist mainly in the Publicity Department. We are informed that preponderance of non-Africans in the London ANC office led many Africans in London to conclude that they had no place in the office and as a result they decided to stay away.

There is general belief among many African comrades that this situation has greatly affected the African Image of our movement in London. This led to a series of meetings of African leaders in London to discuss the situation. Some meetings were convened where all the members participated.

It is not possible to give all the details of the London situation in this report. The comrades from London will give a fuller picture which will form the basis of discussions by members.

#### ANC Branches:

ANC branches were set up both in London and Lusaka. Reports from these centres indicate that there has been great enthusiasm on the part of the members in these areas at discussions of matters concerning our revolution and local issues of interest to our movement.

#### Departments of the Secretariat:

Publicity & Information: A report covering main aspects of the

work of this department is herewith attached.

Department of Political Affairs:

The department as a whole has not been properly organised mainly because of problems of personnel.

However two sub-department organised under this department have done an appreciable amount of good work during the period under review.

(a) The ANC Women's Section: (a) Secretariat of 5 members has been set up charged with the task of promoting solidarity work with international democratic Women's organisations. The distribution of the membership of the Women's secretariat is as follows:- Lusaka, Algiers, London, Berlin ( G.D.R.) and a representative at our headquarters in Morogoro.

Apart from expanding contact with other women's organisation, the women's secretariat has inspired the establishment of ANC women's committees in three centres - Lusaka, Dar es Salaam and London. Reports indicate a great deal of activity of our Women in these areas.

One other achievement of the women's secretariat has been the production of a quarterly bulletin - the Voice of Women (VOW). Although only 3 issues of this bulletin have so far published and distributed, it has already proved a great success internationally. The headquarters of the women's secretariat at Morogoro has already received requests for the bulletin from many centres and congratulatory messages have been received.

We warmly congratulate our women's section for their initiative and hard work.

(b) The Youth and Students Secretariat: As in the case with the Women's Section, a Youth Secretariat has been set up at Headquarters to organise international solidarity work among democratic Youth organisations of the world. The secretariat consists of 3 members all based at headquarters. Regrettably, membership of the Youth secretariat has constantly <sup>changed</sup> due to re-assignment of some of its members to new duties of the movement. This has imposed a great strain on proper continuity of the work of this important department.

Notwithstanding, the secretariat has, however, achieved notable successes in its work during the period under review as in the case

with the women's section, contact with international Youth organisation has expanded. At the time of writing this report, a representative of the Youth secretariat is part of a delegation of the W.F.D.Y. in Chile. This will help expand our relations with the Youth in Latin America.

Our Youth during the period under review have participated in many important international Youth events. Important in this field was the participation of our Youth representatives at a World Youth Assembly at the headquarters of the United Nations. This occasion was organised by the United Nations to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the United Nations.

ANC Youth and Students committees are functioning actively in the G.D.R., London and the Soviet Union. Nuclei of these committees have been set up in East Africa and Zambia.

We congratulate our Youth and Students Section for the Summer School which was successfully run this month in the G.D.R. ANC Youth from the United Kingdom, Canada, Denmark, Sweden, USSR, Hungary and Africa met and exchanged views on important problems of our revolution with special reference to the important role the Youth must play in the revolution.

#### Department of External Affairs:

International solidarity work of our secretariat which has been reported upon in the first part of our report has been carried out under the direction of the Department of External Affairs.

This Department, however, experienced certain problems because of break of contact with the Deputy Director of the Department based in London. This happened especially from the middle of the second half of last year and this situation was the subject of discussion by the NEC sitting with other two leading members of our movement recently in Lusaka.

#### General Observations:

In spite of difficulties mainly of personnel, the Secretariat of our organisation has carried out some of its tasks during the period under review.

We would like, however, to indicate some of the problems and weaknesses in our work which have been evident during this period.

(a) The secretariat itself was not strong enough at headquarters. It was not properly organised due mainly to problems of personnel. Theoretically, the secretariat should be composed of heads of departments of the secretariat. It is not possible, however, to have all of them at one time in Morogoro. The Department of Publicity is based in London.

We need to organise a permanent body of people who will be there to effectively guide the work of our external mission all the time, and stationed at Morogoro.

(b) As a consequence of the above weakness, the Secretariat has not been able to issue sufficient documents to guide our external mission on important topical issues. Few documents at irregular intervals have been issued and this has placed our external offices in a serious difficulty of proper and constant briefing by the headquarters.

(c) The idea of an internal discussion bulletin to enable a constant exchange of views between headquarters and its various units has remained unrealised. This has been due mainly to the virtual non-existence of the Department of Political Affairs around which this idea would have successfully developed.

(d) Problems of personnel have been aggravated by lack of co-operation on the part of some of the leading members of our organisation. The present meeting will undoubtedly have opportunity to examine the cases involving some of these leading members.

(e) We need to do everything possible to constantly raise the political consciousness of our people. This will solve some of the problems that constantly plague our movement especially those concerning the maintenance of discipline in our movement.

Comrades, our organisation is definitely recapturing its former favourable position in the international sphere, despite initial difficulties we experienced with some of the leading African countries. This has been due to the selfless activities of our devoted cadres in the external mission. Above all it has been due to the impact of the rapid internal mobilisation of our forces inside the apartheid citadel.

We are confident that the impact of our internal efforts will grow in future in the interests of the prestige of our movement. We have all the prerequisites for expanding the onslaught against our



enemies.

We have the indestructible and dedicated core of our organisation which is a constant source of inspiration for all the revolutionary forces of our country. We have the ever-growing militancy of our people inside our country and lastly but not least the ANC continues to enjoy the massive support of all the progressive forces of the world.

Undoubtedly our present meeting will be a worthy contribution towards the consolidation of our revolutionary forces in the interests of the heroic struggle of our people.

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