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SUMMARY ON THE EXTRA-ORDINARY MEETING OF
LEADERS FROM VARIOUS POLITICAL ORGANS OF
THE A.N.C. IN ZAMBIA.

12TH NOVEMBER, 1974.

The meeting was chaired by the Acting President O.R. Tambo. In his opening remarks he stated that the meeting had been convened at the initiative of the N.E.C. Working Committee. Participants had been invited on the basis that they were representative of the various political and other organs operating from this region.

MAIN AIM: Owing to the rapid developments of events internationally, in Southern Africa in particular, a need arose for an appraisal and a joint exchange of opinion among those who, one way or another are directly involved in organs and units which shape our line of approach and action on various matters affecting our struggle.

What however prompted the convocation of this particular meeting were certain factors which raise cause, if not for alarm, at least for reflection in the wake of the changes in Portugal and its former colonies, changes which have brought the situation in Southern Africa into sharp focus. In this situation there is unmistakable evidence of involvement by some countries on issues concerning South Africa and that, contrary to normal practice;

- (i) These countries seem to be exercising less caution in dealing with the South African situation.
- (ii) There seems to be a deliberate tendency not to consult with the ANC before taking a definite stand on the South African situation.

The Chairman then called upon the Secretary General Alfred Nzo to elaborate on the present situation, and give guidance as to the main issues at stake.

THE CRUX OF THE MATTER.

The S.G. then gave an expose of the prevailing situation in Southern Africa with particular reference to the growing strength of the liberation forces in Mozambique and Angola. Referring to the repeated claims by the South African regime about the attitude of the FRELIMO led Transitional Government in Mozambique, stressed the fact that our relations with FRELIMO remain strong.

In recent weeks a notable feature has been a growing rapprochement between some independent African States and the South African regime. This follows overtures of peaceful co-existence and for a peaceful solution to the problems in Southern Africa by the Vorster regime. These ideas were reflected in the speech of the South African envoy to the United Nations - Botha where he promised that South Africa will do away with racial discrimination as well as Vorster's speech in parliament, which was referred to as the "Voice of Reason".

The S.G. then gave the background which led to this apparent volteface in the South African government policy. This was as a result of:-

(a)/....

- (a) The internal upsurge of various democratically minded and revolutionary forces within the country - the unprecedented wave of strikes by workers, demonstrations by students and other groups. These led to
- (b) an upsurge of reformism with the aim of watering down what in fact is a demand for political power into a demand for better wages. This reformist approach quickly gained support and was being promoted by various Western Trade Unions including the British T.U.C.
- (c) In the face of mounting hostility towards Apartheid internationally, and as a result of rapid consultations between Paris, London, Washington and Pretoria, black stooges were included in the South African delegation to the United Nations. This made it quite respectable for the Western bi powers to veto South Africa's expulsion from the United Nations on the ground that changes were taking place.

THE CONSEQUENCES

As a result of this a new campaign has been mounted for acceptability of a dialogue with South Africa. The U.S. has chosen the method of soft-soaping countries neighbouring South Africa to be patient because she (the US) is working hard to bring about changes in the South African government policies.

It is these combined and concerted efforts which have encouraged the belief that South Africa is about to dismantle its apartheid structure.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN REALITIES however remain that

- (a) South Africa still maintains a rigid stand on its policy of white domination and is not prepared to tolerate the growth of the defiant mood against it by the masses in the country e.g. the ruthless suppression of the pro-FRELIMO demonstrations.
- (b) Externally, South Africa is determined to continue its military presence in Rhodesia and Namibia "as long as there is a terrorist against South Africa".

This precondition is reflected in all the announcements by the South African Government officials. By implication, it seeks to point to the ANC as being the stumbling block to a peaceful solution in Zimbabwe and Namibia. It can lead to numerous obstacles being posed for the development of the the struggle led by the ANC in South Africa. In the meantime, call for unity by South African liberation movements is being renewed. Already, it is easy to identify a new slogan "settle the question of Namibia and Rhodesia, and the battle is over in Southern Africa."

The S.G. then pin-pointed two main tasks facing the ANC. These are:-

- (1) To intensify the struggle internally;
- (2) To work to fortify the position of the A.N.C. internally.

After the S.G. had concluded, the Chair then invited comments

from the floor. Quite a number of those present spoke. All enforced the analysis of the present situation as presented by the S.G. . Several other points emerged which could be summarised thus:-

A. INTERNALLY

- * That we need an even more closer and dynamic contact with home so that we are in a position to pinpoint just what what constitutes some "change" inside the country. That it is possible for the South African regime to manouver within the Apartheid structure and create an impression of change e.g. raise wages; relax certain aspects of the pass laws; the public admission by Vorster that there is a need to improve the living conditions of black workers etc.

That whilst our people are aware of the realities of the situation and would not be fooled by the Bantustan scheme, there is need for constant information and explanation of the various schemes calculated to make Bantustans appear as a start to bigger concessions. It is vital that we be precise in our demands - namely Black Majority Rule.

As the challenge to the Bantustans grows stronger and reformist tendencies about doing away with petty Apartheid become widespread, we must expect more and more pressure to be exerted on known figures (former ANC activists, leading social and academic personalities, people serving in the various tribal councils) to bear witness to these changes and to endorse the government policy that

That there is a carefully worked-out strategy to undermine and destroy the ANC. Internally this takes the form of new organisations which have sprung up to fill the "political vacuum" as spokesmen of the people. Taking advantage of the fact that these organisations have to safeguard their legality and be seen to have no links with the banned organisations, the liberals and so called Progressives, using their powerful mass media, are using these well-meaning and unavoidable outlets of people's emotions to promote their reformist line of gradualism whilst safeguarding white supremacy. Our task is to maintain contact with these groups and without jeopardising their position work to ensure that their demands are within the framework of ANC policy for a unitary South African state under majority rule.

B. EXTERNALLY

Externally the forces working for the isolation and destruction of the ANC are numerous, powerful and varied. All are part of the overall imperialist strategy for maintaining control of those areas still under them in Southern Africa, as well as regaining those they have lost or are losing.

This may be seen from the outright protection of the racist South African regime in the highest international bodies (the United Nations veto), special concessions given to South Africa in various Economic and military blocks (EEC, NATO etc.) Other tactics being applied include:-

- * Using the Rhodesia and Namibia issues to shift away interest in South Africa itself (Rowland of Lohnro suddenly sees Smith as retarding progress and promises promises/....

promises a quick end to his regime).

- * Various missions from Western Countries visiting South Africa to influence the racists to introduce reforms. Meanwhile Bantustan leaders visit several countries talking about changes in South Africa.
- * Promoting the idea of peaceful change and to win peace lovers towards rapprochement and dialogue with South Africa.

The crux of the matter is that all these steps are taken in the name of advancing our struggle and yet we are not consulted. (The idea is either that we are powerless to do anything about this or if we do stick to our principles, then we must be seen to be out of touch with reality and possibly be isolated from our own people.)

CONCRETE MEASURES were put forward, these include:-

1. Maximum effort must be put into the intensification of our struggle inside South Africa with a renewed drive to build up world wide support. We must not hesitate to speak out boldly on any issue which, affect our struggle, but we should know whom, where and when to hit.
2. We must take steps necessary to ensure that the struggle continues, however unfavourable the change in our operational circumstances.
3. Our propaganda machinery must seek to defend not only our organisation and struggle but also the legitimacy of our armed struggle. In this case the organisation should build, protect and defend the armed wing of our struggle.
4. All our external missions must be kept up-to-date on developments within the movement as well as in the situation at home and abroad.

In his closing remarks the Chairman declared that all the various sections and units of the A.N.C. are expected to take up the issue arising from the discussions. He further commended the Working Committee their initiative in calling such a meeting and supported the idea of convening such meeting and supported the idea of convening such meetings whenever the occasion demands.

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