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African National Congress

Department of International Affairs

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Our Ref:INT/NM/2/87.

1984—Year of the Women
25th February, 1987.

Your Ref:

The Chief Representative
African National Congress
France

Dear Comrade,

During our last NEC meeting the International situation was discussed at length following a report by our department.

In the context the DIA is convening a meeting of all our Chief Representatives, to take place at our provisional headquarters in Lusaka in the middle of March (exact date will be communicated to you in due course).

The purpose of this meeting is to discuss the international situation with regards to our struggle, the role of our respective offices, our contribution to the general mobilisation against the racist Pretoria regime in favour of our just cause, and our general input into our common struggle.

In this respect we would appreciate it if you could make travelling arrangements to Lusaka, request your host government, party or solidarity group to help with your ticket where you cannot purchase your own, and please inform us in time where you need our intervention or assistance.

We are enclosing a) The report of the DIA presented to the NEC and
b) The report of the President's visit to the USA in Jan/feb, highlighted by his meeting with the US Secretary of State George Schultz.
c) Meeting with the Secretary of State.

We are looking forward to your timely response and feed back on your arrangements to come to Lusaka as requested above.

Wishing you all the best in the Year of Advance to People's Power!

Maatla!

J. Makatini
P.P. J. Makatini
Head, Dept. of Int. Affairs.

JM/nm.

Report of the Department of International Affairs.

The International Situation.

The current international climate can be characterised as one of an unprecedented momentum against the racist regime and in favour of its isolation.

The earpage currently taking place in South Africa has enraged the international community to the point where is a general recognition that the regime has lost control and is unable to rule. Moreover attempts by the regime to escape international isolation through the so-called reform programme have dismally failed. Its intransigence was clearly demonstrated when through the simultaneous attack on the capitals of Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia it torpedoed the mission of the EPG.

These developments coupled with the intensification of the struggle in South Africa under the leadership of the ANC, have enhanced the political clout of our movement. The ANC is no longer viewed as simply a protest movement but as an alternative power. Even such major Western supporters of the regime as the United States and Britain are resigning themselves to the fact that the ANC is the authentic interlocutor in the South African conflict. It is in this context that we should view the meeting between the ANC and Schultz as well as ANC and Geoffrey Howe.

It is this recognition that has prompted these governments and others to seek through various strategies, to push the ANC towards an early negotiated settlement in order to avoid a revolutionary take-over by the ANC. Recent manoeuvres towards this end include the Genscher plan which aims at a broad conference of the Lancaster type comprising the EEC, the US, Canada and Japan as well as the so-called authentic black groups in S.A.

The Natal option must also be viewed as a variant of this strategy aimed at denying the leadership role of the ANC.

It has to be pointed out however that this may not remain so for too long. In other words, the ANC needs to seize the initiative and come out with a plan which would then serve as a basis for debate. We must not allow the regime's allies and other groups to inundate us with unacceptable options which we are then forced to reject.

This point came out very clearly during the discussions between the ANC and US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, Armacost, as well as between the ANC President and Secretary of State George Schultz. The point made by the representatives of the US government is that the US and its Western allies do not have any initiatives on the resolution of the S.A. situation. Their position is that the ANC needs to outline a post-apartheid plan that would go beyond the Freedom Charter in clarifying ANC policy.

It is therefore important that the ANC should occupy ground and thereby maintain the momentum of the favourable international climate.

In this connection the DIA proposes the following;

- The ANC must launch a massive campaign against the oncoming elections on basis that such elections are based on an instrument that has been declared by the U.N. Security Council as null and void.

This campaign would call for;

- The abandoning of elections
- The lifting of the state of emergency and the unbanning of the ANC and other democratic organisations.
- The release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners
- Free and fair elections on the basis of universal suffrage.

It is envisaged that the campaign will start as soon as possible and

will reach its climax on the 21st of March (International day for the elimination of Racial Discrimination), when our supporters throughout the world would demand the abandonment of these elections. In April the ANC would then initiate a debate in the Security Council calling for a resolution which would be the equivalent UN Security Council resolution 435 and establish the illegitimacy of the racist regime as well as lay down the basis for the resolution of the S.A. conflict along the lines of the Freedom Charter. Such a move we believe, would strengthen the position of the ANC as the authentic interlocutor in the S.A. conflict.

The DIA proposes we urgently address the question of availability of personnel (starting with the 25 agreed upon over six months ago) This will enable us to embark upon a massive offensive for the granting of diplomatic status for our missions abroad. This would serve to underline that the ANC is the premier organisation in the liberation struggle in South Africa.

Already a number of governments have indicated their readiness to move in this direction.

The ANC should campaign rigorously for the exclusive recognition of the ANC. In this regard the African Continent will be divided into various regions and ANC delegations will be sent as emissaries of the President to brief the heads of State and Foreign Ministers on the situation in S.A.

Advantage will also be taken of these visits to present a memo on the PAC.

A number of countries will be selected and asked to pilot the campaign for the sole recognition of the ANC.

The DIA is presently working out a plan, within the context of the 75th Anniversary Commemoration, to organise cultural and sporting events particularly in Africa. It is envisaged that this could for example take the form of football matches between the different countries in Africa. This would not only serve the purpose of grass-root mobilisation, but would also raise money for our struggle from the proceeds accruing from such matches. Representatives of some African governments have expressed great enthusiasm for such a scheme.

The DIA proposes that the movement examines the feasibility of establishing sports teams, mainly soccer and rugby, organised on a non-racial basis. These could serve as microcosms of the sports policy of a free and democratic S.A. Such teams could affiliate to International Sports Federation thus also raising money for our struggle.

The ANC has been approached by Dick Griffi, President of the Black Music Association in the US, informing us of the creation of a project telethon for raising funds to service solidarity groups and the ANC. This project involves well-known friends of the ANC. The target set in the Fund-raising is 100 million US Dollars. Needless to say that this project would go a long way in raising even higher the anti-apartheid struggle in the US and beyond. The organisers have already clinched an agreement with some major television net-works in the US for June 25th and 26th 1988. What they require from the movement is that it should send one person to serve in the board of Directors in order to assist in the distribution of funds. The DIA strongly proposes that the movement endorse this scheme.

Within the context of the Commemoration of the 75th Aniv. of the founding of the ANC, the DIA in co-operation with the 75th Anniversary Committee is engaged in the preparations of an international conference, the first ever to be called by the ANC. The purpose of the Conference

includes the projection of the ANC as the sole and authentic interlocutor in our struggle as well as widest possible mobilisation for our victory.

To this end a committee for preparations of this Conference has been set up comprising members from other departments of our movement. As regards this Conference the DIA proposes that it includes SWAPO. This is very important since it will underline the correct political position that we have always articulated that our struggle and the struggle for Namibia's independence are one. DIA also strongly feels that the venue for this Conference be Nairobi. This would enable us to break new ground by consolidating on the gains that we have scored there. With respect to the supporters of the S.A. regime, the DIA proposes the following actions;

USA and BRITAIN:

The governments of both countries will be fighting general elections in 1988. It will be our objective to ensure that the anti-apartheid momentum is maintained in both countries, by ensuring that apartheid becomes an election issue in both these elections. To a great extent this was achieved in the US during the mid-term Congressional election in the US.

FRANCE:

In order to strengthen our relations with France, DIA is working on a plan to strengthen our ties with the Franco-phone countries in Africa so as to make apartheid a burning issue both in their bilateral relations with France as well as in their multi-lateral relations during the periodic Franco-phone summits.

CANADA:

As regards Canada, it has become evident particularly after the recent meeting between the Director of DIA and the Foreign Minister of Canada, that Canada which has always been under pressure from the US, is now prepared to take an independent line on the question of S.A. This has also been emphasised by the readiness on the part of the Canadian government to organise a meeting between the ANC President and the Canadian Prime Minister. Some time this year, the DIA proposes that these contacts should be followed up.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY:

It should be stated that our position in the FRG is relatively weak. Moreover, it is in this country that Gatsha Butelezi has his greatest ... support in Europe.

The fact that the FRG joined the UN Security Council last month (Jan. 1987) makes it imperative that we should intensify our campaign in this country.

The DIA proposes the following:

- We need to reach out to public opinion in the FRG high-lighting the nazi-character of the S.A. regime. This will be carried out whilst ensuring at the same time that it should not be overdone, lest it boomerang.

JAPAN:

Whilst welcoming the overtures that Japan has made towards the ANC, we should not interpret it as a fundamental change in policy. The DIA proposes that we should utilise the developing contacts with the Japanese government to bring pressure to bear on Japan. In other words, we should force Japan to choose between trade with S.A. and trade with the rest of Africa. Against the background of the racist remarks made by Premier Nakasone, it should be easy to launch a campaign against Japan based on the solidarity between Africa and Black America.

EEC:

The EEC is no longer a monolithic group. There is ample evidence of divergencies in policy vis-a-vis the S.A. regime. DIA proposes that we sharpen these differences by strengthening our relations with Greece, Spain, Ireland, Italy and Holland.

THE NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT:

The DIA proposes that the ANC should systematically utilise the fact that the Chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement is held by a leader of the Front Line States. In this connection the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Summit will be approached in the campaign on the abandonment of the oncoming elections in S.A. During this campaign the chairman of NAM together with the chairman of the OAU would greatly facilitate the matter of taking up the resolution in the Security Council referred to above.

The President's Visit to the US.

This visit will certainly go down in history as having been one of the most successful of all the visits ever undertaken by any leader of a revolutionary movement or opposition Party especially those committed to the overthrow or replacement of regimes considered friends or strategic allies of the United States. One fully shares the opinion expressed by some that it was not only at the Head of State level but that the exceptionally good press it received puts it even higher than most of these by such leaders including close friends of the United States. Needless to add that it dwarfed and differed from those of Savimbi and Buthelezi whose red-carpet reception at the white House has earned them the discredited Reagan whose policies of constructive anegement and the Iraq Arms deal have been unmitigated disasters.

The reasons for the success include the following;

- (i) It was timely - having taken place when Congress was back from recess. This gave us the opportunity to thank not just the grass-root support groups but also the law makers whose combined efforts recently culminated in the override of Reagan's veto of the Sanctions bill. It gave us the opportunity to have President OR (accused by the conservatives as a terrorist, Communist and stooge of the Soviet Union) to be warmly welcomed, cheered and boiled by the public and the eminent elected officials as a good guy, hero friend and alternative to P.W. Botha.
- (ii) It was planned in such a way as to include meetings not only with the various sectors of the American society but also outstanding opinion-makers and media persons.
- (iii) The nationwide interest was also due to the outrage felt by the American people over the ongoing carnage in South Africa, aggression against and distabilisation of the neighbouring states, the perceived heroism of the people and influence enjoyed by its representative the ANC, and the reasonableness of the ANC as reflected in its demands seen as being accordance with the much talked about American principle of just governments based on the consent of the governed.
- (iv) The preseding meetings with Chester Crocker and Amarcost also helped to publicise the visit and meeting with George Schultz.
- (v) Mainly, the position taken by the Conservative law makers led by Senator Burton who, basing themselves on the findings of Senator Denton's hearing held their own and announced the formation of the Coalition Against ANC Terrorism whose first task was to campaign for the cancellation of the meeting with Schultz. Next came the position taken by Senator Dole, the Presidential Candidate who based his demand for the cancellation of the said meeting on the claim that it was as big a mistake as was the arms deal with Iran.
- (vi) Finally, the character and personality of the President as a truthful, honest and trustworthy person who tells no lies. His response to the gruelling questions related to the "ANC's association with the South African Communist Party", the "Domination by the Communists in the ANC Executive Committee where they are alleged to be in the majority" and the domination by the ANC by the Soviet Union" were a head-on type factual and principled.

One could also add the fact that the American public, Media and a growing number of elected officials have come to the conclusion that the writing is on the wall for the Botha regime. The visit provided an opportunity for them to grill, know and understand the man likely to take over power in a country they consider an important ally. If his honest answer to their questions prove he is irreversibly committed to an alliance with the South African Communist Party and friendship with the Soviet Union, the redeeming feature is that he leads this alliance. The other factor is that they see the younger generation becoming more and more radicalised anti-American and more Marxist-hence the need to make haste and help facilitate a negotiated settlement before the radicals replace the current leadership and the ANC occupies the winner-takes-all position.

The cities visited were New York, Chicago, Washington D.C., Los Angeles and Atlanta. Indeed, one other additional factor for the success of the visit is that except for New York, all the cities visited are under Black Mayors whose political support is predominantly anti-apartheid.

On his arrival at the New York airport, the President was received by the Executive Secretary of the OAU who, at the behest of the ANC representation had requested the host country to provide Security during the whole tour. The inhospitable weather had made us to limit the welcome team to our membership - more so because of the confusion that had arisen concerning the date of arrival.

In New York, meetings were held with:-

- (i) The President of the Burrough of Manhattan
- Mr. David Dinkens, an old friend of the ANC
- Black elected officials and Religious Leaders
- Breakfast meeting with Labour Union Leaders

In addition to the moving Proclamation presented to President OR by President Dinkens, the day of the meeting was proclaimed 'President Oliver Tambo Day' in Manhattan.

Other meetings were with:-

- Henry Kissinger, the former Secretary of State
- Cyrus Vance, the former Secretary of State
- The African Group at the United Nations
- Business men
- David Rockefeller
- Maurie Templesmen
- Fund-raising Cocktail organised jointly by the South African Policy Fund and Peggy Dulany
- Cocktail hosted by ACDA and SunCity Group to hand over 100,000 US Dollar cheque to the President.
- Dinner with Michael Manley and Herry Belafonte at latter's home.

Other highlights were: The exceptionally well-attended and televised 1st Olaf Pelmer Lecture at Riverside Church and the ANC hosted luncheon at the United Nations attended by a select and representative number of Ambassadors, leaders of Support Groups (students, labour, church entertainers etc.), Front Line States and prominent Media persons.

We must add that there were other unplanned "meetings", ambushes to be exact, such as the embarrassing arrival of Boxing Promoter Don King at the Riverside Church having just descended on us at our Hotel and insisted on driving the President to the meeting.

Our next stop was in Chicago where the highlight was a rally at Reverend Jesse Jackson's Church and where we met leaders of the Support Groups.

Other events in Chicago were

- (i) The presentation to President OR of the May to the City of Chicago
- (ii) A press Conference
- (iii) The Proclamation (by the Mayor) of the 24th January as South Africa Day and holiday.

From Chicago we went to Washington D.C. where the Free South Africa Movement through Randal Robinson, Congressman Walter Fountroy and Mayor Bradley played the role of host. The first event was a rally at Walter Fountroy's Church where we later met the Washington-based Support Groups and where Cde. OR was intimately referred to as Dr. Bishop Tambo. Other meetings were with:-

- The Labour Union Leaders
- The Washington Post Electrical Board
- Bishop John Wacke
- Wolpe and several Congressmen and Staff
- Several Senators including Kassambaum, Wieker, Moynihan, Kennedy, Paul Simon
- Lunch hosted by Senator Kennedy
- Working Breakfast with Representatives of the Inter-Faith-held at Walter Fountroy's Church;
- Dean of the African Ambassadors accompanied by two colleagues a day after our failure to attend the meeting of all the Ambassadors accredited to the United States;
- Senate Staff members.

In Los Angeles, the delegation had a very impressive series of public and private meetings;

- An exceptionally well attended rally where Cde. OR shared the platform with Jesse Jackson, Harry Belafonte, Maxine, entertainers and Movie stars;
- Meeting with Mayor Bradley and Councilman Robert Farrel.
- Working Luncheon with Los Angeles Times
- Working Dinner in Hollywood hosted by Mark Rosenberg of Warner Brothers and his wife Paula and attended by a galaxy of movie stars;
- Working dinner at Sydney Portier's house in Hollywood hosted by him and Harry Belafonte and attended by a small group of personalities like Jane Fonda involved in the 20 million US Dollar project of a T.V. Series on Nelson Mandela and Winnie Mandela;
- † Assembly woman Maxine Waters and Dick Griffi, the President of Black American Music Association;
- Working Lunch in Hollywood hosted and attended by the members of the Hollywood Political Women Association;

The last-minute arrangement to include Atlanta on the programme was a wild one and resulted in the following events:

- Working Breakfast hosted by the SCLC headed by Dr. Joe Lowry and attended by a host of community and Support Groups leaders;
- Meeting with the representatives of the Georgia coalition for Divestment in Southern Africa,
- Reception hosted by the President of Morehouse University;
- Solemn and most moving ceremony of the Presentation of the Honorary Doctrate to Cde. President
- A brief visit to Dick Griffi's ranch where he presented Cde. President OR with a horse that he is ready to have shipped to Lusaka.

Other Miscellaneous Events.

(i) Coalition Against ANC Terrorism

The televised hearing which led to the formation of this body by a group of Conservative Law-makers like Senator Burton and several Professors took place during the first week of our visit, the main purpose was definitely to campaign for the cancellation of the meeting between our President and George Schultz. The campaigners became more and more vocal and organised as the days went by. Their campaign included two advertisement in the notorious Washington Times whose request for an interview with the President we had turned simply because of the Papers well-known reactionary track record. The extremely hostile ad was supplemented by a forged photograph showing Chief with Gorbachev before the two actually met.

Using the media and also resorting to the above-mentioned the so-called Coalition Against ANC Terrorism announced that they would have a demonstration before the State Department to protest against the TAMBO-Schultz meeting.

Later in the week, Senator Dole one of the Republican Presidential Candidate joined the campaign also calling for cancellation.

Media Exposure.

Paradoxical as it might sound, the orchestrated formation of the above-mentioned Coalition and its campaign for the cancellation of the meeting with Schultz helped to popularise the visit as well as the President Tambo and what he stands for. The same can be said of the angle taken by some TV and Print Press at the beginning of the tour.

The requests for Television interviews were so many that we had to turn some down because it was physically impossible to accept them all but also because we were already running the risk of over-exposure.

The important ones include the NBS which later (after the interview) offered to make a T.V. crew that would follow and cover our functions on other cities. This was done.

We must also include ABC which again after their interview named Cde. President as "the Person of the Week". In addition to this they had a commentary in which they were responding to the Conservatives and ended up calling on the Government of the United States to provide political and financial support to the ANC.

The rest will be given in the verbal form as well as by the other members of the Delegation.

Meeting with the Secretary of State.

- (1) The meeting was preceded by a visit to the Hotel of some officials from the State Department who discussed with two members of our delegation (Cde. Thabo and Barbara) various points relating to the format of the visit and discussion,
- (2) Congressman Walter Fountroy, in response to the announced demonstration by forces opposed to the meeting had called on the friends of the Movement to join him at the State Department door step to "Cheer" President Tambo as he walks into the building. On our part we had succeeded to persuade Bishop Walker and some Pastors he could find to join in this ANC Welcome.
- (3) For some unknown reason perhaps the unawareness (on the part of the Conservatives) of the change from 10am to 15Hrs) the hostile demonstrators had started gathering in the morning, held their mock neck-lacing at 11am and had not only thinned out when we arrived but even missed the moment.
- (4) On the other hand, the Pro-ANC Group was at the door step and entrance. It was a very impressive crowd including over twenty cameramen and even more journalists despite the fact that they knew we were to give a Press Conference three blocks away after the meeting.
- (5) We were met at the lobby and taken upstairs where we met a number of US officials including Chester Crocker, the US Ambassador to Zambia and some other high-ranking officials who invited us to seats until joint by the Secretary of State.

The place of diplomatic niceties that usually precedes formal discussions centered on their informing us of what we were already aware of, namely that there were two opposing demonstrations outside and that some ill-informed officials had earlier in the day called on the fire-brigade to deal with the mock neck-lacing group. By and large they were visibly happy that the meeting was taking place and that for a change they were being criticised for being in line with the Anti-Apartheid constituencies.

Meeting:

We had been informed that the meeting would last for 30 minutes but according to the Department's statement it took "almost an hour".

The discussion was preceded by the photo-opportunity given to the Department Photographer. We were then told by Schultz that the photos would be developed and made available to the same day. He also informed us that he proposed to make brief remarks and let our President do the same in order to allow time for an exchange. We should mention that part of the information given by the officials who had come to the hotel was that "Allan Boesak had gone on and on" and this had left no time for the required exchange.

The Secretary of State then started by saying that they had decided in favour of such a meeting because they are convinced that the ANC is an important player in the South African conflicts, though not the only one. It is for this reason that they had met the others like Butelezi etc.

He went further to express appreciation of what they saw as a reconciliatory tone expressed in our 8 January statement. As the United States, they are very keen on the speedy resolution of this problem. However, they have no plan or blue-print, he said; but hope the South African people themselves can work out a formula and process leading to a negotiated settlement.

It was at this stage that he said that the United States has a problem with the ANC violence and its relations with the Soviet Union (literally saying he prefers that formulation to talking of the ANC's relations with Communism). He went further to propose that the ANC renounces violence in order to help pave the way toward a negotiated settlement.

In response the President expressed appreciation of the initiative taken by the Secretary of State in making the meeting possible. He then went on to respond to the points raised:-

(i) Argued why the ANC cannot renounce the limited violence forced upon it by the regimes intransigence. Our argument centered mainly on the fact that ours is reactive armed resistance to the rule of violence by the regime and also that contemporary history abounds with examples where negotiations were started while the fighting continued e.g. Mozambique, Angola - S. Africa negotiating in Lusaka, Lancaster conference and even Nkomati: Therefore the ANC should not be treated as an exception. At this stage the Secretary of State interjected to say that he was a little disappointed and, in my opinion doing so in order to allow the discussion to go on without any debate of this violence issue.

On the relation with the Soviet Union he had made mention that he had heard that our President had met Gorbachev. In responding to this question giving the historical background to the alliance had gone on to confirm that he had recently met with Gorbachev and that he got the impression that the Soviets were interested in competing with the US on the Southern Africa problem and that all they are committed to is the end of the system that stands condemned as a crime against humanity. The President then proposed that perhaps it might be a good thing that the US and the Soviet Union hold discussions and come out with a common strategy toward the speedy elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a government based on the consent of the governed in South Africa.

In response, the Secretary informed us that they do from time to time discuss Southern Africa with the Soviet and that he would soon be meeting Gorbachev thereby giving the impression that he might do what the President had proposed.

The President also urged the US to take the following measures;

- Give financial aid to the SADC countries,
- Focus on exerting pressure on Pretoria to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners thereby breaking the impasse and facilitating process toward a negotiated settlement;
- Establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Angola.

My impression is that the last point is the only one rejected off-hand.